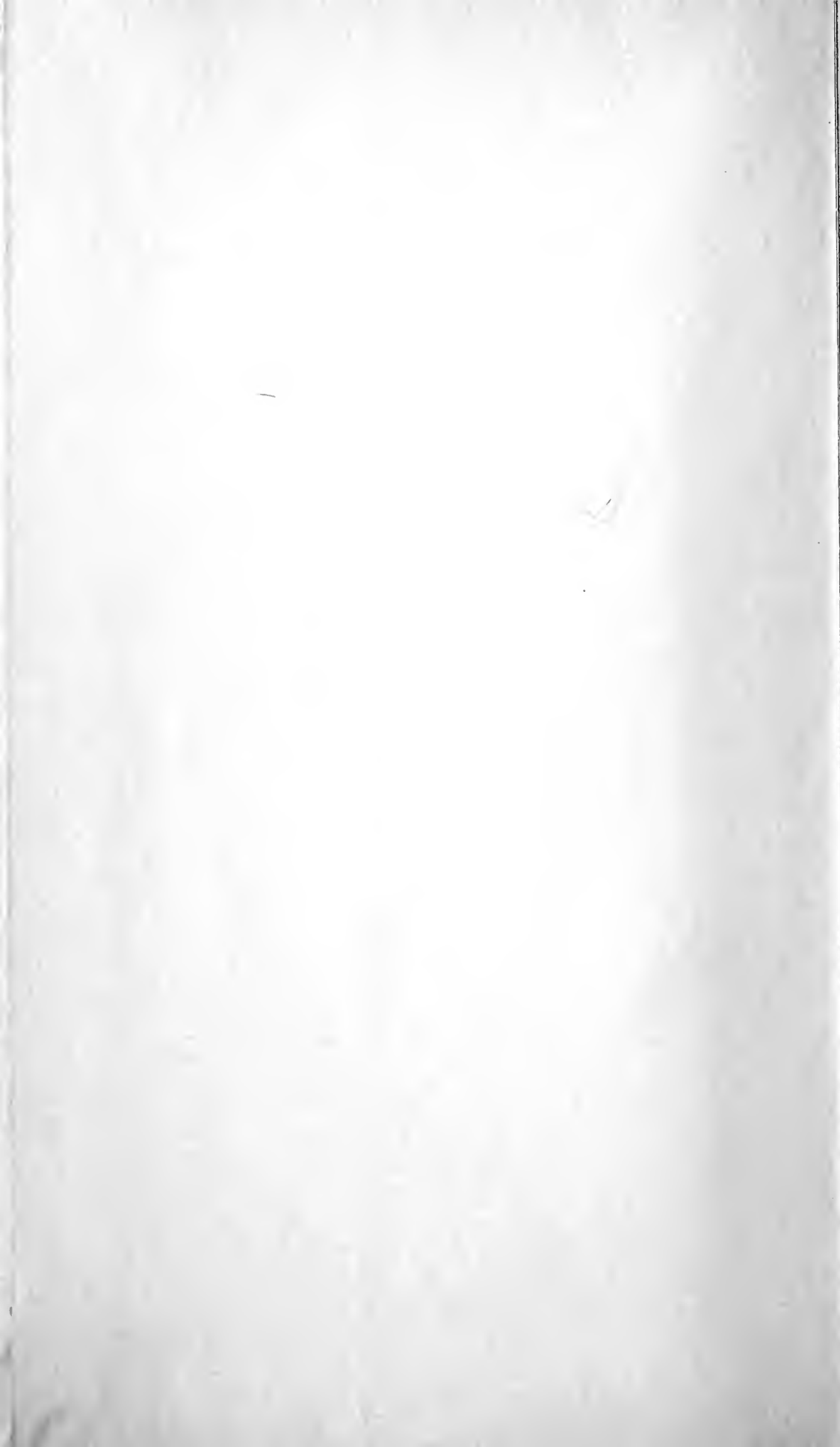




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Archaeologia Graeca,

OR THE

ANTIQUITIES OF GREECE.

By JOHN POTTER, D. D.

LATE ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY.

A NEW EDITION.

TO WHICH IS ADDED,

AN APPENDIX,

CONTAINING

A CONCISE HISTORY OF THE GRECIAN STATES,
AND A SHORT ACCOUNT OF THE LIVES AND WRITINGS OF THE
MOST CELEBRATED GREEK AUTHORS.

By G. DUNBAR, F. R. S. E.

AND

PROFESSOR OF GREEK IN THE UNIVERSITY OF EDINBURGH.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL II.

——— *Simili frondescit virga metallo.*

VIRGIL.

*Quis reprehendit nostrum otium, qui in eo non modo nosmetipsos hebescere
et languere nolumus, sed etiam, ut plurimis prosimus, evitamus?* CICERO.

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ARCHAEOLOGIA GRAECA :

OR THE

ANTIQUITIES OF GREECE.

BOOK III.

CHAP. I.

Of the Wars, Valour, Military Glory, &c. of the ancient Grecians.

THE ancient Grecians were a rude and unpolished sort of mortals, wholly unacquainted with the modern, and more refined arts of war, and peace. Persons of the highest birth and quality, and whom they fancied to be descended from the race of the immortal gods, had little other business to employ their hours, beside tilling the earth, or feeding their flocks and herds ; and the rapine of these, or some other petty concerns, which was looked on as a generous and heroical exploit, occasioned most of the wars so famous in their story. Achilles, in Homer, tells Agamemnon, that it was purely to oblige him he had engaged himself in so long and dangerous a war against the Trojans, from whom he had never received any just cause of quarrel, having never been despoiled of his oxen or horses, or had the fruits of his ground destroyed by them ^a.

Οὐ γὰρ ἐγὼ Τρώων ἔνεκ' ἤλυθον ἀρχημετάων
 Διῦρο μαχησόμενος, ἵπτεῖ οὔτι μοι αἰτιοί ἐστιν.
 Οὐ γὰρ πάποτ' ἐμὰς βῆς ἤλασαν, ἔδῃ μὲν ἵππους,
 Οὔδ' ἐ ποτ' ἐν Φθίῃ ἐριβόλακι βωτιανέεργ'
 Κροσσὸν ἰδηλήσαντ', ἵπειν μάλ' ἀπολλὰ μεταξὺ
 Οὐρίᾳ τε σκίοντα, θάλασσά τε ἡχήμενα.
 Ἀλλὰ σοι, ὦ μίγ', ἀναιδὲς, ἄμ' ἐσπόμειθ', ὄφρα σὺ χαίρῃς.

What cause have I to war at thy decree?
 The distant Trojans never injur'd me :
 To Phthia's realms no hostile troops they led,
 Safe in her vales my warlike coursers fed ;
 Far hence remov'd the hoarse resounding main,
 And walls of rocks secure my native reign.
 Whose fruitful soil luxuriant harvests grace,
 Rich in her fruits and in her martial race,
 Hither we sail'd a voluntary throng.
 T' avenge a private not a public wrong ;
 What else to Troy th' assembled nations draws,
 But thine, ungrateful, and thy brother's cause.

POPE.

^a Iliad. ῥ. v. 152.

And the simplicity of their conduct may be sufficiently evinced, as from several other instances, so by those especially where Achilles, Hector, or Ajax, are introduced opposing themselves to vast numbers, and, by the force of their own valour, putting to flight whole squadrons of their enemies. Nor is the poet to be thought blameworthy, or to have transgressed the rules of probability in such relations : which, though perhaps strange and incredible in our days, were, no doubt, accommodated to the manners of the times of which he wrote. For even in the sacred story, we find it recorded, that a single Goliath defied all the armies of Israel^b, and with a big look, and a few arrogant words, struck so great a terror into them, that they fled before him.

Notwithstanding this, in the revolution of a few ages, Greece became the celebrated mother of the bravest and most experienced soldiers in the world. For being cantoned into a great number of little independent states, all which, though bordering upon one another, were governed by different laws, and prosecuted contrary interests, it became the seat of continual wars ; every hamlet being ambitious of enlarging its territory, by encroaching upon its neighbour-village, and contending for the addition of a few lands, with no less heat and fury than if whole kingdoms had been the prize. The consequence whereof was, that the Grecians, being from their childhood inured to martial affairs, and having to their native bravery added long and constant experience, were rendered, as well in good order and discipline, as true courage and valour, superior to most other nations. They became a terror to all the countries round about them, and with small numbers often put to flight vast multitudes of the barbarians : the Persians frequently experienced the sad effects of it in the loss of numerous armies, and at length of the greatest empire in the world. And (to enumerate no more instances in a thing so well known) the Carthaginians, though men of great courage, and excellently skilled in the art of war, being worsted in Sicily by Timoleon the Corinthian, in several encounters, and by unequal numbers of men, were driven into an admiration of the Grecian valour, and forced to confess, that they were the most pugnacious and insupportable of mankind, and forthwith made it their business to entertain as many of them as they could procure, in their service^c.

But though almost all the Grecians had their share in military glory, yet were the rest far inferior to the Lacedæmonians, who,

^b 1 Sam. xvii. 11. 24.

^c Plutarchus Timoleonte.

by the laws of their country, were under an obligation to make war their profession ; they never applied themselves to any art or employment, or the exercise of trades, which they accounted unworthy of generous and free-born souls ; but committing all such cares to the Helots, who were a genteeler sort of slaves, spent their time in manly exercises, to render their bodies strong and active. They were also accustomed by hard diet, by stripes, and other severities, patiently to undergo hardships, to endure wounds, to encounter dangers, and, if the honour of their country so required, to throw themselves into the arms of death without fear or regret. Yet were they not so imprudent or fool-hardy, as to court dangers or death ; but were taught from their childhood to be always prepared either to live or die, and equally willing to do either : as appears from those verses cited by Plutarch^d to this purpose ;

Οἱ δὲ Θάνον, ὃ ζῆν Θέμενοι καλόν, ὃδὲ τὸ θνήσκειν,
 Ἀλλὰ τὸ ταῦτα καλῶς ἀμφοτέρ' ἐκτελέσαι·

They died, but not as lavish of their blood,
 Or thinking death itself was simply good,
 Or life ; both these the strictest virtue try'd,
 And, as that call'd, they gladly liv'd or died.

Nor was this indifferency to life or death only discoursed of amongst them as a point of mere speculation, but carefully and seriously instilled in their tender years, and always embraced as one of the first principles of their actions ; which begot in them such an undaunted courage, and so firm and unmoveable a resolution, that scarce any other nation was able to stand before them. This extraordinary and unparalleled bravery, being adorned and strengthened by the wisest conduct, and the most perfect skill in all the stratagems of war those times were capable of, has rendered them famous in story, and examples of military virtue to all succeeding ages : ‘ For (these are Plutarch’s words^e) the Lacedæmonians were most expert and cunning in the art of war, being trained up and accustomed to nothing more than to keep themselves from confusion, when their order should be broken ; to follow any leader, or right-hand man, so rallying themselves into order, and to fight on what part soever dangers press.’

It is therefore by no means to be wondered at, that foreign and vastly remote nations should be desirous to entertain the Lacedæmonians in their service ; that Cyrus the Younger should think it the readiest and most effectual method to advance himself to the empire of Persia ; that Cræsus, the wealthy king of Lydia, and

^d Pelopida.

^e Pelopida.

several of the Egyptian monarchs, though surrounded with numerous forces of their own, should never esteem themselves secure without assistance from Sparta ; or that the Sicilians, Thracians, Carthaginians, with the Cyreneans, and many others, were beholden to it for protection, and deliverance from powerful enemies. And for the Grecians themselves, whenever any of their little states were in danger of being swallowed up by their more powerful neighbours, we find them having recourse for aid to the Spartans, who were a common refuge to the oppressed, and restrained the ambitious invaders of other men's rights.

Hence, likewise, it came to pass, that in all confederacies they were looked on as the principal associates ; and in all wars carried on by public contributions, they challenged the chief command as their right and peculiar. Nor could any exigency prevail with them to depart from that claim, or resign it to the greatest of princes. Gelon, king of Sicily, though promising to furnish them with large supplies against the barbarians, on condition he might be declared captain-general of the Grecian forces, was rejected^f. Yet we find, that after the victory over Mardonius at Plataea, Pausanias, the Lacedæmonian general, having, by his excessive severity, and tyrannical behaviour to the rest of the soldiers, rendered the Spartans very odious, in the end they revolted to the Athenians, the gentle and courteous carriage of whose commanders, Aristides and Cimon, had endeared them to all the rest of the Grecians : and here the magnanimity of the Lacedæmonians was wonderful ; for when they perceived that their generals were corrupted, and their minds too much elevated and puffed up by the greatness of their authority, they left off sending any more of them to the wars, choosing rather to have citizens of moderation, and that persevered in their ancient manners and customs, than to be honoured with the superiority of all Greece^g. But this misfortune did not put an end to the Lacedæmonian greatness ; for we find them in a little time re-assuming their ancient spirits, and disdaining even Alexander himself (though submitted to by the rest of the Grecians, and declared their general against Persia) for their superior. Which is the reason, that in the monuments erected after the Persian victories, and bearing the names of Alexander and the Grecians, the Lacedæmonians were excepted by name, as having no share in that honour^h.

^f Herodotus, lib. vii.

^g Plutarchus Aristide.

^h Plutarchus Alexandro, Arrianus de gestis Alexandri, lib. i.

The Athenians alone were able to dispute this prerogative with the Lacedæmonians, some few junctures excepted, when some unusual success raised any other of the states beyond their ordinary grandeur, as it happened to the Thebans, who, from a mean and despicable people, were, by the conduct of Epaminondas and Pelopidas, advanced to an equality, if not a superiority, over the most flourishing cities in Greece.

Notwithstanding these, and some other obstacles, the Lacedæmonians, for the most part, made good their pretensions, and, in most wars carried on by a confederacy, were generals of all the land forces; but were at length constrained to leave the dominion of the sea to the Athenians, who having laid out their whole strength in fitting out a navy against Xerxes, for a long time reigned sole lords of the liquid element; during which season, we find a decree put forth by their senate, wherein it was ordered, that the command of all the naval forces of Greece should belong to Athens; but the land armies should obey a general from Spartaⁱ. But the rival cities could not be long content with this equal distribution of power, each being jealous of the other's greatness, and thinking herself best able to govern the whole jurisdiction; till at length, the Athenians, having their whole fleet, except twelve trireme gallies, destroyed at once by Lysander the Spartan admiral, in the famous battle at Ægos Potamus, were constrained to own the Lacedæmonians for sovereigns both by sea and land^j.

But the Lacedæmonians were not long able to maintain this command; for the Athenians, having recruited their naval forces, and engaged Evagoras the king of Cyprus, and Pharnabazus the Persian emperor's lieutenant, to their interest, by their assistance, and the singular conduct of their own admiral, Conon, gave them so great an overthrow at Cnidus^k, that they never after pretended to contest the sovereignty of the seas, but contented themselves with the chief command at land, which the Athenians suffered them to enjoy, without further molestation, both cities being weary of the contention, and convinced at length of the truth of what had been commonly observed, that fortune was most favourable to the Lacedæmonians by land, but in sea engagements sided with the Athenian^l. This seems not to have been without reason; the Athenians, through the commodiousness of their situation, being

ⁱ Xenoph. *Ελληνικῶν*, lib. vi.

^j Xenophon. *περὶ Κύρου ἀναβάσεως*. lib. vi.

Plutarchus Lysandro.

^k Isocrates pro Evagora, in Philip-

pum, Panathenaica, Xenophon. *Ἑλληνικῶν*, lib. vi. Plutarchus Artaxerxe,

^l Xenophon, *Ἑλληνικῶν*, lib. vii.

disposed, and, as it were, invited by nature to apply themselves to naval affairs; whereas the Lacedæmonians were placed at a greater distance from the sea, and more inclined to land service (to which they were inured from their tender years), than to venture themselves on the ocean, to which they had never been accustomed; for Lycurgus, their law-giver, expressly forbade them^m to visit foreign countries, out of a well-grounded fear, lest his citizens should be corrupted by the conversation of strangers, and forsake that excellent platform of government he contrived for them. And it happened to them as he had wisely foreseen; for no sooner had Lysander rendered them sovereigns of the seas, but they began by degrees to leave off their ancient customs, and to degenerate from the virtue and glory of their ancestorsⁿ.

CHAP. II.

Of their Levies, Pay, &c. of Soldiers.

THE Grecian armies consisted, for the most part, of free denizens, whom the laws of their country obliged, when arrived at a certain age, to appear in arms, upon the summons of the magistrate, or commissioned officer. In some places they were more early admitted to the wars, in others later.

The Athenians, when arrived at eighteen years of age, were appointed to guard the city, with the forts belonging to it: from their going about to visit which, they were called *πείριπολοι*^o; but were not sent to foreign wars till twenty; the Spartans seldom till thirty. The younger men in both cities, with those who, by reason of their age, were discharged from military service, were left at home to defend their habitations.

Some persons were excused by reason of their age; for having spent their youth and strength in serving their country, it was but reasonable to discharge them from farther service, that they might end their days in peace. After threescore years, it seems to have been usual in most places to allow them liberty of retiring. At Athens, no man above forty was pressed to serve in the wars, except in times of extreme danger^p. Others were exempt on account of their functions; such were, at Athens, *οἱ τέλος πριάμενοι*, the farmers

^m Phitarchus Institut. Laconicis.

ⁿ Demosthenes Orat. in Philip. iii.

^o Ulpianus in Olynthiac. iii.

^p Ulpianus in Olynthiac. iii.

of the public customs^b, whose presence was required in the city during the whole time of their employment, and several of the holy orders, as also the persons appointed to dance at Bacchus's festival^c.

Others were excluded from serving in the wars; such were the slaves, and such others as lived amongst them, but were not honoured with the freedom of their cities. These were never admitted except in cases of extreme danger, when there remained no other means of preserving the commonwealth. Of this custom I have already given a large account in one of the foregoing books^d.

All that served were entered into a public roll; whence the levy was called *καταγραφή, κατάλογος, στρατολογία*; and to make a levy, *κατάλογον*, or *καταγραφὴν ποιεῖσθαι*. Amongst the primitive Grecians, it seems to have been frequently made by lots, every family being obliged to furnish out a certain number, and filling up their proportion by the chance of lots: whence Mercury, in Homer^e, pretending to be one of the sons of Polyctor the Myrmidon, adds, that he was appointed by lot to follow Achilles to the Trojan war.

Τῶν μέταπαλλόμενος, κλήρω λάχων ἐνθάδ' ἔπεισθαι.

'Twas I, who, when the lots were drawn,

Was doom'd to follow Peleus's mighty son.

For the appointment of all persons of a certain age to be ready to serve in the wars, seems only to be an institution of later ages; whereas all such like things were formerly managed at the pleasure of the supreme magistrate.

The soldiers were all maintained at their own expenses; no name was more opprobrious than that of a mercenary, it being looked upon as a disgrace for any person of ingenuous birth and education to serve for wages. For all this, it was not permitted any person to absent himself, except upon reasons allowed by the law; and whoever was found thus to have transgressed, was at Athens deprived of his voice in all public business, and, in a manner, of all other rights of citizens, and was forbidden to enter into any of the public temples^u. And lest any of the persons appointed to serve should make their escape, we find they were branded with certain marks, called *σίγματα*. These are mentioned by Vegetius^x, who, speaking of the military oath, and the muster-roll, wherein the soldiers' names were registered, mentions also, that they

^a Demosthenes in Neeræam.

^r Idem Midiana.

^s Lib. i. cap. 10.

^t Iliad. ω.

^u Æschines Ctesiphontea, Demosthenes Timocratea.

^x De re militari, lib. ii. cap. 5.

were *victuris in cute punctis scripti*, branded with lasting marks in their flesh. These marks commonly contained the name or proper ensign of their general. To distinguish soldiers from slaves, who were commonly marked in the forehead, as has been elsewhere observed, they had *σίγματα ἐν ταῖς χερσὶ*, *their characters impressed upon their hands*, as we are informed by Ælian. By the same ceremony, it was customary for men to dedicate themselves to certain deities. Whence is that question mentioned in Zechariah ^y, where he speaks of the prophets and votaries of the pagan gods : ‘ and one shall say unto him, what *are* these wounds in thy hands ?’ And the beast who requires all men to worship him in the book of Revelation ^z, is there said to ‘ cause all, both small and great, rich and poor, free and bound, to receive a mark in their right hands, or in their foreheads ^a.’ And to the same custom St. Paul is thought to allude, in his epistle to the Galatians ^b, where, speaking of the wounds he had received in his Christian warfare, he tells us, that he *bore in his body the σίγματα*, or *marks of the Lord Jesus*.

The Carians were the first that served in Greece for pay ^c, and have thereby rendered their names infamous to posterity, being represented by all the writers of those times as a base and servile nation ; insomuch, that *καργοὶ*, and *καρίμοιροι*, are proverbial epithets for persons of abject and pusillanimous tempers, or servile condition ^d ; and *Κάρεις* is a synonymous term for slaves, as in that proclamation at the end of the Athenian festival Anthesteria, whereby the slaves were commanded to be gone out of doors :

Θύραζε, Κάρεις, ἐκ τῆς Anthesῆρια.

Begone, ye slaves, the Anthesteria are ended.

Thus the Carians were reproached for introducing a custom, which, in a few ages after, was so far from being looked upon as unworthy their birth or education, that we find it practised by the whole nation of the Greeks, who not only received pay for serving their own commonwealth, but listed themselves under foreign kings, and fought their battles for hire ; their chief magistrates not disdaining to accompany them in such expeditions. Several instances of this might be produced, were not that famous one of the great Agesilaus’s condescending to serve Ptolemy king of Egypt, instead of many others.

^y Cap. xiii. v. 6.

^z Cap. xiii. v. 16.

^c Strabo, Hesychius, Etymologici

^a Conf. Archaeologiae hujus lib. i.

Auctor.

cap. de servis.

^b Cap. vi. v. 17.

^d Hesychius.

The first that introduced the custom of paying soldiers at Athens, was Pericles, who, to ingratiate himself with the commonalty, represented how unreasonable it was, that men of small estates, and scarce able to provide for their families, should be obliged to neglect their business, and spend what their industry had laid up, in the public service; and thereupon preferred a decree, that all of them should have subsistence-money out of the exchequer^c; which seems to have been received with general applause. What sum they daily received, cannot be easily determined, it being decreased or diminished as occasion required. At first we find the foot-soldiers had two oboli a-day, which in a month amounted to ten drachms^f. What we read in Thucydides^g of the soldiers that garrisoned Potidæa, to every one of whom was allotted a drachm a-day, with another to a servant for attending upon him, must not be understood as if their ordinary pay was of that value, that being only to the common seamen of Athens. Three oboli to those that manned the sacred vessel, called *πάρεαλος*, and the foot-soldiers, four; whence *τετραὶ ὀβολὺς βίος* is a proverbial expression for a soldier's life^h; and *τετραὶ ὀβολίζειν*, for serving in the war. The horsemen's pay was for the most part thirty drachms a month, that is, a drachm a-day; this we find to have been termed *κατάστασις*ⁱ.

The ordinary method of raising this money, was by imposing a tax on the whole commonwealth, whereby all persons were obliged to contribute according to the value of their estates. But this was done only when the public treasury was exhausted, and the constant revenues from tributary cities, public lands, woods, mines, or from fines and amercements, were not sufficient to defray the charges of the war. In cases of great necessity, the richer citizens at Athens were obliged to extraordinary contributions; and there appears to have been a generous and laudable emulation amongst the men of quality in that city, who voluntarily offered more than was required of them, and contended which of them should most largely contribute towards the honour and preservation of their native country.

Confederate wars were maintained at the common charge of all the allies, every one being obliged to send a proportion of men, as we find practised in the Trojan war, which was the first wherein the whole country of Greece united against a foreign enemy. Sometimes they were carried on by public contributions of money levied,

^c Ulpianus in Orat. de Syntaxi.
^f Demosthenes Philipp. i.

^g Lib. iii.
^h Eustath. *Odys.* 4.

ⁱ Suidas, v.

by persons delegated by the common consent of the confederates, which was only the practice of later ages; the primitive wars, wherein the soldiers served at their own expence, and supplied their necessities out of the spoils of their enemies, being managed with less charge to the public. The first tax, or tribute, of this nature, that we find paid by the Grecians, was after the expulsion of Xerxes out of Greece, when they agreed to make an invasion upon their common enemy, under the conduct of the Athenians; for then Aristides the Athenian, at the general desire of the Greeks, surveyed the whole country and revenue, and assessed all particular persons, town by town, according to every man's ability. Thus he taxed them four hundred talents, to which Pericles added about a third part more; for we find in Thucydides, that in the beginning of the Peloponnesian war, the Athenians had coming in from their confederates, six hundred talents. After Pericles's death, being increased by little and little, it was at length raised to the sum of thirteen hundred talents^k; all which was managed at the discretion of the Athenians.

CHAP. III.

Of the different Sorts of Soldiers.

THE armies were composed of various sorts of soldiers; their gross or main body usually consisted of footmen; the rest rode, some in chariots, some on horseback, others upon elephants.

The foot-soldiers we find distinguished into three sorts; the first and principal of which were termed 'Οπλίται^l, being such as bore heavy armour, engaging with broad shields and long spears.

2. Ψιλλοί, were light-armed men, who fought with arrows and darts, or stones and slings, annoying their enemies at a distance, but were unfit for close fight. They were in honour and dignity inferior to the heavy-armed soldiers; and therefore, when Teucer, in Sophocles, quarrels with Menelaus, he is scoffingly reproved by him in this manner:

Ὁ τοξότης ἰοικιν ἔσμικερὰ φρονεῖν^m.

This archer seems to think himself somebody.

It seems to have been frequent for them, having shot their arrows,

^k Plut. Aristide.

^l Suidas, v. ὀπλίται.

^m Sophocl. Ajac. v. 1141.

to retire behind the shields of the heavy-armed for protection ; for so we find the same Teucer doing in Homer^a.

Τειχερος δ' ἱνατος ἦλθε, παλίντονα τόξα τιταίνων,
Σπῆ δ' ἄρ' ὑπ' Ἀϊαντος σάκει Τηλαμωνιάδαο.
'Ενθ' Ἀϊας μὲν ὑπεξίφριεν σάκος· αὐτὰρ ὄγ' ἦρωες
Παπτήνας, ἱππεὶς ἄρ' τιν' οἰσέμεσας· ἐν ὁμίλῳ
Βιβλήκει, ὃ μὲν αὖθι πεισὼν ἀπὸ θυμὸν ὄλισσεν·
Αὐτὰρ ὃ μὲν αἶθ' ἰσχυρὸς ὥς ὑπὸ μητέρῃ, δύσκειν
Εἰς Ἀϊανθ'· ὃ δὲ μὲν σάκει κρύπττασκε φεινῶ.

Enemon's son next issues to the foe,
And last young Teucer with his bended bow,
Secure behind the Telamonian shield,
The skilful archer wide survey'd the field ;
With every shaft some hostile victim slew,
Then close beneath the seven-fold orb withdrew,
The conscious infant so, when fear alarms,
Retires for safety to the mother's arms.

POPE.

3. Πελτασταί^o, though frequently comprehended under the *Φιλοί*, as opposed to the *ὀπλίται*, were a middle sort between both, being armed with shields and spears, but far inferior in bigness to those of the heavy-armed men. The name is taken from their narrow shields, called *πέλται*.

The horsemen amongst the ancient Grecians were not very numerous, being only such as were possessed of estates, and able to furnish out horses at their own charge. Hence, both at Athens and Sparta, we find *ἱππεῖς*, or horsemen, to have composed the second order in the commonwealth, being placed above the commonalty, and next to those of the highest quality and fortune : the same is recorded of the Roman *equites*, and (to mention no more) we are told by Herodotus^p, that among the Chalcidians, none but rich men were admitted into that order. Afterwards, when men of estates began to court ease and pleasure, and thought it more advisable to furnish out a horseman, and maintain him at their proper expences, than to venture their own persons, they retained indeed their former name, but the honour of serving on horseback was lost^q.

Who it was that first instructed mankind in the art of horsemanship, is not agreed by the ancient writers of fables ; some attribute it to the Amazons^r, others to the Centaurs^s, others to Bellerophon^t, others, lastly (to trouble you with no more), ascribe the honour of it to Neptune^u, the first creator of this animal ; for which

ⁿ Iliad. 9. v. 266.

^o Suidas, loc. cit. Ælianus. ^p Lib v.

^q Xenophon 'Ελληνικῶν, lib. vi.

^r Lysias Orator.

^s Palaephatus, lib. i.

^t Plinius, lib. vii. cap. 56.

^u Homer in Hymn. Soph. Oedipo.

reason we find the various epithets, 'Ιππιος^w, 'Ιππαρχος^x, Ιππηγίτης^y, 'Ιπποκρίσιος, &c. conferred upon him by the poets and mythologists.

Whoever obliged mankind with the first invention of this art, seems to have left it very imperfect; for in those early ages it is probable they understood not the method of governing horses with reins and bits, but managed them only with a rope or switch, and the accent of their voice; this we find to have been the practice of several other nations, as the Numidians^z, Getulians^a, Lybians^b, and Massylians, of whom Lucan speaks thus^c:

*Et gens quæ nudo residens Masylia dorso
Ora levi flectit frænorum nescia virgâ.*

Without a saddle the Massylians ride,
And with a bending switch their horses guide.

Afterwards bridles came into fashion, of which the most remarkable were those called lupata, having bits of iron, not unlike wolves teeth, and therefore called in Greek Λύκοι, in Latin *lupi*; whence Horace^d,

————— *Gallica nec lupatis
Temperat ora frænis.*

Nor with the sharper bits
Manage th' unruly horse.

The first invention of them is by Statius attributed to Neptune.

————— *Neptunus equo, si certa priorum
Fama patet, primus teneris læsisse lupatis
Ora, et littoreo domuisse in pulvere fertur.*

Neptune, if we may credit give to fame,
First taught with bits the gen'rous horse to tame.

By others to the Lapithæ, or Centaurs, who inhabited a town in Thessaly, called Pelethronium: thus Virgil^e,

*Fræna Pelethronii Lapithæ, gyrosque dedere
Impositi dorso: —————*

The Pelethronian Lapithæ first rode
With bridles, and the circling curvet show'd
Of the gay courser, mounted on his back.

Though some are of opinion that the poet speaks of bridles, as invented not by the Lapithæ, but a man of that nation, whose name was Pelethronius, to whom we find Pliny also attributing the invention of bridles and harness^f: the last of these the Greeks term ζάματα, and ἐπίπνια, which were made of divers sorts of stuffs, as leather, cloth, or the skins of wild beasts. Parthenopæus's horse is covered with the skin of a lynx in Statius; Æneas's in Virgil with a lion's^g.

^w Pusanus Achaicis.

^x Pindar Pyth. ^y Lycoph. Cassand.

^z Silius, lib. ii.

^a Id. lib. ii.

^b Strabo, lib. xvii.

^d Lib. i. Od. 8.

^f Lib. vii. cap. 56.

^c Lucan, lib. iv.

^e Georgic. iii. 115.

^g Æn. viii.

—————*quem fulva leonis*
Pellis obit—————
 Cover'd with lion's skin.—————

Sometimes we find them adorned with rich and costly clothing ;
 as in the same poet ^h,

*Stabant tercentum nitidi in præsepibus altis :
 Omnibus extemplò Teucris jubet ordine duci
 Instratos ostro alipedes pictisque tapetis.
 Aurea pectoribus demissa monilia pendent.*

He said ; and ordered steeds to mount the band ;
 In lofty stalls three hundred coursers stand
 Their shining sides with crimson cover'd o'er,
 The sprightly steeds embroidered trappings wore,
 With golden chains, refulgent to behold,
 Gold were the bridles, and they champ'd on gold. PITT.

Of the saddles in use amongst us we find no mention in any ancient writers ; as neither of the *stapia*, or more properly *subex pedaneus*, or stirrup, which does not appear to have been used till these latter ages ; there being no notice taken of any such thing in any author, that I know of, before Eustathius, who flourished five hundred years ago, and, in his commentaries upon Homer, hath mentioned an instrument of this sort. In former ages they supplied the want of such helps by their art or agility of body ; being able to leap on horseback, as the heroes in Virgil i,

—————*Corpora saltu*
Subjiciunt in equos—————
 And by a leap bestride their horses.

Or, for their greater convenience, the horses were taught submissively to bow their bodies to the ground, and receive their riders upon their backs ^k, as we find practised as well in Greece as by the ancient Spaniards ^l, and other nations. Hence Silius speaks of the horse of Clælius, a Roman knight, in this manner ^m :

*Inde inclinatus collum, submissus et armos
 De more, inflexis præbebat scandere terga
 Cruribus*—————

With neck inclined, and knees submissive bent,
 See the train'd horse, his ready back present
 To the keen rider. C. S.

Sometimes we find them leaping up by the help of their spears, or other things. Several other methods were used by men of weak and unactive bodies : some getting up on the backs of their slaves ⁿ ; others by the help of short ladders ; both which supports were termed *ἀναβολαῖς*. Lastly, we find the highways filled with stones erected for this purpose ; which is said to have been done

^h Æn. vii.

^k Pollux. lib. i. cap. 11.

ⁱ Æn. xii.

^l Strabo, lib. iii.

ⁿ Volaterranus, Epit. Xenophon.

^m Lib. x.

in Italy by Gracchus ^o, and in Greece was always one part of the business of the overseers of the roads ^p.

Let us now return to their military affairs, where we shall find it disputed, whether the warriors of primitive ages were carried to the fields in chariots, or on horseback. Lucretius indeed tells us, that the first heroes were mounted upon horses, whereas chariots were only a later invention ^q.

*Et prius est repertum in equi conscendere costas,
Et moderarier hunc frænis dextraque vigere,
Quam bijugo curru belli tentare pericla.*

Mounted on well rein'd steeds in ancient time,
Before the use of chariots was brought in,
The first brave heroes fought.————

But we are informed by Palæphatus that chariots were first in use; the Lapithæ, who flourished about Hercules's time, being the first that attempted to ride upon horses, a thing strange and unheard of by the Grecians in those days, who viewed them not without amazement, imagining them to be monsters compounded of the different shapes of men and horses, or bulls, which they frequently backed instead of horses; whence we have the fables of the Centaurs and Hippocentaurs. And it is more than probable, that at the time of the Trojan war the custom of riding and fighting upon horses, was not commonly received by the Grecians; since the heroes of Homer, whose authority must in such cases ever be held sacred, are always introduced into the battle in chariots, never on horseback.

The chariots of princes and heroes were not only contrived for service, but ornament, being richly embossed with gold and other metals; as we read of Orsines the Persian in Curtius ^r, and several of Homer's, as that of Rhesus ^s,

Ἄρμα δὲ οἱ χρυσῷ τε ἔ ἀργυρῷ εὖ ἡσκηται,
Silver and gold his chariot did adorn.

And another of Diomedes ^t,

Ἄρματά τε χρυσῷ πεπυκασμένα, κασσιτέρῳ τε.
Chariots richly adorn'd with gold and tin.

They were likewise adorned with curious hangings; whence we read of Lycaon's chariot ^u,

———— ἀμφὶ δὲ πῖπλοι
Πίπτυνται.

Like wings its hangings are expanded wide.

And the poet calls that of Achilles ἄρματα εὖ πεπυκασμένα ^w.

^o Plutarchus Gracchis.

^p Xenophon Hipparcho.

^q Lib. v.

^r Lib. x.

^u Iliad. v.

^s Iliad. x.

^t Iliad. v.

^w Iliad. x.

The chariots in Homer are drawn, for the most part, by two horses coupled together; that of Achilles had no more, the names of his horses being only Xanthus and Balius. So Lycaon's^x,

παρὰ δὲ σφιν ἑκάστῳ δίζυγος ἵπποι
ἔστασαν.

Two well-pair'd steeds to every chariot stand.

And Æneas's in Virgil^y,

Absenti Æneæ currum, geminosque jugales.

To th' absent prince he sent a glorious car,

With two distinguish'd coursers for the war.

FITT.

To these two they sometimes added a third, which was not coupled with the other two, but governed with reins, and therefore called *σειραῖος*, *σειραφόρος*, *παράσειρος*, &c. but in Homer usually *παρήγος*, and the rein wherewith he was held in, *παρηγόρῃα*. The same custom was practised by the Romans, till the time of Dionysius the Halicarnassian^z, though left off in Greece long before. In the eighth Iliad, Hector's chariot seems to be drawn by four horses; for there the hero thus bespeaks them:

Ξάνθε τε, καὶ σὺ Πίδαργε, καὶ Δῖδαν, Λάμπε τε δῖε.

And however some ancient critics will have the two former to be no more than epithets of the latter, because Hector afterwards speaks to them in the dual number;

Νῦν μοι τὴν κομιδὴν ἐποστίνετον.

Yet it is evident, from other places, that even in Homer's time it was customary to have chariots drawn by four horses; as, when he tells us, the Phæacian ship shaped her course,

ὡς ἐν πιδίῳ τετραόροις ἵπποι.^a

Every chariot carried two men, whence it was termed *δίφορος*, q. *δίφορος*^b; though that word does not, in its strict and proper acceptation, denote the whole chariot, but only that part wherein the men were placed. One of these was called *ἡνίοχος*, because he governed the reins, which in those days was not a servile or ignoble office, but frequently undertaken by men of quality; for we find Nestor^c, Hector^d, and several others of note employed in it; and that not on extraordinary occasions, but frequently some of them making it their profession. Yet the charioteer was inferior, if not always in dignity, at least in strength and valour, to the warrior, who was called *παραβάτης*, and had command of the other, and directed him which way to drive, as Eustathius observes^e. When he came to encounter in close fight, he alighted out of the

^x Iliad. 4. ^y Æneid. vii. v. 280.

^z Antiquit. Rom. lib. vii.

^a Odyss. γ'.

^b Eustathius.

^c Iliad. 9'.

^d Iliad. 6'.

^e Iliad 9'.

chariot, as we find every where in Homer, and the rest of the poets. So Hercules and Cycnus, about to engage,

——— εὐπλεκίων δίφρων θέρον αἶψ' ἐπὶ γαῖαν.^ε

Leap'd from their chariots on the ground.

And Turnus in Virgil ε,

——— Desiluit bijugis, pedes apparat ire,

Dismounts his horse, and fits himself to walk.

When they were weary, which often happened by reason of their armour being heavier than any other, they retired into their chariots, and thence annoyed their enemies with darts and missive weapons.

Besides these, we find frequent mention in historians of chariots, called *currus falcati*, and *δρεπανοφόροι*, because armed with hooks or scythes, with which whole ranks of soldiers were cut off together. But afterwards, it being considered they were never of any use but in plain and open ground, and were frequently turned back by affrighted and ungovernable horses, upon their own party, to its confusion and ruin, several methods also being contrived to defeat or elude their force, these and all other chariots were wholly laid aside. Accordingly, when military discipline was carried to its height, though sometimes they were brought into battles by barbarians, as may be observed of the Persians in Curtius; yet we never find the Grecians making any use of them, or much damaged by them; but, contemning that old and unskilful method of fighting, they chose rather to ride on horseback; which custom seems to have been received in a short time after the heroic wars.

Of all the Grecians, the Thessalians have the greatest name for horsemanship; and in all wars we find their cavalry most esteemed. The Colophonians had once, by many remarkable actions, arrived to such a pitch of glory, as to be esteemed invincible. In all long and tedious wars, their assistance was courted, and the party that obtained supplies from them, was certain of success and victory; insomuch, that *κολοφῶνα τιθέναι*, and in Latin, *colophonem imponere*, was used proverbially for putting a conclusion to any affair^h. The Lacedæmonians were but meanly furnished with cavalry; and, till the Messenian wars, it does not appear, that either they, or the rest of the Peloponnesians, employed themselves in horsemanship, but reposed their chief confidence in footⁱ; Peloponnesus being a mountainous and craggy country, and therefore unfit for horsemen^k, who in such places become almost

^ε Hesiodus Scuto.

^ε Æneid. x.

^h Strabo, lib. xiv.

ⁱ Pausanias, lib. iv.

^k Plato.

useless in fight. But the Messenians being subdued, the Spartans, carrying their arms into other countries, soon found the great occasion they had of horses to support and cover their foot; and in a short time supplied that defect, by instructing their youth in horsemanship; to which end we find they had masters in that art, called ἵπιοχαράται¹. But the greatest part of their cavalry was furnished from Sciros^m, a town not far distant from Sparta, the inhabitants of which claimed, as their proper post, the left wing in the Lacedæmonian armiesⁿ. Attica was likewise a hilly country, and therefore not designed by nature for breeding horses; we find accordingly, the Athenian cavalry to have been exceeding few in number, consisting only of ninety-six horsemen; for the whole Athenian nation being anciently divided into forty-eight nau-
cratiæ, we are told by Pollux, that the number of horses each of these was obliged to furnish to the war, was no more than two. And, therefore, it is no wonder if the Medes thought them deprived of reason, when at the battle of Marathon they had courage to encounter a strong and numerous army with so small, and apparently contemptible, a force^o. Having afterwards expelled the Medes and Persians out of Greece, and raised themselves to a flourishing condition, they increased the number of their cavalry to three hundred; and, not long after, having once more restored peace to their city, and established it in greater power and splendour than before, they augmented them to twelve hundred, and armed, at the same time, an equal number of men with bows and arrows^p, of which they had before no greater plenty than of horses; for both then and afterwards the strength of most of the Grecian armies consisted in their heavy-armed foot.

The Athenians admitted none to serve on horseback, till they had undergone a strict probation; and if any person was found to have fraudulently insinuated himself into the roll, upon conviction he was declared ἄτιμος, and disfranchised^q. This consisted, with respect to the men, in a search after their estates, and observation of their strength and vigour of body; for no persons were entered into the roll, but such as had plentiful possessions, and were in good plight of body. This probation was performed by the ἵππαρχος, *general of the horse*, who, if occasion required, was assisted by

¹ Hesychius.^m Xenophon *Κυροπαίδ.* lib. iv.ⁿ Thucydides, lib. v. ^o Herodotus.^p Æschines *Orat. de falsa Legatione*,
Andocides *Orat. de Pace*.^q Lysias *Orat. de Ordine deserto*.

the phylarchi, and senate of five hundred^r. In horses they observed their obedience to their riders; and such as they found ungovernable, or fearful, were rejected. This was examined τῷ κῶδωνος φῶφῳ, *by the sound of a bell*, or some other instrument of that nature: whence κῶδωνίζειν is expounded πειράζειν, to *try*, or *prove*, and ἀκῶδωνισον is the same with ἀπειράσων, *unproved*^s. Such horses, likewise, as were beaten out with long service, they branded upon the jaw with a mark, frequently termed τροχός^t, being the figure of a wheel or circle; and sometimes τρυσίππιον, whereby the beast was released from farther service. Hence ἐπιβάλλειν τρυσίππιον, is to *excuse*. Thus in the following verse of Eupolis;

Εἶδ' ὥσπερ ἵππῳ μοι ἐπιβαλεῖς τρυσίππιον.

Which was thus expressed by Crates in his comedy, entitled, The Samians:

Ἴππῳ γηράσκοντι τὰ μέονα κύκλ' ἐπίβαλλε.

We meet with several titles and appellations of horsemen, most of which were derived from the variety of their armour, or different manner of fighting, as that of ἀκροβολισταί, who annoyed their enemies with missive weapons at some distance, δοροτοφόροι, ξυστοφόροι, ὑπακοντισταί, ἵπποτοξόται, κοντοφόροι, θυρεοφόροι, with others, the distinction of all which is sufficiently intimated in their names.

Ἀμφίπποι, sometimes by mistake, or corruption, called ἄνιπποι^u, were such as for conveniency had two horses, on which they rode by turns. They were sometimes termed ἵππωνωγοί, διὰ τὸ ἄγειν ἵππον, because they led one of their horses, which was not a late contrivance, but practised soon after the heroical times, as appears from Homer's^v mentioning it.

ὁ δ' ἔμπεδον ἀσφαλὲς αἰεὶ
Θρώσκων ἄλλοτ' ἐπ' ἄλλον ἀμείβεται, οἱ δὲ πύττονται.
Nor does he ever fall, tho' at full speed
He leap from one upon the other steed.

Διμάχαι, first instituted by Alexander the Great, were a sort of dragoons, and accommodated with armour something heavier than that of ordinary horsemen, but not quite so weighty as that of the foot soldiers, to the end they might be ready to serve either on horseback or on foot; for which reason they had servants attending to take their horses, whenever the general commanded them to alight^w.

They were also distinguished into κατάφρακτοι and μὴ κατάφρακτοι,

^r Aristophanis Scholiastes in Ranas.
Xenophon Hipparchico, Hesychius, v.
Τρυσίππιον.

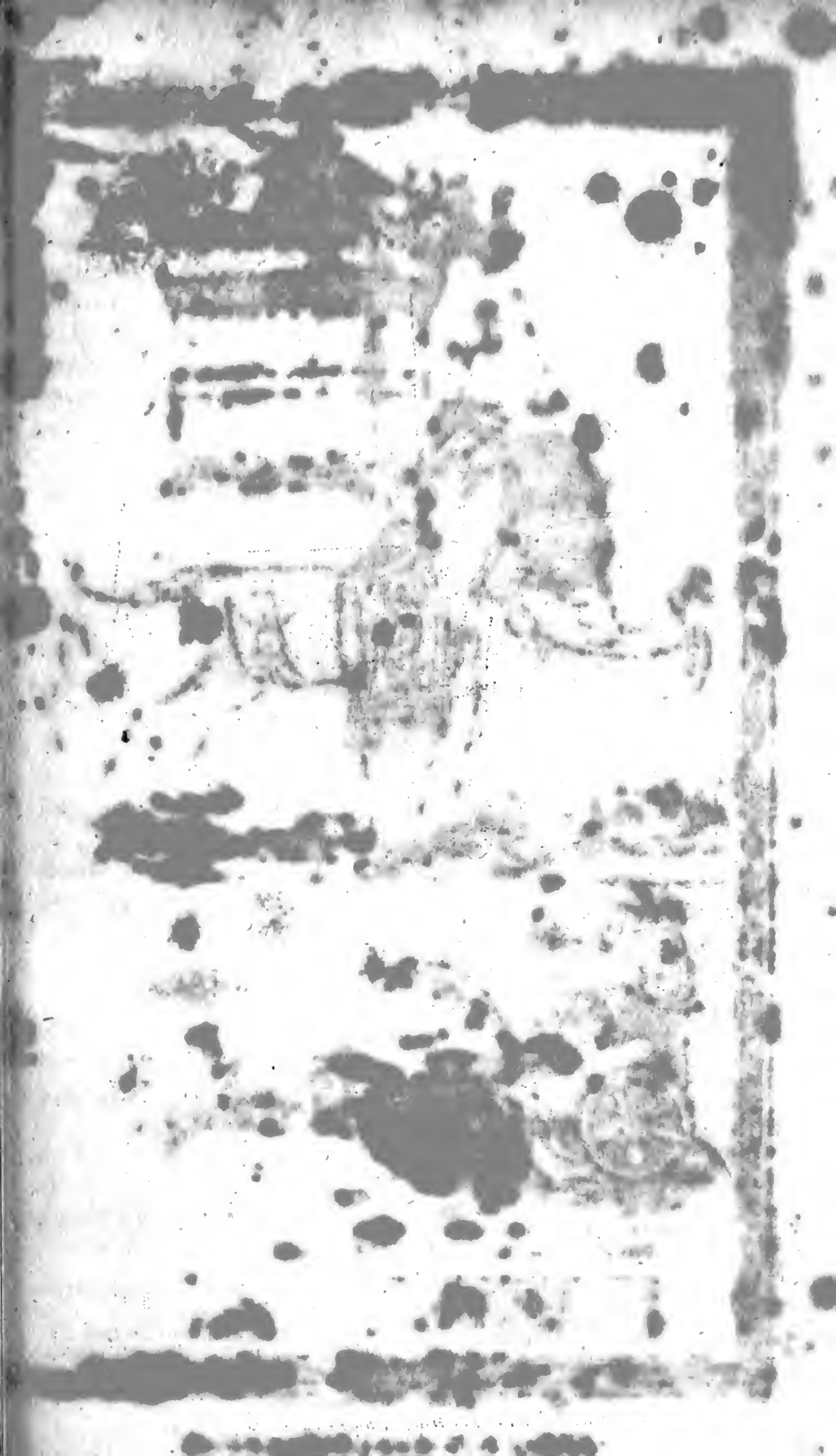
^s Hesychius.

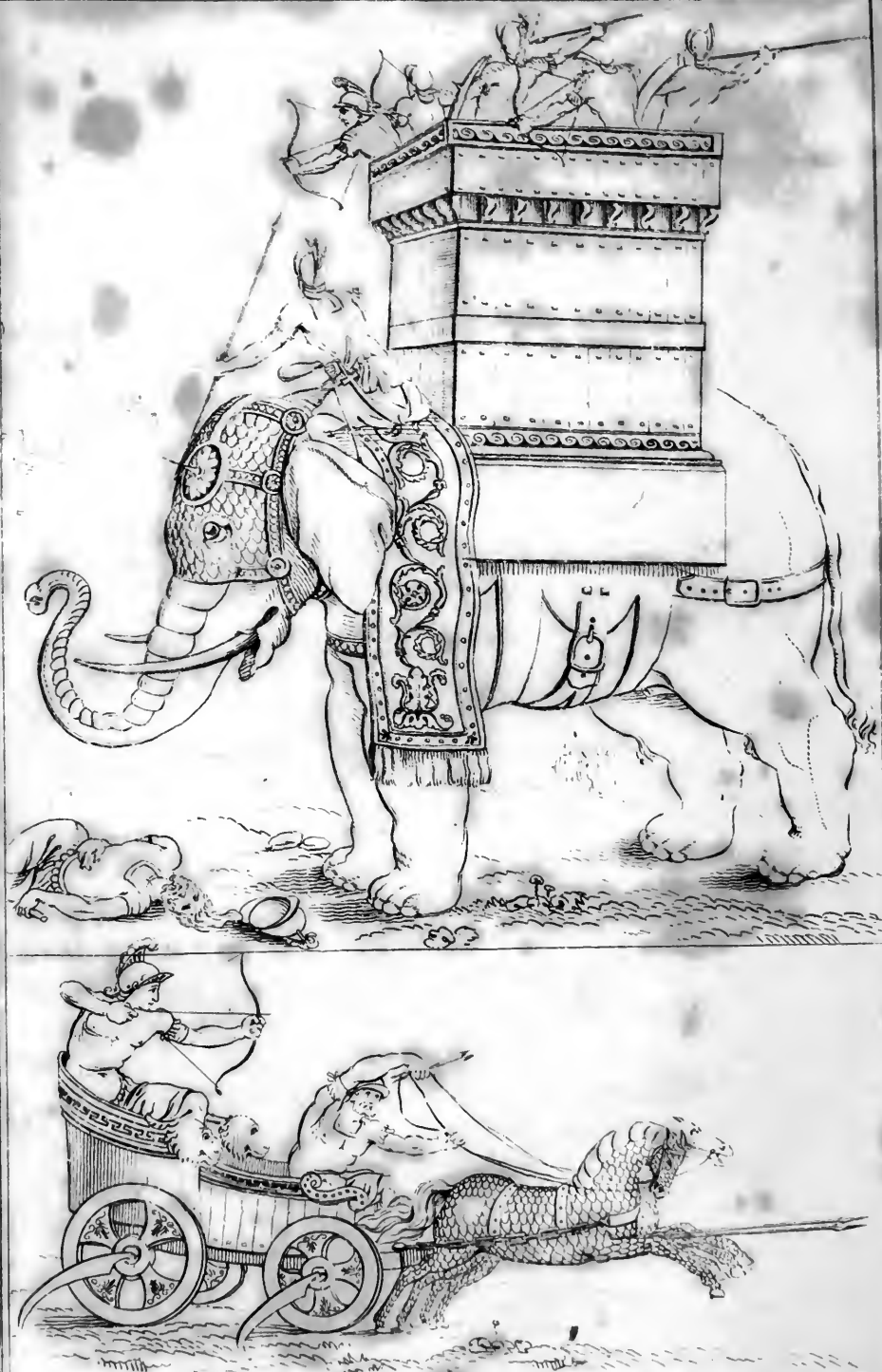
^t Conf. Zenobius Cent. iv. prov. 41.

^u Suidas, Pollux, lib. i. cap. 10. n. v.

^v Iliad. 6. 684.

^w Pollux, loc. cit.





ELEPHANS
bellio apparatu instructus

CURRUS
Militaris

Drawn & Engraved by W. & P. Adams Edin.

Edinburgh. Published by Doug, Stirling, & Slade 1818.

i. e. *heavy and light armed*, after the same manner with the footmen. The *κατάφρακτοι*, or *cuirassiers*, were not only fortified with armour themselves, but had their horses guarded with solid plates of brass, or other metals; which, from the members defended by them, received different names, being called *προμετωπίδια*, *παρώτια*, *παρήνια*, *προσερνίδια*, *παραπλευρίδια*, *παραμυρίδια*, *παρακνημίδια*, &c.^x Sometimes they were composed of skins, fortified with plates of metal curiously wrought into plumes, or other forms. Thus we find one of Virgil's heroes armed his steed^y;

*Spumantemque agitabat equum, quem pellis ahenis
In plumam squamis auro conserta tegebat.*

Magnificently gay, he proudly press'd
A prancing steed, in stately trappings dress'd;
Rich scales of brass and gold inwrought with art
Graced with a mimic plumage every part.

PITT.

They were likewise bedecked with various ornaments, viz. with bells, as we find Rhesus's horses in Euripides, with clothing of tapestry, embroidery, and other curious work; with rich collars and trappings, or what the Latins call *phaleræ*, the Greeks *φάλαρα*, which some will have to be an ornament for the forehead, others for the jaws; nor are there wanting, who think them to signify all the ornaments belonging to horses.

Of camels and elephants, which are so much talked of in the wars of some countries, we have no mention in the Grecian story before the times of Alexander, when we find a great number of elephants transported from the eastern parts of the world. These were wont to carry into the battle large towers, in which ten, fifteen, and as some affirm, thirty, soldiers were contained, who annoyed their enemies with missive weapons, themselves being secure and out of danger^z. Nor were the beasts idle or useless in engagements; for beside that, with their smell, their vast and amazing bulk, and their strange and terrible noise, both horses and soldiers were struck with terror and astonishment; they acted their parts courageously, trampling under foot all opposers, or catching them in their trunks, and tossing into the air, or delivering them to their riders^a. Nor was it unusual for them to engage with one another with great fury, which they always doubled after they had received wounds, tearing their adversaries in pieces with their teeth^b. But in a short time they were wholly laid aside, their service not being able to compensate the great mischiefs frequently

^x Idem, eodem cap. ^y Æn. xi. v. 770.

^z Philostrat. Vita Apoll. lib. i. cap. 6.

^a Curtius, lib. viii.

^b Polybius, lib. v.

done by them: for though they were endued with great sagacity, and approached nearer to human reason than any other animal, whereby they became more tractable to their governors, and capable to pay obedience to their instructions; yet being sore wounded, and pressed upon by their enemies, they became ungovernable, and frequently turned all their rage upon their own party, put them into confusion, committed terrible slaughters, and delivered the victory to their enemies; of which several remarkable instances are recorded in the historians of both languages.

CHAP. IV.

Of the Grecian Arms and Weapons, with their Military Apparel.

THE authors of fables tell us, the first person that put on armour was Mars, who perhaps, for no other reason, was honoured with the title of god of war; it being very frequent with the ancient heathens gratefully to acknowledge their obligations to the first contrivers of any profitable invention, by ascribing them into the number of their deities, and decreeing to them the perpetual care and sovereignty of those useful and ingenious arts or contrivances, whereof they were the first authors. The workman employed by Mars was Vulcan, at that time a master-smith in the isle of Lemnos, and so eminent in his profession, that posterity advanced him among the gods, and honoured him with the superintendency and protection of his own trade; but his countrymen, the Lemnians, were not so fortunate, for they stand represented to all ages as common enemies of mankind, and branded with characters of infamy for that execrable and pernicious device. Whence the poets have fixed upon them the name of Σίντιες, to continue the memory of the *harm* they did to mankind. Thus Homer ^c;

Ἐνθά μὲ Σίντιες ἄνδρες ἄφαρ κομίσαντο πεισόντα.

Turn'd out of heav'n, the Lemnian tribes receiv'd me.

Their country was likewise called Σίντηϊς, as we find in Apollonius ^d;

Εἰς αὐτὴν κραναὴν Σίντηϊδα Λήμνον ἴκοντα.

To Lemnos, otherwise Sintcis call'd,

They sail'd.

From the same original are derived these common proverbs, Λήμνιος

^c Iliad. α. prope finem.

^d Argon. ii.

κακά, great and intolerable evils ; Λημνία χεὶρ, a fatal or mischievous hand ; and Λήμνιον βλέπειν, to have a cruel and bloody look ^c. Though some will by no means allow this character to have been given to the Lemnians for their invention of arms, but rather for the frequent piracies and outrages committed by them upon foreigners, or for other reasons ; whereas, they tell us, that *Liber*, or *Bacchus*, was the first that introduced into the world the use of weapons ^f.

The arms of all the primitive heroes were composed of brass, as appears from Homer, who is herein followed as well by the ancient poets both Greek and Latin, as all other writers that give account of those times. Pausanias hath endeavoured to prove this by a great number of instances ^g : it is reported in Plutarch ^h, that when Cimon, the son of Miltiades, conveyed the bones of Theseus from the isle of Scyros to Athens, he found interred with him a sword of brass, and a spear with an head of the same metal. More examples would be superfluous, since we are expressly told by Hesiod, that there was no such thing as iron in those ages ; but their arms, all sorts of instruments, and their very houses, were made of brass ⁱ :

Τοῖς δ' ἦν χάλκεα μὲν τεύχη, χάλκεο δέ τε οἶκοι,
Χαλκῷ δ' ἐργάζοντο, μέλας δ' ἔκ' ἔσκε σίδηρος.

Nor yet to men iron discover'd was ;

But arms, toois, houses, were compos'd of brass.

And in latter ages, when the world was acquainted with the use of iron, the artificers and their occupations still retained their old names. Thus we are told by Aristotle ^j, that χαλκεύς denotes an iron-smith. And (to trouble you with no more instances in a thing so commonly known) Plutarch ^k applies the word ἐχαλκεύσατο to the making of iron helmets.

Some of their arms were composed of tin, especially their boots, as we read of Achilles's in the 18th Iliad. This metal was likewise frequently used in other parts of their armour, as appears from Agamemnon's breast-plate ^l, and Æneas's shield ^m.

Several other metals were made use of ; gold and silver were in great esteem among them ; yet the most illustrious heroes used them only as graceful ornaments : they whose whole armour was composed of them, are usually represented as more addicted to effeminate and delicate arts, than manly courage and bravery.

^c Eustath. Iliad. α. p. 119. edit. Basil.

^f Isidorus, Orig. lib. ix. cap. 3.

^g Laconicis.

^h Theseo.

ⁱ Iliad. λ'.

^j Oper. et Dieb.

^k Poetica.

^l Camillo, ἐχαλκεύσατο κράνη τοῖς πλείστοις ὁλοσίδηρα.

^m Iliad. ε.

Glaucus's arms were indeed made of gold, but the great Diomedes was content with brass. Amphimachus, who entered into the war with golden weapons, is compared by Homer to a trim virgin^m.

Νάστης, Αμφίμαχος τε, Νομίονος ἀγλαὰ τέκνα,
Ὅς ἐ' χρυσὸν ἔχων πολέμονδ' ἔην, ἥύτε κέρη,
Νήπιος· ἔδδ' εἰ τί οἱ τό γ' ἐπήρεσσε λυγρὸν ὄλιθρον,
Ἀλλ' ἰδάμην ὑπὸ χερσὶ ποδωκείας Αἰακίδαο
Ἐν ποταμῷ· χρυσὸν δ' Ἀχιλεὺς ἐκόμισσε δαΐφρων.

Amphimachus and Naustes guide the train,
Naustes the bold, Amphimachus the vain,
Who trick'd with gold, and glittering on his car,
Rode like a woman to the field of war;
Fool that he was! by fierce Achilles slain,
The river swept him to the briny main:
There whelm'd with waves the gaudy warrior lies;
The valiant victor seiz'd the golden prize.

POPE.

In like manner the Persians, having given themselves over to softness and pleasure, engaged with the rough Grecians, richly adorned with gold and jewels, and became an easy prey to them. The Grecian heroes, though not so unpolished as to debar themselves the use of these ornaments, yet were not so excessively profuse of them, nor applied them to the same ends and purposes. Achilles's shield, so curiously engraved by Vulcan, is a lecture of philosophy, and contains a description of almost all the works of nature. The arms of other valiant princes are frequently adorned with representations of their noble exploits, the history of the actions of their ancestors, or blessings received from the gods; or filled with terrible images of lions or dragons, and rendered bright and shining, to strike terror and amazement into their enemies, according to that of Homer,

——— ὅσσε δ' ἄμειδεν
Λύγῃ χαλκείῃ.———

Th' amazing lustre terrify'd the sight.

So it is reported of our British ancestors, that they painted themselves with divers forms of animals, thinking thereby to appear more terrible to their enemies.

The ancient Grecians were always armed, thinking it unsafe to adventure themselves abroad without a sufficient defence against aggressors. Hence Aristotle hath rationally inferred, that they were a barbarous and uncivilized nation; for being educated in the deepest ignorance, and having very little sense of that justice and honesty, to which all men are obliged by nature's eternal and immutable sanctions; being also in a great measure without the restraint of human laws, all persons thought they had a just title to whatever they could by any means take into possession, which

^m Iliad. β'. prope finem.

ⁿ Iliad. γ'. 540.

they had no other method to secure, but that whereby they obtained it, and resigned their claim whenever a more potent adversary exhibited his pretensions. The seas were filled with pirates, the land with robbers, who made a prey of whatever came to their hands, and frequently made incursions into countries, which they spoiled and depopulated, and if their force was great enough, drove out the inhabitants, and compelled them to seek new seats. By men of this profession, Io, Europa, Ganymedes, and many others, were stolen; which put Tyndarus in such a fear for his daughter Helen, that he caused all the young princes that made their addresses to her, to bind themselves by a solemn oath to recover her, if ever she should be conveyed away. The sea, we are informed by Thucydides ^o, was freed from piracies by Minos king of Crete, who, with a powerful navy, maintained, for many years, the sovereignty of it. But the land was still infested; and therefore when Theseus designed to make his first journey from Trœzen to Athens, Plutarch tells us, that his relations would have persuaded him to go by sea. ‘For,’ says he, ‘it was at that time very dangerous to travel by land to Athens, no place of the country being free from thieves and murderers: for that age produced a sort of men, for strength of arms, swiftness of feet, and vigour of body, excelling the ordinary rate of men, and in labours and exercises indefatigable; yet, making use of these gifts of nature to nothing good or profitable to mankind, but rejoicing and taking pride in insolence, and pleasing themselves in the commission of barbarous and inhuman cruelties, in seizing by force whatever fell into their hands, and practising upon strangers all manner of outrages; who imagined civility, and justice, and equity, and humanity (which they thought were commended by many, either for want of courage to commit injuries, or fear of receiving them), nothing at all to concern those who were most daring and strong ^p.’ Of these, indeed, Hercules and Theseus, and other generous and public spirited princes, in a great measure, freed the country: but before that, it was not to be wondered if the Grecians always wore arms, standing upon their guard; especially since, in those days, few of them were united into large towns, but lived retiredly in country seats, or, at the best, in small and defenceless hamlets. This custom was first laid aside at Athens, the occasion and necessity thereof being first removed in that city ^q: for historians generally agree, that the Athenians entertained the decent rules of civi-

^o Lib. i.^p Plutarchus Theseo.^q Thucydides, lib. i.

lity and humanity, were modelled into a regular form of government, and enjoyed the happiness of wholesome and useful laws before the rest of the Grecians. Afterwards a penalty was laid by Solon upon those who wore arms in the city without necessity^r; and having in former times been the occasion of frequent murders, robberies, and duels. On the same account was made the following law of Zaleucus, Μηδὲνα φορεῖν ὄπλα ἐν τῇ βουλευτηρίᾳ, *that no person should bear arms in the senate.*

Let us now return to the description of the Grecian arms, which are distinguished into two sorts, some of them being contrived for their own defence, others to annoy their enemies. The primitive Grecians, we are told^s, were better furnished with the former, whereas the barbarians were most industrious in providing the latter; the generals of these being most concerned how to destroy their enemies, whilst the Grecians thought it more agreeable to the dictates of human nature to study how to preserve their friends: for which reason Homer always takes care to introduce his brave and valiant heroes well armed into the battle, and the Grecian law-givers decreed punishments for those that threw away their shields, but excused those that lost their swords or spears; intimating hereby, that their soldiers ought to be more careful to defend themselves than to offend their enemies^t.

First, let us take an account of their *defensive* arms, as fitted to the several members of the body, beginning at the head, which was guarded with an helmet, called in Greek περικεφαλαία, κράνος, κόρυς, &c. This was sometimes composed of brass or other metals, as Menelaus's in Homer;

————— αὐτὰρ ἐπὶ σφάνην κεφάλῃφιν αἶέρας
Θήκατο χαλκείνν. —————

He puts his headpiece on, compos'd of brass.

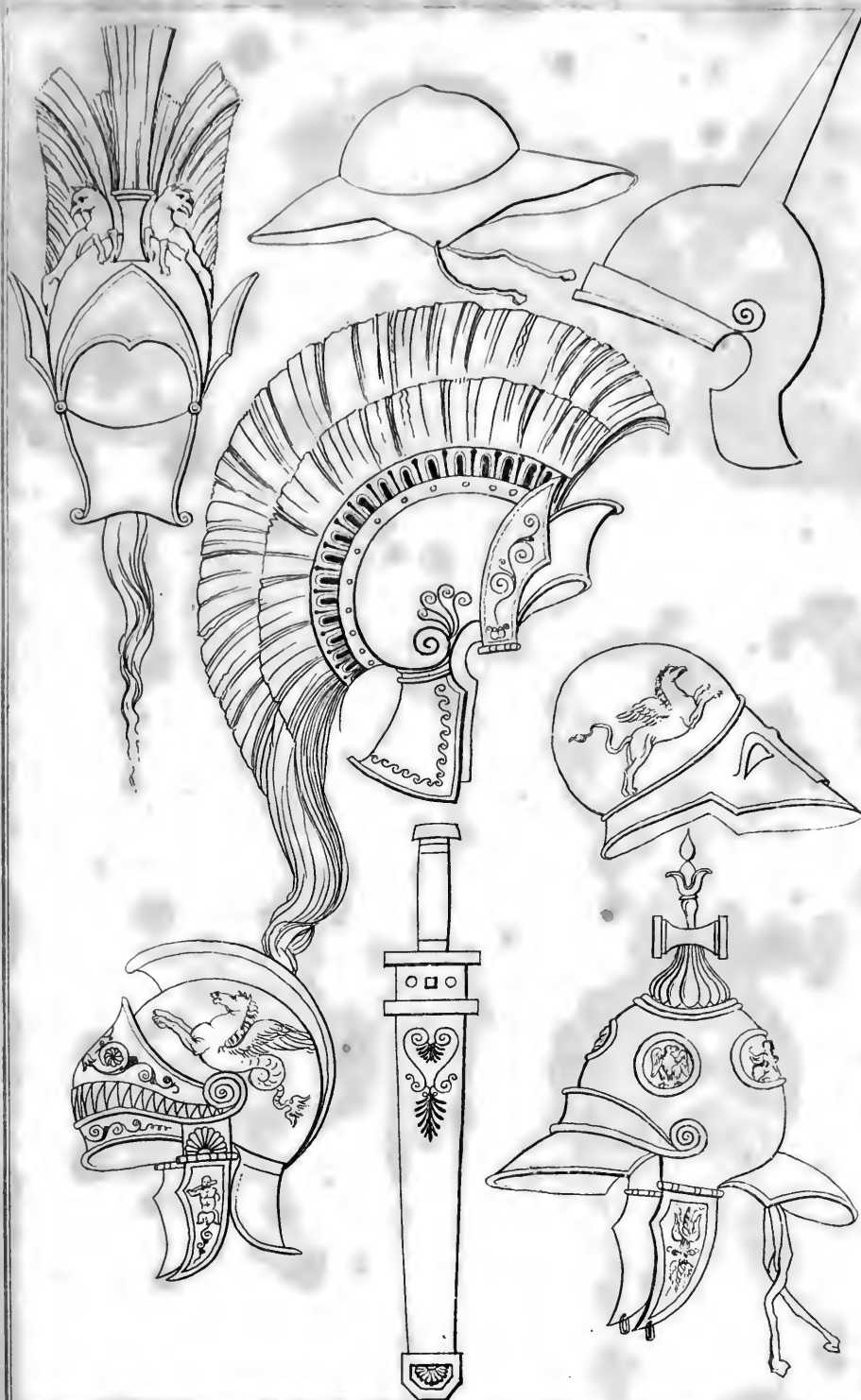
And very frequently of the skins of beasts, which gave occasion to those different appellations, derived from the names of animals, whereby it is signified in Homer, as ἰκτιδῆν, ταυρεῖν, ἀλωπεκῆν, λεοντήν, αἰγίην, and others, of which none is more common than κυνέην, which was composed of a dog's skin: Eustathius tells us it was ποτάμιος κύων, a *water-dog*, and was so frequently used by the ancients, that we find it sometimes taken for the name of a helmet, though consisting of another sort of matter. Thus Homer^u;

^r Lucianus Anacharside.

^s Euripidis Scholiastes.

^t Plutarchus Pelopida.

^u Iliad. κ'.



GALEÆ.

Drawn & Engraved by W. S. M. Lister Esq.



—ἀμφὶ δὲ οἱ κυνὴν κεφαλῆφιν ἔθηκε
 Ταυρεῖην—

He put on 's helmet, of a bull's hide made.

These skins were always worn with their hair on; and to render them more terrible and frightful, the teeth were frequently placed grinning on their enemies. Thus the soldier in Virgil † :

*Ipsæ pedes tegmen torquens inmane leonis,
 Terribili impæxum seta cum dentibus albis,
 Indutus capiti, sic regia lecta subibat.*

Himself on foot a lion's monstrous hide
 Throws o'er his head and shoulders, with white teeth,
 And shaggy fur : thus stalks into the hall.

TRAPP.

Homer likewise arms Ulysses in the same manner † ;

—ἀμφὶ δὲ οἱ κυνὴν κεφαλῆφιν ἔθηκε
 ῥινὴ ποιητὴν, πολέσιν δ' ἔντοσθεν ἰμᾶσιν
 Ἐντίτατο στρεῶς, ἑκασθεὶ δὲ λευκοὶ ὀδόντες
 Ἀργιόδοντος ὕς θαμείς ἔχον ἔνθα ἔνθα,
 Εὐ δ' ἐπισταμένως· μίσση δ' ἐνι πῖλος ἀρήρει.

— his brows inclosed
 In his own casque of hide with many a thong
 Well braced within; without, it was secured
 With boars' teeth, iv'ry white, inserted thick
 On all sides, and with woollen head-piece lined.

COWPER.

The fore-part of the helmet was open; for the heroes all entered into the battle with faces uncovered; to the side was fixed a string, whereby it was tied to the warrior's neck. This was termed ὀχέως, whence Homer speaks of Paris thus † ;

Ἄγχε δέ μιν πολύκετος ἰμάς ἀπαλὴν ὑπὸ δειρὴν,
 Ὃς οἱ ὑπ' ἀνθερεῶνος ὀχέως τέτατο τρυφαλείης.

Struggling he followed, while the embroider'd thong
 That ty'd his helmet, dragg'd the chief along.

POPE.

Some of its parts received their names from the members guarded by them, as ὀφρύες, that part which covered the eye-brows, and the rest in like manner. The little lappet erected over the brow was, by a metaphorical term, called γείσων, the pent-house. But the most remarkable of all the parts in the helmet was its crest, termed φάλος, and λόφος †, which was first used by the Carians ‡, and thence called by Alcæus Καρικὸς λόφος.

Λόφον τῆς σείων Καρικὸν.

Shaking his Carian crest.

For the Carians were once famous for military exploits, and obliged the world with this and several other inventions: hence we are told by Thucydides ‡, that it was customary for them to reposit a little shield and an helmet in the graves of their dead. Some will have φάλος to be distinguished from λόφος, that signifying the conus,

† Æneid. vii. v. 666.

‡ Iliad. γ'. v. 371.

‡ Herodot. Clio Strabo, lib. xiv.

‡ Iliad. κ'. v. 261.

‡ Hesychius, &c.

‡ Lib. i.

this the *plume* fixed to it ^b; but others allow no difference between them. The former of these was composed of various materials, most of which were rich and chargeable, being designed as an ornament to the helmet. The other likewise was adorned with divers sorts of paint; whence Pollux gives it the epithets of εὐανθής, ὑακινθινόδαφής ^c. Homer has enriched it with gold ^d;

Τεύξει δὲ οἱ κόρυθα βρισην πρότάφοις ἀραρυῖαν
Καλὴν, δαιδαλέην, ἐπὶ δὲ χρύσειον λόφον ἤκει.

————— for the hero next

He forged—a pondrous helmet bright
Crested with gold, well-fitted to his brows,
And with laborious art divine adorned.

COWPER.

One of Virgil's heroes has his whole helmet of gold, and his crest painted red ^e;

————— *maculis quem Thracius albis*
Portat equus, cristaque tegit galea aurea rubra.

Streak'd with large spots of white, the Thracian steed
Carry'd the hero, who had arm'd his head
With golden helmet, and crest painted red.

The crest was for the most part of feathers, or the hair of horses tails, or manes; whence we read of λόφος ἵπποχαίτος, κόρυς ἵπποδάσεια, ἵππερις. Thus Homer ^f:

————— ἥδ', ἀτὴρ ὦς, ἀπὲλκεμπεν
Ἴππερις τρυφάλεια, περισσεῖοντο δ' ἔθειραι
Χρύσαι, ὥς Ἡφαίστος ἴει λόφον ἀμφὶ θαμνείας.

Next, his high head the helmet graced, behind
The sweepy crest hung floating in the wind:
Like the red star, that from his flaming hair
Shakes down diseases, pestilence, and war.

POPE.

The common soldiers had only small crests; the great officers, and all persons of quality, were distinguished by plumes of a larger size, and frequently took a pride in wearing two, three, or four together. Suidas will have Geryon to have been famous in poetry for three heads, on no other account but because his helmet was adorned with three crests. Virgil describes Turnus's headpiece after the same manner ^g, adding also to it the figure of a chimera:

Cui triplici crinita juba galea alta chimeram
Sustinet—————

Whose triple-crested helmet did sustain
A terrible chimera.

This helmet was called τρυφάλεια; when it was surrounded with plumes, ἀμφίφαλος; and when adorned with four, τετράφαλος. Thus Apollonius ^h:

Τετράφαλος φοῖνικι λόφῳ ἐπιλάμπειτο πῆληξ.

A four-fold plume with dazzling lustre shone,
Whose nodding top o'erlook'd the dreadful cone.

^b Suidas, &c.

^d Iliad. τ'. 610.

^f Iliad. τ'. v. 382.

^h Lib. iii.

^c Lib. i. cap. 10.

^e Æneid. ix. 49.

^g Æneid. vii. v. 785.

The design of these was to strike terror into the enemies ; whence that of Homer ^l :

——— δινὸν δὲ λόφος καθύπερθεν ἔνιεν.

For the same reason, Pyrrhus king of Epirus, beside a lofty crest, wore goats horns upon his helmet ^j. We are told indeed by Suidas, that the *τρίχως*, or *crest* itself, was sometimes termed *κέρας*. Nevertheless, some of the ancient helmets had no crest or cone at all. This sort was called *καταῖτυξ* as we learn from Homer ^k :

——— ἀμφὶ δὲ οἱ κύνην κεφαλῇφιν ἔθηκε
Ταυρεῖν, ἄφ'alόν τε, καὶ ἄλοφον, ἥ τε καταῖτυξ
Κίκληται.

Then in a leathern helm he cased his head,
Short of its crest, and with no plume o'erspread. POPE.

Other sorts of ornaments were used in helmets, as in that called *σεφάνη*, which name signifies the ridge of a mountain, and on that account applied to helmets, having several *ἐξοχαί*, *eminences*, or parts jutting out ^l. Homer has taken notice of this sort also ^m ;

——— ἄλλε σεφάνη δόρυ οἱ σχέθ' χαλκοθάρεα.
Nor could his helmet, made of solid brass.
Ward off the blow. ———

Of all the Grecian helmets, the Bœotian is said to have been the best ⁿ. The Macedonians had a peculiar one, termed *καυσίη*, which was composed of hides, and served instead of a cap to defend them from the cold, according to the epigram in Suidas ;

Καυσίη, ἣ τοπάραιθε Μακεδόσιν εὐκόλον ὄπλον,
Καὶ σκέπας ἐν νιφετῷ, ἢ κόρυς ἐν πολέμῳ.
Were I to choose what armour I would have,
No helmet forg'd in brawny Vulcan's cave,
Nor bear's or lion's grisly skin I'd crave ;
But an old broad-brim'd Macedonian cap,
Whose spacious sides should round my shoulders wrap.
Thus all attacks with greatest ease I'd bear,
As well the storms of weather, as of war.

II. II.

Pliny attributes the first invention of helmets to the Lacedæmonians ^o, as likewise of the sword and spear : but this must be understood only of the peculiar sorts of those weapons used at Sparta ; other kinds of them being known before the first foundation of the Spartan government, or nation.

The heroes prided themselves in wearing for their defence the skins of wild beasts, which they esteemed badges of their prowess. Instances of this kind are everywhere to be met with in the poets. Hence Theocritus ^p :

Αὐτὰρ ὑπὲρ νώτοιῳ ἔ' αὐχένος ἡμεῖτο
" Ἀκρῶν δέρμα λίοντος ἀφ' ἡμέων ἐκ ποδῶν.

i Iliad. iii.

k Iliad. x'.

m Iliad. x'. v. 96.

o Lib. vii. cap. 56.

j Plut. Pyrrho.

l Hesychius.

n Pollux, lib. i. c. 10.

p Δισκευαίς.

Over his neck and back was thrown beside
Suspended by the feet, a lion's hide.

Hercules's lions's skin is very famous in story, and Homer's great princes are frequently introduced in the same habit; in imitation of whom the other Greek and Latin poets have armed their heroes. Thus Acastes in Virgil ^a;

———*occurrit Acastes,
Horridus in jaculis, et pelle Libystidos ursæ.*
Of a rough Libyan bear the spoils he wore,
And either hand a pointed javelin bore.

DRYDEN.

But we find they were not ashamed of using better and stronger armour for their defence, the ordinary sorts of which were these, that follow :

Μίτην, made of brass, but lined with wool, and worn next to the skin, underneath the coat of mail. This we learn from Homer, speaking of a dart that pierced through the rest of the hero's armour, but was so blunted by the *μίτην* ^r, that it only rased his skin ;

Αὐτὴ δ' αὖτ' ἔθενεν ὅθι ζωστῆρος ὀχῆες
Χρύσειοι σύνεχον, καὶ διπλοῦς ἦν τετο θώρηξ,
Ἐν δ' ἔπεισε ζωστῆρι ἀρηρότι πικρὸς οἶσός.
Διὰ μὲν ἄρ' ζωστῆρος ἐλήλατο δαυδαλίοιο,
Καὶ διὰ θώρηκος πολυδαυδάλας ἡρήρειστο,
Μίτην δ' ἣν ἐφόρει ἔρυμα χρυσοῦς, ἔρκος ἀκόντων,
Ἢ οἱ πλείεσσιν ἔρυτο.

Just where his belt with golden buckles join'd,
Where linen folds the double corslet lined,
She turn'd the shaft, which hissing from above
Pass'd the broad belt, and through the corslet drove;
The folds it pierc'd, the plaited linen tore,
And rased the skin, and drew the purple gore.

POPE.

Ζῶμα, or *ζωστήρ*, reached from the knees to the belly, where it was joined to the brigandine ^s. But the latter of these names is more frequently taken for the belt surrounding the rest of the armour. Thus Homer ^t;

Δῦσε δὲ οἱ ζωστῆρα παναίολον, ἥδ' ὑπένεθε
Ζῶμά τε, καὶ μίτην, ἣν χαλκῆες κώμον ἄνδρες.

Straight the broad belt with gay embroidery graced,
He loos'd; the corslet from his breast unbraced.

POPE.

This was so essential to a warrior, that *ζώννυσθαι* came to be a general name for putting on armour ^u: whence Homer introduces Agamemnon commanding the Grecians to arm themselves thus ^v;

Ἀτρεΐδης δὲ βόησεν, ἰδὲ ζώννυσθαι ἄνωγεν.

Atrides straight commands them all to arm.

The same poet, when he makes that hero resemble the god of war

^a Æncid. lib. v. vers. 36.

^r Iliad. δ'. et Eustathius, ibid. p. 345.
edit. Basil.

^s Eustathius, ibid.

^t Iliad. δ' ^u Pausanias Bœoticis.

^v Iliad. λ'.

in his ζώνη, is supposed (as Pausanias^w tells us) to mean his whole armour. The Romans had the same custom, as appears from Plutarch^x: and it prevailed also amongst the Persians, whence Herodotus relates, how Xerxes having reached Abdera, when he fled from Athens, and thinking himself out of danger did λύειν τὴν ζώνην, or disarm himself^y. But ζώνη is a more general name than ζωτήρ, and signifies the μίτρη.

Θώραξ consisted of two parts, one of which was a defence to the back, the other to the belly; the extreme parts of it were termed πτέρυγες, the middle γύαλα^z. The sides were coupled together with a sort of buttons^a. The same may be observed in Silius^b of the Roman *lorica*, which differed not much from the Grecian *thorax*, whence Θώραξ is by Hesychius expounded Λωρίκιον.

—qua fibula morsus
Loricæ crebro laxata resolverat ictu.

Ἡμιθωράκιον was an half thorax, or breast-plate, which Pollux tells us was first invented by Jason; and we find it very much esteemed by Alexander, who, as Polyænus reports, considering that the entire Θώραξ might be a temptation to his soldiers to turn their backs upon their enemies, those being equally guarded by it with their breasts, commanded them to lay aside their back pieces, and arm themselves with ἡμιθωράκια, *breast-plates*; that so whenever they were put to flight, their backs might be exposed naked to their enemies. The *thoraces* were not all composed of the same stuff; some were made of line, or hemp twisted into small cords, and close set together; whence we read of *thoraces bilices*, and *trilices*, from the number of cords fixed one upon another. These were frequently used in hunting, because the teeth of lions, and other wild beasts, were unable to pierce through them, sticking in the cords; but not so often carried into battles as Pausanias observes^d: yet there are not wanting instances of this sort; for Ajax the son of Oileus has the epithet of λινωθώραξ in Homer^e;

—ὀλίγος μὲν ἦν λινωθώραξ.

Ajax the less a linen breast-plate had.

Alexander, likewise, is reported by Plutarch to have worn Θώρακα λινῶν διπλῶν, or a double-twisted linen thorax: and Iphicrates caused his soldiers to lay aside their heavy and unwieldy brigandines of iron, and go to the field in hempen armour, as Cornelius Nepos hath informed us in his life of that captain. The ordinary mat-

^w Loco citato.

^x Coriolano.

^y Urania, cap. 120.

^z Pollux, Pausanias Atticis.

^a Pausanias, ibid.

^b Lib. vii.

^c Strateg. lib. iv.

^d Atticis.

^e Iliad. β'.

ter the *thoraces* were made of, was brass, iron, or other metals, which were sometimes so exquisitely hardened, as to be proof against the greatest force. Plutarch ^f reports, that Zoilus an artificer having made a present of two iron brigandines to Demetrius Poliorcetes, for an experiment of their hardness, caused an arrow to be shot out of an engine called catapulta, placed about twenty-six paces off; which was so far from piercing the iron, that it scarcely rased, or made the least impression on it. This armour was of two sorts; one of which, because it consisted of one or two continued pieces of metal, and was inflexible, and able to stand upright, was termed *Θώραξ σάδιος*, or *σατὸς* ^g. The other was composed of a beast's hide, according to the poet;

——— τῷ δὲ Θώρακος σκύτει.

Whence the Latin word *lorica* is thought to be derived from *lorum*. This was set with plates of metal in various forms; sometimes in hooks, or rings, not unlike a chain; sometimes resembling feathers, or the scales of serpents, or fishes; to which plates or studs of gold were often added; whence we read of *Θώρακες ἀλυσιδωτοί, λεπιδωτοί, φολιδωτοί, &c.* And the Greek and Latin poets frequently mention them. Thus Silius ^h, speaking of the consul Flaminius;

*Loricam induitur, tortos huic nexilis hamos
Ferro squama rudi, permistoque asperat auro.*

His coat of mail displays its hooked joints,
Studded with gold, and rough with iron points.

c. 57

Virgil arms his heroes after the same manner ⁱ;

——— *Rutulūm thoracā indutū, aēnis
Horrebat squamis*———

Dress'd in his glitt'ring breast-plate, he appear'd
Frightful with scales of brass.

The single plates being sometimes pierced through by spears, and missive weapons, it was customary to strengthen them by setting two, three, or more, upon one another. Thus Statius ^j,

——— *ter insuto servant ingentia ferro
Pectora*———

With triple plates of iron they defend
Their breasts.

And in another place ^k,

*Multiplīcem tenues iterant thoracā catenæ.
The little chains a mighty breast-plate join.*

Whence, in the same manner, as from the number of cords, they

^f Demetrio.
^g Eustathius.

^h Lib. v.
ⁱ Æneid. xi.

^j Theb. vii.
^k Theb. xii.

were termed *bilices*, or *trilices* (in Greek, διπλοῖ and τριπλοῖ), Virgil¹;

Loricam concertam hamis, auroque trilicem.

The threefold coat of mail, beset with hooks and gold.

Κνημῖδες, οcreæ; were greaves of brass, copper, or other metals, to defend the legs. Whence Hesiod^m;

— κνημῖδας ὀριζάλοιο φαίνῃ,
Ἡφαίστω κλυτὰ δῶρα, περὶ κνήμησιν ἔθηκεν.

The greaves of shining brass, which Vulcan gave,
He round his ancles plac'd.

Homer frequently composeth them of tinⁿ;

Τιῦζε οἱ κνημῖδας ἱανῷ κασσιτέρω.

He made his greaves of beaten tin.

The sides were generally closed about the ankles with buttons, which were sometimes of solid gold or silver, as we have it in the same poet^o;

Κνημῖδας μὲν πρῶτα περὶ κνήμησιν ἔθηκε
Καλὰς, ἀργυρείοισιν ἐπισφύροισι ὠραρυίας.

The curious greaves he round his ancles clos'd
With silver buttons.

It is probable that this piece of armour was at first either peculiar to the Grecians, or at least more generally used by them than other nations; because we find them so perpetually called by the poet:

— ἱκνήμίδες Ἀχαιοί.

Χεῖρες, were guards for their hands, which we find also to have been used by some of them, with other defences for their arms.

Ἀστίς, a buckler. This was first used by Prætus and Acrisius of Argos^p. It was sometimes composed of wickers woven together, according to Virgil^q;

— *flectuntque salignas*

Umbonum crates—

The bucklers they of osiers make.

Whence it is termed ἱτεὰ^r. It was likewise made of wood; and because it was expedient that the warriors should be able, with the greatest ease, to wield it, they usually chose the lightest sort of wood for this use, as the fig, willow, beech, poplar, elder-trees, &c. as we are informed by Pliny^s. But it was commonly made of hides; whence we find so frequent mention of ἀσπίδες βόειαι. These were doubled into several folds, and fortified with plates of

¹ Æncid. iii. 467. ^o Iliad. γ'. v. 530.

^m Scuto.

^p Paus. Corinth. β'. p. 151. ed. Han.

ⁿ Iliad. δ'. v. 612. ^q Æncid. vii. 632.

^r Hesychius.

^s N. Hist. lib. vi. cap. 40.

metal. Ajax's buckler was composed of seven folds of hide, and covered with a single plate of brass, as we read in Homer ^t ;

———σάκος αἰόλον ἑπταβόειον

Ταύρων ζατρεφίων, ἐπὶ δ' ὀγδοὺν ἤλασε χαλκόν.

Huge was its orb, with seven thick folds o'ercast,
Of tough bull hides ; of solid brass the last.

POPE.

Achilles's was guarded with three folds more, as the poet tells us,

———et æs, et proxima rupit

Terga novena boum, decimo tamen orbe moratum est.

It pierc'd the brass, and through nine hides it broke ;
But could not penetrate the tenth.

But the same hero's in Homer, was more strongly fortified, by two plates of brass, two of tin, and a fifth of gold ^u ;

———πέντε πτύχας ἤλασε Κυλλοποδίων,

Τὰς δύο χαλκείας, δύο δ' ἐνδοθὶ κασσιτέρειο,

Τὴν δὲ μίαν χρυσέην———

Five plates of various metal, various mold,
Compos'd the shield, of brass each outward fold,
Of tin each inward, and the middle gold.

POPE.

The principal parts of the buckler were these ;

Ἀντυχί, ἴτυς, περιφέρεια, or κύκλος, the utmost round or circumference.

Ομφάλος and μεσομφάλιον ; in Latin, *umbo*, a boss jutting out in the middle of the buckler, upon which was fixed another protuberant part, termed ἑπομφάλιον. This was of great service to them, not only in glancing off, and repelling missive weapons, but in bearing down their enemies. Whence Martial has this allusion ;

In turbam incideris, cunctos umbone repellet.

Should you be in a crowd, your slave
Would with his boss repel them all.

Τελαμών, was a thong of leather, and sometimes a rod of metal, reaching cross the buckler, whereby they hung it upon their shoulders, according to the primitive fashion ^v : whence Homer ^w ;

———αὐτὰρ ἀπ' ὤμων

Ἀσπίς σὺν τελαμῶνι χαμαὶ πέσι τερμύισσα.

Down from his shoulders the huge buckler fell,
With it's loos'd thong.

It was sometimes called κανών, except this may be understood of the rod to which the τελαμών was fastened, as Hesychius expounds it, which seems most probable ; and that κανόνες were rods whereby the bucklers were held (as Homer's scholiast reports), but τελαμῶνες, the thongs affixed to them, and hung upon the warrior's shoulders, though Eustathius will have them to have been put to the former use, and to be the same with κανόνες ^x. Sometimes the bucklers were held by little rings called πότακες ; but at length most of the

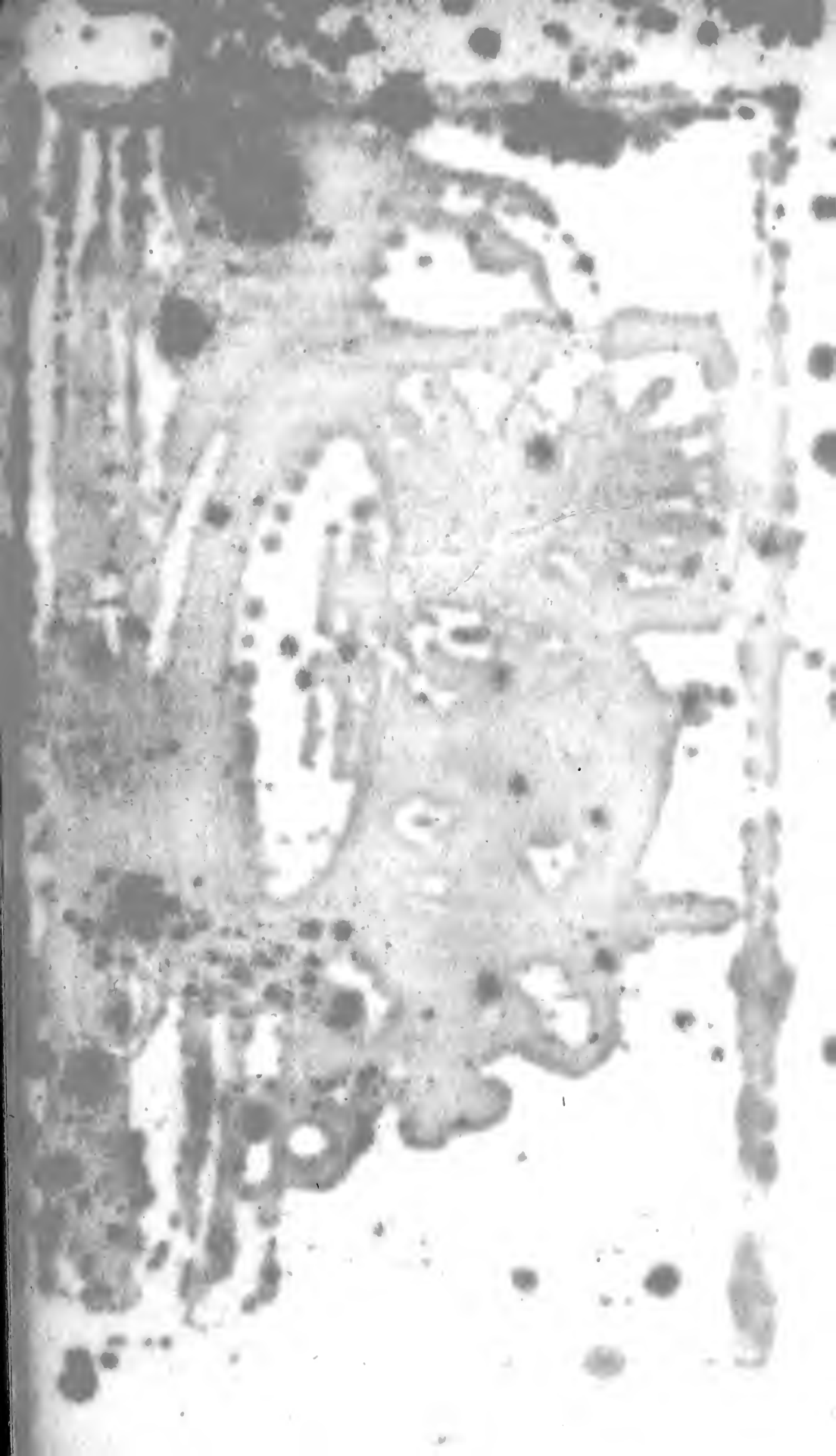
^t Iliad. ῃ. v. 222.

^u Iliad. ῃ. v. 270.

^v Eustathius, Iliad. β'. p. 184. edit. Basil.

^w Iliad. ε'.

^x Loco citato.



Grecians used a handle called ὄχανον, or ὄχάνη, which, though sometimes spoken of with the former names, and explained by them, was really different from both, being invented by the Carians^y, and, as it is commonly thought, composed for the most part of small iron bars, placed cross each other, and resembling the letter χ^z. When the wars were ended, and the bucklers (as was customary) hung up in the temples of the gods, they took off the handles, thereby to render them unfit to serve in any sudden insurrection: whence Aristophanes introduces a person affrighted, when he saw bucklers hanging up with handles;

Ὁ μοι τάλας, ἔχουσι γὰρ πόρπακας·

O sad! the bucklers handles have.

Which another had also found fault with a little before;

Οὐ γὰρ ἐχρῆν, εἰ περ φιλεῖς τὸν δῆμον, ἐκ προνοίας
Ταύτας ἔαν αὐτοῖς πόρπαξι ἀνατιθῆναι.

Æschylus speaks of little bells hung upon bucklers, to strike terror into the enemy:

——— ἀπ' ἀσπίδος δὲ τῷ
Χαλκήλατοι πλάττῃσι κῶδωνες φόβῳ.

Most of the bucklers were curiously adorned with all sorts of figures of birds and beasts, especially such as were of generous natures, as eagles, lions, &c. Nor of these only, but of the gods, of the celestial bodies, and all the works of nature; which custom was derived from the heroic ages, and continued in later times, being (as Herodotus^a reports), first introduced by the Carians, and from them communicated to the Grecians, Romans, and Barbarians.

The Grecians had several sorts of bucklers, the most remarkable of which seem to have been those of Argos, which are thought to be bigger than the rest; whence Virgil compares them to Polypheme's monstrous eye, which he tells us was^b,

Argolici clypei, aut Phæbeæ lampadis instar.

Like an Argolic buckler, or the sun.

Most, indeed, of the ancient bucklers seem to have covered the whole body; whence Virgil^c;

——— *clypeique sub orbe teguntur.*

Under their bucklers cover'd close they stand.

Tyrtæus enumerates the members protected thereby;

Μηρές τε, κνήμας κάτω, ἔ στήνα, ἔ ὤμους
Ἀσπίδος εὐρέης γαστρὶ καλυψάμενος.

^y Etymologici Auctor, Homeri Scholiastes, &c. ^z Eustathius, loco citato.

^a Lib. i.

^b Æneid. iii.

^c Æneid. ii.

Thighs, legs, and breast, belly and shoulders all,
The mighty buckler cover'd.

This farther appears from the custom of carrying dead soldiers out of the field upon their bucklers; whence we read of the famous command of the Spartan mothers to their sons, ἢ τὸν, ἢ ἐπὶ τὸν, i. e. *Either bring this* (meaning the buckler), *or be brought upon it*; meaning they should either secure their bucklers, or lose their lives in defending them ^d. And Homer, for the same reason, calls them ἀσπίδας ἀμφιβρόχτας, and ποθηνεῖς, which Eustathius interprets ἀνδρομήκεις, i. e. of the same size with a man ^e.

Their form was usually round, whence Virgil's *clypei orbis*, and the frequent mention of ἀσπίδες εὐκυκλοι, πάντοτε ἴσαι, &c. Hence the utmost circumference was called κύκλος, as hath been already observed.

There were likewise shields of lesser sizes, and other forms, the use of several of which was later than the heroic ages.

Γέρρον, or γέρρα, was squared like the figure *rhombus*, and first used by the Persians ^f.

Θυρεός, was oblong, and usually bending inward: it seems to have been the same which is called in Pollux ^g ἀσπίς κοίλη ἐτερομήκης.

Λαισήϊον, seems to have been shaped like the former, and composed of hides with the hair, whence grammarians derive it from λάσιος, i. e. hairy. It was very light, whence (as Eustathius ^h observes) Homer gives it the epithet πτερόεν.

—————βοείας
Ἀσπίδας εὐκύκλους, λαισήϊά τε πτερόεντα.

Πέλτη, was a small and light buckler, in the form of an half-moon), or, according to Xenophon, resembling an ivy leaf, and first used by the Amazons. But Suidas will have it to be a kind of four-square buckler, wanting the ἵτρυς, or exterior ring.

This was the chief of all their arms; the regard they had of it appears both from what has been already observed concerning their care in adorning and preserving it; and from the common story of Epaminondas, who having received a mortal wound, and lying under the agonies of death, with great concern enquired whether his buckler was safe ^j. Chabrias, the famous Athenian, when his ship was sunk, rather chose honourably to resign his life with his buckler, than leaving it, to escape to another vessel ^k. Military

^d Pinitarchus Apophthegm. Laconic.

^e Iliad. ζ'.

^f Strabo, lib. xv.

^g Lib. i. cap. 10.

^h Iliad. ι. p. 455. edit. Basil.

ⁱ Isidorus Hispal. Orig. lib. xviii.

^j Ammianus, lib. xxv.

^k Æmilius Probus in Chabria.

glory indeed being esteemed the greatest that human nature was capable of, they had a profound regard for all sorts of arms, which were the instruments whereby they attained it; whence, to leave them to their enemies, to give them for a pledge, or dispose of them any dishonourable way, was an indelible disgrace, both in Greece¹ and at Rome, and scarce ever to be atoned for.

Thus have I endeavoured to give you a description of the principal of the Grecian defensive arms, which are in general termed ἀλεξητήρια, σκεπασήρια, and προδλήματα.

The only offensive arms used by the ancients, were stones or clubs, and such as rude nature furnished them with. They were wholly ignorant of all those arts and contrivances to destroy their enemies, which necessity and thirst of glory afterwards introduced into the world. Thus Horace describes the fights of those wild and uncultivated ages:

*Unguibus et pugnīs, dein fustibus, atque ita porro
Pugnabant armis, quæ post fabricaverat usus.
Sharp nails, and fists, the first arms only were,
Then clubs came into use, next men took care
To make more hurtful weapons.*

Lucretius hath an elegant passage to the same purpose^m.

*Arma antiqua manus, unguēs, dentesque fuerunt,
Et lapides, et item silvarum fragmina rami,
Et flammæ, atque ignes, postquam sunt cognita primum;
Posterior ferri vis est, arisque reperta:
Sed prius aris erat quam ferri cognitus usus.*

In the first ages, nails, hands, teeth would please
A combatant for arms; and boughs of trees,
Or stones, or flaming brands with anger thrown,
Were then the best and chiefest weapons known:
Men afterwards in mischief wiser far
Us'd ir'n and brazen arms in ev'ry war.
Brass first was us'd, because the softer ore,
And earth's cold veins contain'd a greater store.

E. D.

These clubs were called Φάλαγγες and Φαλάγγια; whence grammarians conjecture that squadrons of soldiers were termed Φάλαγγεςⁿ, and by the Latins, *phalanges*, from this primitive way of fighting.

The principle of their offensive weapons in later ages, was ἔγχος and δόρυ, spear, or pike, the body of which was composed of wood, in the heroic times most commonly of ash: whence we have so frequent mention in Homer of μελίη, as when he speaks of Achilles's spear^o.

Πηλιάδα μελίην, τὴν πατρὶ φίλῳ πόρῃ Χείρων
Πηλὶς ἐκ κορυφῆς, φόνον ἔμεμναι ἠρώεσσιν.

¹ Aristophanis Scholiastes Pluto.

^m Lib. v. 1282.

ⁿ Eustathius Iliad. δ. p. 357. edit. Basil, &c.

^o Iliad. π. v. 143.

Alone, untouch'd, Pelides' javelin stands,
Not to be pois'd but by Pelides' hands ;
From Pelion's shady brow the plant entire
Old Chiron rent, and shap'd it for his sire.

POPE.

The Trojans were likewise armed from the same tree ^p ;

Καὶ Πρίαμος, ἔλαος ἑὺμμελίῳ Πριάμοιο.

The head, αἶχμη, was of metal. So was also the *σαυρωτήρ*, which is so called either q. *σταυρωτήρ*, from *σταυρός*, a cross ; or from *σαῦρος*, a lizard, which it is said to have resembled, being hollow at one end, where it was fixed into the bottom of the spear ; and sharp at the other ^q, which, being thrust into the ground, upheld the spear erect, when the soldiers rested from the toil of war. Whence Homer, speaking of Diomedes's followers ^r,

ἄμφι δ' ἱταῖροι
Εὐδον, ὑπὸ κρασὶν δ' ἔχον ἀσπίδας, ἔγχεια δὲ σφιν
Οἷ' ἐπὶ σταυρωτῶρος ἰλήλατο

Each sunk in sleep, extended on the field,
His head reclining on his bossy shield :
A wood of spears stood by, that fix'd upright,
Shot from their flashing points a quivering light.

POPE.

Aristotle observes, that the same custom was practised among the Illyrians in his days ^s. And it seems to have been common in other nations, as may appear from the first Book of Samuel ^t, where Saul is said to have slept with his spear fixed in the earth, close by his head. In times of peace they reared their spears against pillars, in a long wooden case called *δεροδόκη*, as we have it in Homer ^u ;

Ἐγχος ὃ μὲν ἔστησε Φίρων πρὸς κίονα μακρὸν
Δεροδόκης ἔντοσθεν ἑῷ

Against his pillar in a well made case
He hung his spear.

Virgil speaks something to the same purpose ^v ;

*Exin, quæ in mediis ingenti adnixa columna
Ædibus astabat, validam vi corripit hastam.*

Last, the bright spear he seiz'd, large, strong, and tall,
Prop'd on a column midst the lofty hall ;
The mighty Actor's spoil : the hero shook
The beamy javelin.

FITT.

There were two sorts of spears, as Strabo hath well observed ^w ; the former was used in close fight, and called *δόνον ὀρεκτὸν*, for the use and excellent management of which the Abantes are celebrated in Homer ^x ;

Τῶ δ' ἅμ' Ἀβαντες ἔποντο Δοῶν, ὅτιθεν κομόωντες,
Αἰχμητῶν, μεμαῶτες ὀρεκτῇσι μελίησι
Θώρηκας ῥήξειν δῆϊων ἀμφὶ σήεσσι.

^p Iliad. δ'. v. 47.

^q Eustathius, Pollux, lib. i. cap. 5.

^r Iliad. κ'. v. 151.

^s De Arte Poetica.

^t Cap. xxvi. v. 7.

^v Æneid. xii. v. 92.

^w Lib. x.

^x Iliad. β'. 543.

^u Odyss. ε'.

Down their broad shoulders falls a length of hair,
 Their hands dismiss not the long lance in air;
 But with portended spears, in fighting fields
 Pierce the tough corselets and the brazen shields.

POPE.

Where may be observed the signification of the word ὀρέξασθαι, which (as the Scholiast remarks) is applied to arms used in close fight: whereas πάλλιν belongs rather to missive weapons, which are called by the general names of παλτά and βέλη, of which kind was the other sort of spears; whence we find one making this boast;

Δηρὶ δ' ἀκοντίζω ὅσον ἕκ ἄλλος τις οἴσῃ.

I strike as far with a spear, as another with an arrow.

This was frequently used in the heroic duels, where the combatants first threw their spears, and then made use of their swords. Thus Hector and Achilles^y, Menelaus and Paris^z, and the rest of the heroes attack one another. Theocritus hath described the combat of Castor and Lynceus after the same manner^a;

Ἐγχεσι μὲν πρώτισα τιτυσκόμενοι πόνον εἶχον,
 Ἀλλάλων εἴ περ τὸ χροὸς γαμνωβέν ῥδοιν.
 Ἀλλ' ἦτοι τὰ μὲν ἄκρα, πάρος τινὰ δηλήσασθαι,
 Δεῖρ' ἰάγη, σακίεσσιν ἐνὶ δεινοῖσι παγίντ' αἰ.
 Τῷ δ' ἄορ' ἐκ κολεοῖν ἐρυσσάμενος, φόνον αὖθις
 Τεῦχον ἐπ' ἀλλήλοισι, μάχης δ' ἔβ' ἵν' ἱερῇ.

First with their spears began the dreadful strife,
 Each chief explor'd the avenues of life.
 But thus unhurt the battle they maintain'd,
 Broke in their shields, the spears sharp points remain'd;
 Then from their sheaths their shining swords they drew,
 And fierce to fight the raging heroes flew.

FAWKES.

The Macedonians had a peculiar sort of spear called σάρισσα, which was fourteen or sixteen cubits in length.

Ξίφος, a sword, which, according to ancient custom, was hung in a belt put round the shoulders. Whence Homer^b;

Ἀμφὶ δ' ἄρ' ὤμοισιν βάλετο ξίφος ἀργυρέηλον.

His silver-hilted sword down from his shoulders hung.

Hesiod and the rest of the poets mention the same custom^c;

Ἐμοῖσιν δέ μιν ἀμφὶ μελάνδετον ἄορ' ἔκειτο
 Χάλκεον ἐκ τελαμώνος————

————A brazen sword

Plac'd in the belt, down from his shoulders hung.

The belt reached down to their thighs. Whence Homer's hero^d;

————φάσγανον ἔξ' ἐρυσσάμενος παρὰ μηρῶ.

Straight from his thigh his sword he draws.

And Virgil's Æneas^e;

^y Iliad. κ'.

^a Idyll. κ' v. 187.

^c Scuto Herculis. ^e Æneid. x. 786.

^z Iliad. γ'.

^b Iliad. β'.

^d Odys. λ'.

— *ocys ensem*
Eripit à femore —

It may be enquired whether the sword was hung upon the right side or the left ; to which some reply, that foot soldiers wore it on the left, horsemen on the right : and Josephus ^f expressly mentions horsemen with their swords on their right sides : but whether this was constantly observed, or frequently varied, as Lipsius ^g has observed of the Roman sword, cannot easily be determined. The scabbard was called *κολῶς* ; close to it was hung a dagger, or poniard, called *τὸ παρὰ μηρὸν, παρμηρίον, or παραζάνιον ξιφίδιον*, according to Eustathius ^h *παραξιφίδιον*, or *ἐγχειρίδιον*, and in Homer *μάχαιρα*. It was seldom used in fight, but on all occasions supplied the want of a knife, as appears from the poet, out of whom I shall only set down this one instance ⁱ :

*Ἀτρεΐδης δὲ ἐρυσσάμενος χεῖρεσσι μάχαιραν,
 Ἢ οἱ παρ' ἑφείας μέγα καλὴν αἰὲν ἄορτο,
 Ἀργῶν ἐκ κεφαλῶν τάμνε τρίχας* —

— Then draws the Grecian lord
 His cutlass sheath'd beside his ponderous sword ;
 From the sign'd victims crops the curling hair
 The heralds part it, &c.

POPE.

Posidonius in Athenæus tells us, the same custom was practised by the ancient Gauls ⁱ. Close by this, or rather instead thereof, the soldiers of lower ages used a dagger called *ἀκίνακης*, which was borrowed from the Persians ^k. They had sometimes another sword called *κοπίς*, which was the same with the Roman *ensis falcatus*, and our faulchion, or scimitar, and was chiefly used by the inhabitants of Argos. Not much unlike this were the Lacedæmonian swords, called, according to Pollux, *ξυῖναι*, but, as Xenophon, *ξυήλαι*, and, by the Athenians, *κνήστις* ^l. They were bent faulchion-like, and in length far less than those commonly used in other parts of Greece : the reason of which custom being demanded of Antalcidas ; *it is* (said he) *because we encounter our enemies hand to hand* ^m ; and when another person told Agesilaus in derision, that a juggler on a stage would make nothing of swallowing their swords : *well* (replied the king) *yet, with these little weapons, we are able to reach our enemies* ⁿ. The only thing farther remarkable in the old Grecian sword is the hilt, which they took great pride in adorning, not so much with silver and gold, and precious

^f Excidii Hierosolym. lib. iii.

^g Militia Romana.

^h Iliad. γ'.

ⁱ Iliad. γ'. 270.

^j Δειπνοσοφ. lib. xiv.

^k Moschopulus in vocibus Atticis, Pollux, &c.

^l Suidas, Eustathius, Iliad. λ'. Hesychius, &c.

^m Plutarchus Apophthegm.

ⁿ Idem, loc. citat. et Lycurg.

stones, as with figures of lions heads, &c. to make them appear more terrible to their enemies.

Αξίνη, a sort of pole-axe. With this weapon Agamemnon was encountered by Pisander in Homer ^o ;

—— ὁ δ' ὑπ' ἀσπίδος ἔϊλιτο καλὴν
 Αξίνην ἰὺ χαλκῶν, ἐλαίνῃ ἀμφὶ πτελικῶν
 Μακρῷ ἰὺξίστην——

His left arm high opposed the shining shield ;
 His right, beneath, the cover'd pole-axe held ;
 An olive's cloudy grain the handle made,
 Distinct with studs ; and brazen was the blade.

POPE.

Πέλεκυς, was not much different from the former, and is joined with it in Homer ^p ;

Ἀλλ' οἳ γ' ἐγγύθεν ἰσάμενοι, ἵνα θυμὸν ἔχοντες,
 Ὅξισι δὴ πτελικίσσι, ἔ' ἀξίνῃσι μάχοντο.

Wounded they wound ; and seek each others hearts
 With falchions, axes, swords, and shorten'd darts.

POPE.

Several other weapons of less note may occur in authors, whereof I shall mention only one more, and then proceed to the missive weapons : it is κορυμή, a batton of wood or iron ; from the use of which, the famous robber Periphetes, slain by Theseus, was named κορυμήτης ^q ; which title was likewise conferred upon Areithous, who, as Homer tells the story, used to break through whole squadrons of enemies with his iron club ^r.

Τοῖσι δ' Ερευθαλίων πρόμος ἵστατο, ἰσόθεος φῶς,
 Τεύχε' ἔχων ὅμοισιν Ἀρηιθέοιο ἄνακτος,
 Δία Ἀρηιθέου, τὸν ἐπὶ κλησίν, κορυμήτην
 Ἄνδρες κίχλησκον καλλιζωνοὶ τε γυναικες,
 Οὔνεκ' ἄρ' ἐ' τόξοισι μαχέσκειτο, δερὶ τε μακρῷ,
 Ἀλλὰ σιδηρεῖή κορυμὴν ῥήγνυσκε φάλαγγας.

There Ereuthalion brav'd us in the field,
 Proud Areithous' dreadful arms to wield ;
 Great Areithous, known from shore to shore
 By the huge, knotted, iron mace he bore ;
 No lance he shook, nor bent the twanging bow,
 But broke, with this, the battle of the foe.

POPE.

Τόξον, the bow ; the first invention of which some ascribe to Apollo, who, from the art of managing this weapon, hath obtained divers appellations, as ἐκηβόλος, ἐκατηβέλετης, ἑκατος, τοξοφόρος, χερυτότοξος, ἀργυρότοξος, εὐφάρετης, &c. All which, though moral interpreters force to other applications, yet the ancient authors of fables refer to this original. This new contrivance the god communicated to the primitive inhabitants of Crete ^s, who are reported to have been the first of mortals who understood the use of bows and arrows ^t ;

^o Iliad. v. v. 612.

^p Iliad. ζ. v. 710.

^q Plutarchus Theseo, Diodorus Sic.

^r Iliad. η. v. 136.

^s Diodorus Siculus.

^t Isidorus.

and even in later ages the Cretan bows were famous, and preferred to all others in Greece^u. Some rather chose to honour Perses, the son of Perseus, with this invention; and others father it upon Scythes, the son of Jupiter^v, and progenitor of the Scythians, who were excellent at this art, and by some reputed the first masters thereof: thence we find it derived to the Grecians, some of whose ancient nobility were instructed by the Scythians, which in those times passed for a more princely education. Thus Hercules (to trouble you with no more instances), was taught by Teutarus a Scythian swain, from whom he received a bow and arrows of Scythian make: whence Lycophron, speaking of Hercules's arrows,

Τοῖς Τευταρείοις βεβήκας πτερώμασι^w.

With arrows which he had from Teutarus.

And though Theocritus hath changed his tutor's name into Eurytus, yet he also was of Scythian original: and we find the hero in that poet armed with a Mæotian, i. e. a Scythian bow^x;

"Ἦρχετο Μαιωτισὶ λαβὼν εὐκαμπέα τόξα,

He went armed with a crooked bow, after the Mæotian fashion.

Lycophron also arms Minerva with Μαιώτης πλόκος, a Mæotian bow, and in the same place speaks of Hercules's Scythian dragon, whereby he means a bow, which he bequeathed to Philoctetes for his care in kindling the pile wherein he was burnt alive^y;

Αὐτὴ γὰρ ἄκραν ἄρδιν εὐθυνεῖ χερσὶν
Σάλπιγγ', ἀποψάλλεσσα Μαιώτην πλόκον·
Δύρας παρ' ὀχθαῖς ὅς ποτε φλέξας θρασὺν
Λέοντα, ραίβῳ χεῖρας ὠπλισε Σκύθη
Δράκοντ', ἀφύκτων γομφίων λυροκτύπον.

Minerva, who found out the trumpet's sound,
Drawing her arrows with a skilful hand,
Took aim, and shot with a Mæotian bow.
This crooked bow the godlike Hercules,
Whose arrows, when they flew, would always kill,
First us'd, and then to Philoctetes, gave,
A present for the pile at Dura's banks.

Σ. Δ.

Both the poets seem particularly to remark the incurvation of the Scythian bow, which distinguished it from the bows of Greece and other nations, and was so great as to form a half-moon, or semicircle^z. Whence the shepherd in Athenæus^a, being to describe the letters in Theseus's name, and expressing each of them

^u Pollux, lib. i. cap. 10.

^v Plinius.

^w Cassander. v. 56. Item Tzetæ Scholia ibidem, et Theocriti Scholiastes, Idyll. xiii.

^x Idyll. xiii. v. 56.

^y Cassandr. v. 914.

^z Ammianus Marcellinus, lib. xx.

^a Lib. x.

by some apposite resemblance, compares the third to the Scythian bow ;

Σκυθικῷ δὲ τόξῳ τὸ τρίτον ἦν περιμφορῆς.

The third was like a Scythian bow ;

Meaning not the more modern character Σ, but the ancient c, which is semicircular, and bears the third place in ΘΗΕΥC. The Grecian bows were frequently beautified with gold, or silver ; whence we have mention of *aurei arcus*, and Apollo is called ἀργυρότοξος ; but the matter of which they were composed seems for the most part to have been wood, though they were anciently, Scythian-like, made of horn, as we read of Paudarus's in Homer ^b ;

Αὐτίκ' ἐρύλα τόξον εὐζών, ἱζάλας αἶγος
 Ἀγρίν, ὃν ῥά ποτ' αὐτὸς ὑπὸ σέρονιο τυχήσας,
 Πίτρης ἐκβαίνοντα διδεδυμένους ἐν προδοκῇσι,
 Βελήκει πρὸς σῆθος, ὃ δ' ὕπτιος ἔμπισι πίτερη.
 Τὸ κίρα ἐκ κεφαλῆς ἐκκαίδεκαδωρα πεφύκει,
 Καὶ τὰ μὲν ἀσκήσας κισσαόζοος ἦραρε τέκτων,
 Πᾶν δ' εὖ λειήνας, χρυσέην ἐπέθηκε κορώνην.

He heard and madly at the motion pleas'd,
 His polish'd bow with hasty rashness seiz'd,
 'Twas form'd of horn and smooth'd with artful toil;
 A mountain goat resign'd the shining spoil,
 Who pierc'd long since beneath his arrows bled :
 The stately quarry on the cliffs lay dead,
 And sixteen palms his brows large honours spread :
 The workmen join'd and shap'd the bended horns
 And beaten gold each taper point adorns.

POPE.

Whence Lycophron, who affects antiquated customs and expressions, speaks thus of Apollo encountering Idas with his bow ^c ;

———— ἐν χάρμαισι ραιώσας κίρας.

———— in battles bent his horn.

But some ancient glossographers, by κίρας, would rather understand τριχῶσις, or the bow-string, which was composed of horses hair, and therefore called also ἰππέια ^d : to which custom Accius alludes ;

Reciproca tendens nervo equino concita

Tela————

Drawing the arrows with an horse's hair.

Homer's bow-strings are frequently made of hides cut into small thongs : whence we read of τόξα βόεια,

Ἐλε δ' ὁμῶ γλυφίδας τε λαβὼν, καὶ τόξα βόεια.

He drew the arrow by the leathern string.

As Eustathius observes upon that place ^e. One thing more is remarkable in their bows : it is that part to which the string was fixed, being upon the uppermost part of the bow, and called κορώνη, commonly made of gold, and the last thing towards finishing a

^b Iliad. Ὀ. v. 105.

^c Cassandr. v. 564.

^d Hesychius.

^e Iliad. Ὀ. p. 544. edit. Basil.

bow : whence Homer, when he has described the manner of making a bow, adds after all,

————— χρυσέην ἐπέθηκε κοράνην.

Hence Eustathius tells us, χρυσοῦν ἐπιτιθέναι κοράνην, signifies to bring any affair to a happy conclusion.

The arrows usually consisted of light wood, and an iron head, which was commonly hooked : whence Ovid f,

Et manus hamatis utraque est armata sagittis.

Hook'd arrows arm'd both hands.

Sometimes they were armed with two, three, or four hooks : hence Statius g,

Aspera tergeminis acies se condidit uncis.

The head with three hooks arm'd

Enter'd his body.

In this sense likewise Hippocrates's τετράγωνα βέλη are to be understood. The heads of arrows were sometimes besmeared with poison ; for which piece of inhuman skill Virgil's Amycus was famous h ;

————— inde ferarum

Vastatorem Amycum, quo non felicior alter

Ungere tela manu, ferrumque armare veneno.

Then fierce, on Amycus the warrior came,

Whose fatal arrow pierc'd the savage game ;

Who dipp'd th' envenom'd steel with matchless art,

And double arm'd with death the pointed dart.

PITT.

This practice was more frequent in barbarous nations, but seldom used or understood in Greece ; wherefore Minerva in Homer having assumed the form and titles of Mentès, king of the Taphians, and son to Anchialus, pretends that her father, out of an extraordinary love to Ulysses, obliged him with a quantity of this deadly ointment, after he had been at the pains of a tedious journey to Ephyra, to furnish himself ; but had been denied it by Ilus the son of Mermerus, who (as the poet tells us) rejected Ulysses's request out of a scruple of conscience, being afraid that divine vengeance would prosecute so criminal an action i ;

Ἐξ Εφύρης ἀνιόντα παρ' Ἴλου Μερμερίδαο,
(Ὡχιστο γὰρ κακῆϊσι θοῆς ἐπὶ νηὸς Ὀδυσσεύς,
Φάρμακον ἀνδροφάνον διζήμενος, ὄφρα οἱ εἴη
ἱὸς χρεῖσθαι χαλκήρεας· ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν ἔοι
δῶκεν, ἐπεὶ ῥα θεὸς νημισίζετο αἰὲν ἰόντας,
ἀλλὰ πατήρ οἱ δῶκεν ἑμὸς, φιλείσκει γὰρ αἰνῶς.)

He then from Epyre the fair domain

Of Ilus, sprung from Jason's royal strain,

Measur'd a length of seas, a toilsome length, in vain.

f De Amore.

g Thebaid. lib. ix.

h Æneid. ix. v. 771.

i Odys. α. v. 259.

For voyaging to learn the direful art
To taint with deadly drugs the barbed dart;
Observant of the gods and sternly just,
Thus refus'd t' impart the baneful trust;
With friendlier zeal my father's soul was fir'd,
The drugs he knew, and gave the boon desir'd.

TOPE.

Arrows were usually winged with feathers to increase their speed and force; whence Homer's *πτερόεις ἰός*^j, *πτερόεις οἶσος*^k; Oppian's *οἶσος φερεπτέρυξ*^l, and *εὐπτερος*^m; Sophocles's *ἰός κομήτης*ⁿ; with divers other epithets and names to the same purpose^o. They were carried to the battle in a quiver, which was usually closed on all sides; and therefore, (as Eustathius^p observes) joined with the epithet *ἀμφηρεφής*. This, with the bow, the heroes carried upon their backs: Thus Apollo in Homer^q:

Τόξ' ὤμοισιν ἔχων, ἀμφηρεφία τε φερέτην.

Carrying his bow and quiver on his shoulders.

Hercules is represented by Hesiod in the same manner^r;

——— κοίλῃν δὲ περὶ στήθεσσι φερίτην
Καῖβάλειτ' ἐξόπιθον, πολλοὶ δ' ἔντοσθεν οἶσοι
Ριγηλοὶ, θανάτοιο λαβιβόγγυοιο δοτήρες.

——— towards his back

He turn'd the hollow quiver, which contain'd
Those darts, whose force no mortal yet sustain'd
And did not straight expire.

Likewise the famous heroine in Virgil^s;

Aureus ex humero sonat arcus et arma Dianæ.

The golden bow and arrows loosely hung
Down from her shoulders.

In drawing bows, the primitive Grecians did not pull back their hand towards their right ear, according to the fashion of modern ages, and of the ancient Persians^t; but placing their bows directly before them, returned their hand upon their right breast^u; which was the custom of the Amazonian women, who are reported to have cut off their right breasts, lest they should be an impediment in shooting; on which account their name is commonly thought to have been derived from the privative particle *α* and *μαζός*, i. e. from their *want of a breast*. Thus Homer of Pandarus^v,

Νευρὴν μὲν μαζῷ πέλασεν, τόξω δὲ σιδήρεον.

Up to the head the mortal shaft he drew,
The bow-string touch'd his breast.

^j Iliad. δ'. v. 116, &c.

^k Iliad. ε'. v. 171.

^l Ἀλκιον. β'. ^m Κυνηγ. α'.

ⁿ Trachiniis.

^o Vide Commentarium meum in Lycophron. v. 56.

^p Iliad. α. p. 29. edit. Basil.

^q Iliad. α.

^r Scuto Herculis, v. 150.

^s Æneid. xi. v. 652.

^t Procopius de Bell. Persic. lib. i.

^u Eustathius, Iliad. δ'. p. 344, &c. Iliad. θ'. 258. edit. Basil.

^v Iliad. δ'. v. 125.

There were several sorts of darts, or javelins, as *γρόσφος*, called in Homer *αἰγανή* ^w, *ὑσσός*, and many others; some of which were projected by the help of a strap girt round their middle, and called in Greek *ἀγκύλη*, in Latin, *amentum*: the action is expressed by the word *ἀγκυλίσσασθαι*, which is also used sometimes in a more general sense for any sort of darting, though without straps. The javelin thus cast was termed, *μεσάγκυλον*; the custom is mentioned in the Roman, as well as Greek writers: whence Seneca, in his *Hippolytus*,

*Amentum digitis tende prioribus,
Et totis jaculum dirige viribus.*

The strap with your fore-finger draw,
Then shoot with all your strength.

The ancient Grecians were wont to annoy their enemies with great stones. Thus Agamemnon in Homer ^x;

*Αὐτὰρ ὁ τῶν ἄλλων ἐπεπωλεῖτο σίχας ἀνδρῶν,
Εἰχί τ' ἄορί τε, μεγάλοις τε χειρμαδίοισιν.*

By the long lance, the sword, or ponderous stone,
Whole ranks are broken, and whole troops o'erthrown.

POPE.

These were not stones of an ordinary size, but such as the joint strength of several men in our days would be unable so much as to lift. With a stone of this bigness Diomedes knocks down Æneas in Homer ^y;

— ὁ δὲ χειρμαδίων λάβε χεῖρὶ
*Τυδείδης, μέγα ἔργον, ὃ ἔδύο γ' ἄνδρες φέροιεν
Οἷοι νῦν βροτοὶ εἶσ', ὃ δέ μιν ρίπα πάλλε κ' οἷος.
Τῷ βάλεν Αἰνείας κατ' ἰσχίον*—

— Tydides from the fields
Heav'd with vast force, a rocky fragment weilds;]
Not two strong men th' enormous weight could raise
Such men as live in these degenerate days.
He swung it round; and gathering strength to throw
Discharg'd the ponderous ruin at the foe,
When to the hip th' inserted thigh unites
Full on the bone the pointed marble lights.

POPE.

Ajax likewise and Hector encountered one another with the same weapons; and the latter (as the poet tells us) had his buckler broken with a stone scarce inferior in bigness to a millstone ^z.

Εἶσω δ' ἀσπίδ' ἵαξε βαλὼν μυλοειδίῃ πέτρῳ.

A stone so big, you might a mill-stone call,
He threw, which made the shield in pieces fall.

Nor did the gods themselves disdain to make use of them, as appears from Homer's Minerva, who attacked the god of war with a stone of a prodigious size, which had been in former ages placed for a landmark ^a:

^w Eustathius, *Odyss.* 8.

^x *Iliad.* λ'. v. 264.

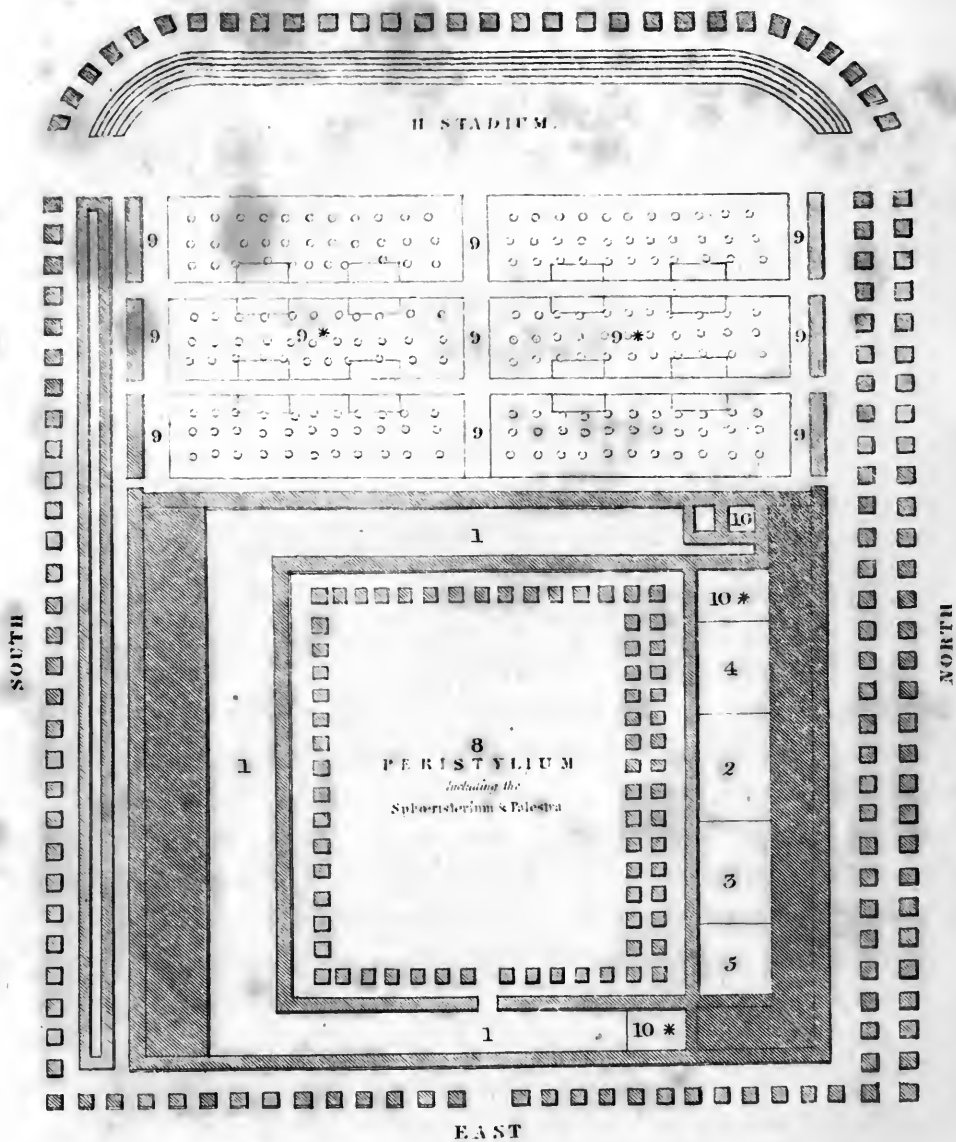
^y *Iliad.* ι. v. 402,

^z *Iliad.* η'. v. 270.

^a *Iliad.* φ'. 405.

THE AREA OF THE PALÆSTRA OR GYMNASIUM

According to Vitruvius



- 1 The Portico
- 2 The Ephæbeum
- 3 The Endorion Room
- 4 The Elæstherium
- 5 The Gynæceum

- 8 The Peristylum
- 9 Arch of Eastern Stairs
- 10 The Bed Chamber
- 10 The Cold Baths
- a The Stair

Engraved by W. & D. L. & Co. Edinburgh

Edinburgh. Published by Doig, Sutherland, & Slade 1818.

Ἡ δ' ἀναχασσαμένη, λίθον ἔλιτο χερὶ παχείῃ
Κείμενον ἐν πεδίῳ, μέλανα, τερχύν τε, μέγαν τε,
Τόν ῥ' ἄνδρες πρότεροι δίσαν ἵμμιναι ἔρον ἀρέης.
Τῷ βάλει θῆρον Ἄρηα κατ' αὐχίνα λῦσι δὲ γυνία.

Then heav'd the Goddess in her mighty hand,
A stone, the limit of the neighbouring land,
There fix'd from eldest times; black, craggy, vast:
This at the heavenly homicide she cast;
Thundering he falls, a mass of monstrous size.

POTT.

Virgil has elegantly imitated some of these passages in his twelfth Æneid^b, where he speaks of Turnus in this manner:

*Nec plura effatus, saxum circumspicit ingens,
Saxum antiquum, ingens, campo quod fortè jacebat
Limes agro positus, litem ut discerneret arvis:
Vix illud lecti bis sex cervice subirent,
Qualia nunc hominum producit corpora tellus:
Ille manu raptum trepidâ contorsit in hostem
Altior insurgens, et cursu concitus heros.*

The warrior said, and cast his fiery eyes,
Where an huge stone, a rocky fragment, lies;
Black, rough, prodigious, vast; the common bound
For ages past, and barrier of the ground.
Scarce twelve strong men the ponderous mass could raise,
Such as disgrace these dark degenerate days;
This in his trembling hand he heav'd to throw,
Ran with the load, and hurl'd it at the foe.

PITT.

On all which relations, several modern, especially French critics, insult with triumph, imagining them grossly absurd and ridiculous; whilst forming what they call rules of probability, from the manners of their own times, there is scarce any passage in all the volumes of ancient poetry, which does not, on some score or other, foully disgust their curious and distinguishing palates.

But, however, the heroic fights were carried on in this manner, as most of the ancient poets witness; yet in nearer ages, when they tell us men's strength and courage were lessened, but their policy and conduct improved, we seldom find any mention of stones, except in sieges, where the defenders frequently rolled down vast rocks upon their enemies heads. They were likewise cast out of several engines, of which the most common in field engagements was,

Σφενδόνη, a sling; which we are told by some, was invented by the natives of the Balearian islands, where it was managed with so great art and dexterity, that young children were not allowed any food by their mothers, till they could sling it down from the

beam, where it was placed aloft ^c; and when they arrived to be of age to serve in the wars, this was the principal of their offensive arms; it being customary for all of them to be furnished with three slings, which either hung about their necks, according to Eustathius ^d; or were carried, one on their necks, one in their hands, a third about their loins ^e. Hence the Balearian slings are famous in ancient writers. I shall observe only this one instance out of Ovid ^f;

*Non secus exarsit, quam cum Balearica plumbum
Funda jacit; volat illud, et incandescit eundo,
Et quos non habuit, sub nubibus invenit ignes.*

———— He burnt within,
Just like the lead the Balearian sling
Hurls out; you hear the bullet whistling fly,
And heat attends it all along the sky,
The fire it wants itself, the clouds above supply.

It was likewise common in Greece, especially among the Acarnanians ^g, who were well skilled in managing it, and are by some thought to have invented it: others give that honour to the Ætolians ^h. But none of the Grecians managed it with so great art and dexterity as the Achæians, who inhabited Ægium, Dyma, and Patræ: they were brought up to this exercise from their infancy ⁱ, and are thought by some to have excelled the Balearians: whence it became a custom to call any thing directly levelled at the mark, *Αχαικόν βέλος* ^j. This weapon was used for the most part by the common and light armed soldiers: Cyrus is said to have thought it very unbecoming an officer ^k; and Alexander endeavouring to render his enemies as contemptible to his own soldiers as he could, tells them, ‘they were a confused and disorderly rabble, some of them having no weapon, but a javelin: others were designed for no greater service, than to cast stones out of a sling; and very few were regularly armed ^l.’ The form of a sling we may learn from Dionysius, by whom the earth is said to resemble it, being not exactly spherical, but extended out in length, and broad in the middle; for slings resemble a platted rope, somewhat broad in the middle, with an oval compass, and so by little and little decreasing into two thongs, or reins. The geographer’s words are these ^m:

^c Vegetius de re militari, lib. i. cap. 16.
Lucius Florus, lib. iii. cap. 8. Diodorus
Siculus, lib. v. Strabo. lib. iii.

^d Commentario in Dionysium.

^e Lycophron, ejusque Scholiastes, v.
635.

^f Metaphor. lib. ii. v. 727.

^g Pollux, lib. i. cap. 10.

^h Strabo.

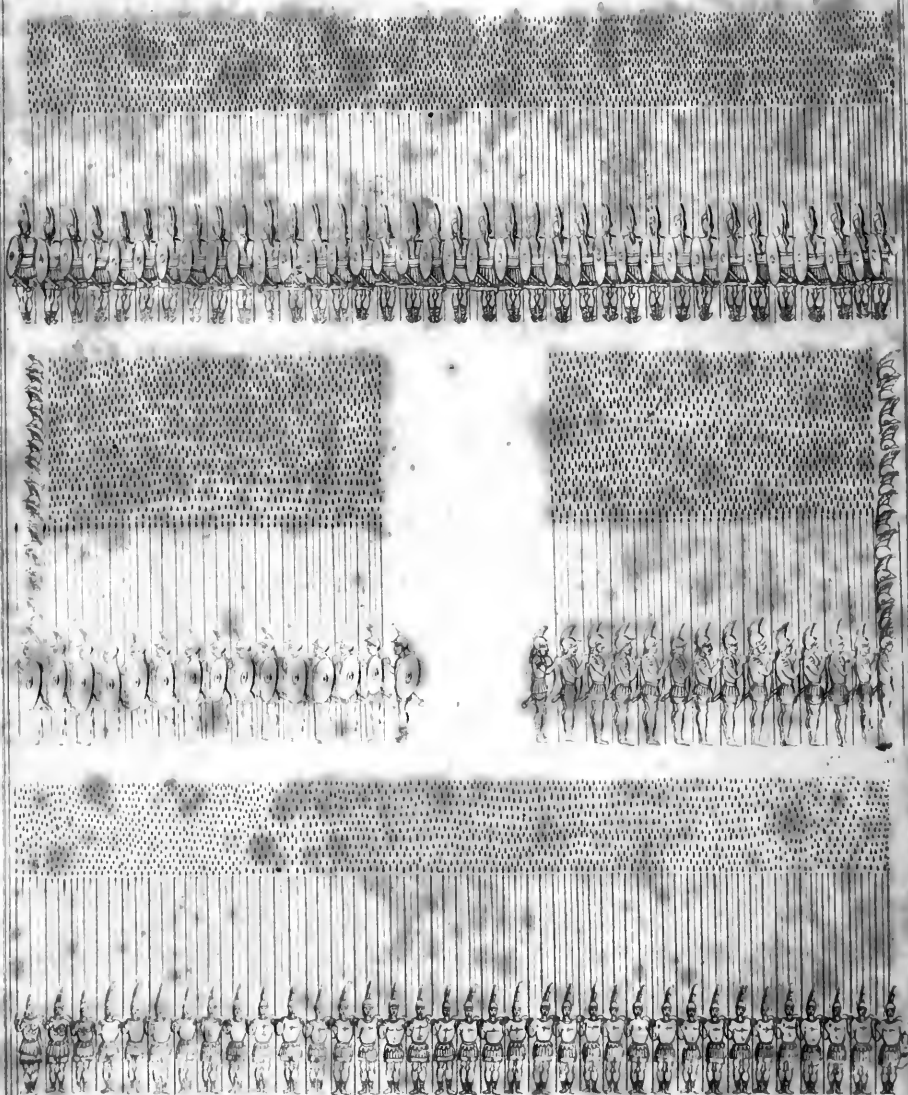
ⁱ Livius, lib. xxxviii.

^j Suidas.

^k Xenoph. Cyrop. lib. vii.

^l Curtius, lib. iv.

^m Περίηγής, v. 5.



THE FOUR FRONTED PHALANX

against all attempts of the Enemy.

Drawn and Engraved by R. S. D. La. and J. Smith.

Οὐ μὲν πᾶσα διαπερὸ περιδρομος, ἀλλὰ διαμφίς
 Εὐρυτέρῃ βίβανια πρὸς ἡλίαιο κιλιύθους,
 Σφινδόνῃ, λοικυῖα—

Its matter seems not to have been always the same ; in Homer we find it composed of a sheep's fleece ; and therefore one of the heroes being wounded in the hand, Agenor binds it with a sling ⁿ :

Λύτῃν (sc. χιτῶνα) δὲ ξυνίδουσιν ὑστρόφῳ οἷος ἁπτῶ,
 Σφινδόνῃ, ἣν ἄρα οἱ Θιράτων ἔχει ποιμῖνι λαῶν.

A sling's soft wool, snatch'd from a soldier's side,
 At once the tent and ligature supplies.

FOPE.

Out of it were cast arrows, stones, and plummets of lead, called *μολύβοιδεις*, or *μολυβοδίνας σφαῖραι* ; some of which weighed no less than an Attic pound, i. e. an hundred drachms. It was distinguished into several sorts ; some were managed by one, others by two, some by three cords.

The manner of slinging was by whirling it twice or thrice about their head, and so casting out the bullet. Thus Mezentius in Virgil ^o ;

Ipsa ter adducta circum caput egit habena.

Thrice round his head the loaded sling he whirl'd.

But Vegetius commends those as the greatest artists, that cast out the bullet with one turn about the head. How far this weapon carried its load is expressed in this verse :

Fundum Varro vocat, quem possis mittere funda.

Its force was so great, that neither head-piece, buckler, or any other armour, was a sufficient defence against it ; and so vehement its motion, that (as Seneca reports) the plummets were frequently, melted.

Lastly, we find mention of fireballs, or hand-granadoes, called *πυροβόλοι λίθοι*, &c. One sort of them are called *σκυτάλια*, or *σκυταλίδες*, which were composed of wood, and some of them a foot, others a cubit in length : their heads were armed with spikes of iron, beneath which were placed torches, hemp, pitch, or such like combustible matter, which being set on fire, they were thrown with great force towards the enemy's first ranks, head foremost, whereby the iron spikes being fastened to whatever came in their way, they burned down all before them ^p : wherefore they seem to have been of the greatest use to leaguers, to demolish the enemy's works ; though my author mentioned no such thing.

Concerning military apparel, nothing certain or constant can be related ; only it may be observed, that Lycurgus ordered the Lacedæmonians to clothe their soldiers with scarlet : the reason

ⁿ Iliad. γ'. v. 599.

^o Æneid. ix. v. 587.

^p Suidas.

of which institution seems either to have been, because that colour is both soonest imbibed by cloth, and most lasting and durable^q; or on the account of its brightness and splendour, which that lawgiver thought conducive to raise men's spirits, and most suitable to minds animated with true valour^r; or, lastly, because it was most proper to conceal the stains of blood, a sight of which might either dispirit the raw and unexperienced soldiers of their own party, or inspire their enemies with fresh life and vigour^s: which Eustathius observes to have been well and wisely considered, when he comments on that passage of Homer, where the cowardly Trojans, upon seeing Ulysses's blood flow from his wound, receive new courage, and animating one another, rush with united force upon the hero^t:

Τρώες δὲ μεγάθυμοι, ἰπεὶ ἶδον αἷμ' Οὐδυσῆος.

Κεκλόμενοι καθ' ὅμιλον, ἰπ' αὐτῶ πάντες ἔβησαν.

———— The Trojans saw Ulysses' blood
Gush from his wounds; then with new life inspir'd
Each stir'd the other up, and with joint force
Rush'd on the hero.

It is farther remarkable of the Lacedæmonians, that they never engaged their enemies but with crowns and garlands upon their heads^u, though at other times they were unaccustomed to such ornaments: hereby ascertaining themselves of success, and, as it were, anticipating their victory, crowns being the ordinary rewards presented to conquerors in all the parts of Greece. So wonderful, indeed, were the old Lacedæmonian courage and fortune, that they encountered their enemies fearless and unconcerned, joining battle with assurance of victory; which was a thing so common to them, that for their greatest successes, they seldom sacrificed to the gods any more than a cock: nor were they much elevated when the happy news arrived, nor made presents of any value to the messengers thereof, as was usual in other cities: for after the famous battle of Mantinea, we find the person that carried the express of victory, rewarded only with a piece of powdered beef^v.

The soldiers usually carried their own provisions, which consisted, for the most part, of salt meat, cheese, olives, onions, &c. To which end every one had a vessel of wickers^w, with a long,

^q Xenoph. de Rep. Laced.

^r Plutarch. Institut. Laconic.

^s Plut. loc. cit. Ælianus, lib. vi. cap. 6.
Valerius Maximus. lib. ii. cap. 6.

^t Iliad x'. v. 459.

^u Xenophon, item Plut. Lycurgo.

^v Plutarchus Agesilao.

^w Aristophan. Schol. Acharnens.

narrow neck, called γύλιος, whence men with long necks are by the comedian termed in derision γύλαιύχινες ^x.

CHAP. V.

Of the Officers in the Athenian and Lacedæmonian Armies.

THE Grecian cities being governed by different laws, the nature and titles of their offices, whether in military or civil affairs, must of consequence be distinguished. Wherefore, it being an endless undertaking to recount the various commands throughout the whole Grecian nation, I shall only present you in this place with a short view of the chief offices in the Athenian and Lacedæmonian armies.

In the primitive times, when most states were governed by kings, the supreme command belonged to them of course ; and it was one principal part of their duty towards their subjects, to lead them forth in person against their enemies, and in single combat to encounter the bravest of them at the head of their armies. And it may be observed, that when any prince, through cowardice, or other weakness, was judged unable to protect his people, it was customary for them, withdrawing their allegiance, to substitute a person better qualified in his place ; a memorable instance whereof we have in Thymoetes an Athenian king, who declining a challenge sent by Xanthus king of Bœotia, was deposed without farther ado, and succeeded by a foreigner, one Melanthius a Mes-senian, who undertook to revenge the quarrel of Athens on the Bœotians ^y.

Yet, on some occasions, it was not impracticable for the king to nominate a person of eminent worth and valour to be his πολέμαρχος, or general, who either commanded under the king, or, when the emergency of other affairs required his absence, supplied his place : which honourable post was conferred by king Erectheus upon Ion, the son of Xuthus, in the Eleusinian war ^z.

But the government being at length devolved upon the people, affairs were managed after a new method ; for all the tribes being invested with an equal share of power, it was appointed that each of them should nominate a commander out of their own body.

^x Pace. ^y Vide Archæolog. nostr. lib. ii. cap. 20, in Απαύρια. ^z Pausan. Atticis.

That this was done in the time of Cimon, appears from Plutarch ^a. But whether each of the tribes perpetually made choice of one of their own body, or sometimes named men of other tribes, is not very certain. No person was appointed to this command, unless he had children and land within the territory of Athens ^b. Those were accounted pledges to the commonwealth. And sometimes the children were punished for the treason of their fathers; which, though seemingly cruel and unjust, was yet *antiquum et omnium civitatum*, an ancient custom, and received in all cities, as Cicero hath observed ^c. He gives us in the same place an instance in Themistocles's children, who suffered for the crimes of their father. Hence Sinon in Virgil, pretending to have quitted the Grecian for the Trojan interest, speaks thus of his children ^d:

*Quos illi fors ad pœnas ob nostra reposcent
Effugia, et culpam hanc miserorum morte piabunt.*

Whom haply Greece to slaughter has decreed,
And for my fatal flight condemn'd to bleed.

PITT.

To return to our subject. The nomination of the generals was made in an assembly of the people, which, on this occasion, was convened in the *pnux*, and frequently lighted on the same persons, if they behaved themselves with courage and prudence, and executed their office for the safety and honour of their country; inso-much that it is reported of Phocion, that he was a commander five-and-forty times, though he never sued, or canvassed for that honour, but was always promoted by the free and voluntary choice of the people ^e. Before their admission to office, they took an oath of fidelity to the commonwealth, wherein one thing is more peculiarly remarkable, viz. that they obliged themselves to invade the Megarians twice every year: which clause was first inserted in the oath by a decree preferred by Charinus, on account of Anthemocritus, an Athenian herald, whom the Megarians had barbarously murdered about the beginning of the Peloponnesian war ^f. This done, the command of all the forces, and warlike preparations, was intrusted in their hands, to be employed and managed as they judged convenient; yet was not their power absolute and unlimited, it being wisely ordered, that upon the expiration of their command, they should be liable to render an account of their administration: only on some extraordinary occasions, it seemed fit to exempt them from this restraint, and send them with full

^a Cimone.

^b Conf. Petitus Comment in Leges Atticas. Dinarchus in Demosthenem.

^c Epist. xvi. ad Brutum. Conf. Cœlius Rhodiginus, lib. xiv. cap. 12.

^d Æneid. lib. ii. v. 139.

^e Plutarch. Phocione.

^f Plutarch. Pericle.

and uncontrollable authority, and then they were stiled *Ἀντοκράτορες*^g: which title was conferred on Aristides, when he was general, at the famous battle of Plataea; upon Nicias, Alcibiades, and Lamachus, in the Sicilian expedition, and several others^h. These commanders were ten, according to the number of the Athenian tribes, and all called *Στρατηγοὶ*, being invested with equal power, and about the first times of their creation frequently dispatched all together in expeditions of concern and moment, where every one enjoyed the supreme command by days. But lest, in controverted matters, an equality of voices should retard their proceedings, we find an eleventh person joined in commission with them, and called *Πολέμαρχος*, whose vote, added to either of the contesting parties, weighed down the balance, as may appear from Herodotus's account of the Athenian affairs in the Median war. To the same person the command of the left wing of the army belonged of rightⁱ.

But afterwards, it was looked on as unnecessary, and perhaps not very expedient, for so many generals to be sent with equal power to manage military affairs: wherefore, though the ancient number was elected every year, they were not all obliged to attend the wars; but one, two, or more, as occasion required, were dispatched to that service: the polemarchus was diverted to civil business, and became judge of a court, where he had cognizance of law-suits between the natives, or freemen of Athens, and foreigners: the rest of the generals had every man his proper employment; yet none were wholly free from military concerns, but determined all controversies that happened amongst men of that profession, and ordered all the affairs of war that lay in the city^j. Hence they came to be distinguished into two sorts; one they termed *τὲς ἐπὶ τῆς διοικήσεως*, because they administered the city business; the other, *τὲς ἐπὶ τῶν ὀπλῶν*, from their concern about arms. The latter of these listed and disbanded soldiers, as there was occasion^k, and, in short, had the whole management of war devolved upon them, during their continuance in that post, which seems not to have been long, it being customary for the generals who remained in the city, to take their turns of serving in the war^l.

Ταξίαρχοι were likewise ten (every tribe having the privilege of

^g Suidas.

^h Plutarchus Aristide, &c.

ⁱ Herodotus Erato.

^j Demosthenes Philipp.

^k Idem Orat. de Epitrierch. Plutarchus Phocione.

^l Ulpianus in Medianam.

electing one), and commanded next under the *Στρατηγοί*. They had the care of marshalling the army, gave orders for their marches, and what provisions every soldier should furnish himself with, which were conveyed to the army by public criers. They had also power to cashier any of the common soldiers, if convicted of misdemeanours. Their jurisdiction was only over the foot^m.

Ἱππαρχοί, were only two in numberⁿ, and had the chief command of the cavalry next under the *Στρατηγοί*^o.

Φύλαρχοι were ten; one being nominated by every tribe. They were subordinate officers to the *Ἱππάρχοι*, and invested with authority to discharge horsemen, and to fill up the vacancies, as occasion required^p.

Thus much of the general-officers. The inferiors usually derived their titles from the squadron, or number of men under their command: as *λοχαγοί*, *χιλίαρχοι*, *ἐκατόνταρχοι*, *δεκάδαρχοι*, *πενταδαρχοί*, &c. Proceed we, in the next place, to the commanders of the Spartan army.

The supreme command was lodged in one person; for the Lacedæmonians, however fond of aristocracy in civil affairs, found, by experience, that in war, a monarchical government was on several accounts preferable to all others^q: for it happening, that once, upon a difference in opinion between their two kings, Demaratus and Cleomenes, the former withdrew his part of the army, and left his colleague exposed to the enemy, a law was hereupon enacted, that, for the future, they should never command the army together, as had been usual before that misfortune^r. Yet upon extraordinary occasions, when the safety and honour of the state was in dispute, they had so much prudence, as rather, by transgressing the letter of the law to secure their country, than, by insisting on niceties, to bring it into danger: for we find that, when Agis was engaged in a dangerous war with the Argeans and Mantineans, Plistonax, his fellow king, having raised an army out of such citizens, as by their age were at other times excused from military service, went in person to his assistance^s.

The general's title (as some say) was *Βάσις*^t, which others will have common to all other military officers. He was ordinarily one of the kings of Sparta; it being appointed by one of Lycurgus's

^m Lysias Orat. pro Mantitheo, et de neglecta militia. Aristophanis Scholiast. Avibus.

ⁿ Sigonius de Rep. Athen.

^o Demosthenes Midiana.

^p Lysias in locis citatis.

^q Isocrates ad Nicoclem.

^r Herodotus, lib. v. cap. 5.

^s Thucydides, lib. v.

^t Hesychius.

laws, that this honour should belong to the kings : but in cases of necessity, as in their king's minority, a protector, or viceroy, called *πρόδικος*, was substituted for the management of military, as well as civil affairs^u. It was under this character that Lycurgus reformed and new-modelled the Lacedæmonian polity, and commanded their armies, during the infancy of king Charilaus^v. Pausanias also was tutor to Plistarchus, when he led the Lacedæmonians, and the rest of the Grecians, against Mardonius, Xerxes's lieutenant, at Plataea^w.

This only concerned their land-armies ; for the laws made no provision for their fleets, their lawgiver having positively forbidden them to meddle with marine affairs. Wherefore, when they became masters of a navy, they confined not their elections of admirals to the royal house, but rather chose to commit that great trust to their most able and experienced seamen ; as may appear from the instances of Lysander, and several others, who commanded the Spartan fleets, though never invested with royal power. Nor was it ordinarily permitted their kings, when intrusted with land-armies, to undertake the office of admiral. The only person honoured with those two commands at the same time, was the great Agesilaus^x.

The king, however limited and restrained when at home, was supreme and absolute in the army, it being provided, by a particular precept of the law, that all others should be subordinate to him, and ready to obey his commands^y. Notwithstanding this, he was not always left wholly to himself, and the prosecution of his own measures, it being customary for some of the magistrates, called ephori, to accompany him and assist him with their advice^z. To these, on some occasions, others were joined. When Agis had unadvisedly entered into a league with the Argians, at a time when it lay in his power to have forced them to accept of terms far more honourable to his country, the Spartans highly resented his imprudence, and enacted a decree, that he should never again command an army, without ten counsellors to go along with him. Whether the succeeding kings were hereby obliged, does not fully appear ; but it seems probable they were not sent to the wars without a council, consisting, if not of the same, however of

^u Xenophon de Repub. Lacedæm.

^v Plutarchus Lycurgo.

^w Herodotus, Thucydides, Plutarchus, Cornelius Nepos, Pausanias.

^x Plutarchus Agesilao.

^y Herodotus, lib. vi. Thucydides, lib. v.

^z Xenophon Ἑλληνικῶν lib. ii.

a considerable number of the wisest men in Sparta. Agesipolis was attended with no less than thirty^a; and though the tenderness of his age might occasion that extraordinary provision, yet, in wars of great concern or danger, and such as were carried on in remote countries, kings of the greatest experience and most eminent for conduct, were not trusted without a great number of counsellors; for we are told, that Agesilaus himself, when he made his expedition into Asia, was obliged by a decree of the people, to take thirty along with him^b.

Besides these, the general was guarded by three hundred valiant Spartans, called Ἱππῆες, or horsemen, who fought about his person^c, and were much of the same nature with Romulus's life-guards, called *celeres*, or light-horse, as Dionysius of Halicarnassus reports. Before him fought all those that had obtained prizes in the sacred games, which was looked upon as one of the most honourable posts in the army, and esteemed equivalent to all the glorious rewards conferred on those victors in other cities^d.

The chief of the subordinate officers was called Πολέμαρχος. The titles of the rest will easily be understood from the names of the parties under their command, being all derived from them; such as, Λοχαγωγοί, Πεντηκοσῆρες, Ενωμοτάρχαι, &c.

CHAP. VI.

Of the several Divisions and Forms of the Grecian Army with other Military Terms.

THE whole army, as compounded of horse and foot, was called στρατία. The front μέτωπον, or πρῶτος ζυγός the right-hand man of which, as in other places, was προτοστάτης the wings, κέρατα, of which some make Pan, Bacchus's general in his Indian expedition, to have been the first inventor; the soldiers herein, and their leader, παραστάται those in the middle ranks, ἐπιστάται the rear ἑσχατος ζυγός, οὐρά, and the person that brought up the rear, οὐραγός, or ὀπισθόφυλαξ^e which seem to have been common names for any others that obtained the like places in smaller bodies.

Πεμπάς was a party of five soldiers; its leader, Πεμπάδαρχος.

^a Xenophon Ἑλληνικῶν lib. v.

^c Thucydides, lib. v.

^b Plutarchus Agesilao et Xenophon.

^d Plutarchus Lycurgo.

^e Orbicius.

Δεκάς of ten; its leader, Δεκάδραρχος. And so of the rest.

Λόχος, consisted of eight, as others of twelve, or as some of sixteen, which was a complete λόχος, though some make that to contain no less than twenty-five. It is sometimes termed εἶχος, or δεικανία, and its leader Λοχαγός.

Δίμοιρια, or Ἡμιλοχία, was an half λόχος; its leader Διμοιρίτης, or Ἡμιλοχίτης.

Συλλοχισμός was a conjunction of several λόχοι; sometimes it is termed σύσασις, which consisted of four half, or two complete λόχοι, consisting of thirty-two men.*

Πεντηκονταρχία, however the name imports only fifty, was usually a double σύσασις, consisting of four λόχοι, or sixty-four men: whence its leader was not only termed Πεντηκόνταρχος, but Τετράρχης, and for πεντηκονταρχία, we sometimes find τετραρχία.

Ἑκατόνταρχια, sometimes called τάξις, consisted of two of the former, containing an hundred and twenty-eight men. Its commander was anciently called Ταξίαρχος, but afterwards the name of Ἑκατόνταρχος generally prevailed. To every ἑκατονταρχία were assigned five necessary attendants, called Ἑκτακτοί, as not being reckoned in the ranks with the soldiers. These were,

1. Στρατοκήρυξ, the crier, who conveyed by voice the words of command. He was usually a man of strong lungs: the most remarkable of any in story was Homer's Stentor, who, he tells us, was able to shout as loud as any fifty^f.

"Ενθα γὰρ ἦύσε θεὰ λευκώλενος Ἥρη,
Στίντορι εἰσαμένη μεγαλήτορι, χαλκροφάνωι,
Ὅς τόσον αὐδήσασα, ὅσον ἄλλοι πεντήκοντα.

Heaven's empress mingles with the mortal crowd,
And shouts, in Stentor's sounding voice aloud;
Stentor the strong, endued with brazen lungs,
Whose notes surpass the force of fifty tongues.

POPE.

2. Σημειόφορος, the *ensign*, remitted by signs the officer's commands to the soldiers; and was of use in conveying things not to be pronounced openly, or discovered, and when the noise of war drowned the crier's voice.

3. Σαλπικτής, or *trumpeter*, was necessary, as well to signify to the soldiers the will of their commanders, when dust rendered the two former useless, as to animate and encourage them, and on several other accounts.

4. Ὑπερέτης, was a servant, that waited on the soldiers, to supply them with necessaries. These four were placed next to the foremost rank.

^f Iliad. ε. v. 784.

5. Οὐραγός, the *lieutenant*, brought up the rear, and took care that none of the soldiers were left behind, or deserted.

Σύνταγμα, παράταξις, ψιλαγία, and, according to some, ξεναγία was compounded of two τάξεις, being made up of two hundred and fifty-six men. The commander, Συνταγματάρχης.

Πεντακοσιαρχία, or ξιναγία, contained two συντάγματα, i. e. five hundred and twelve men. The commander's name was Πεντακοσιάρχης, or Ξιναγός.

Χιλιαρχία, σύστημα, and (as some think), ξιναγία was the former doubled, and consisted of a thousand and twenty-four. The commander, Χιλίαρχος, Χιλίος, or Συστηματάρχης.

Μεραρχία, by some called τέλος, by others επίξιναγία, contained two of the former, i. e. two thousand and forty-eight. The commander, Μεράρχης, Τελάρχης, or Επίξιναγος.

Φαλαγγαρχία, sometimes called μέρος, ἀποτομή κέρατος, σίφος, and by the ancients στρατηγία, was compounded of two τέλη, and contained four thousand four score and sixteen; or four thousand and thirty-six, according to others. The officer, Φαλαγγάρχης, and Στρατηγός.

Διφαλαγγία κέρασ, ἐπίταγμα, and (as some think), μέρος, was almost a duplicate of the former; for it consisted of eight thousand one hundred and thirty-two. The commander's title was Κεράρχης.

Τετραφαλαγγαρχία contained about two διφαλαγγίαι, or sixteen thousand three hundred fourscore and four. The commander, Τετραφαλαγγάρχης.

Φάλαγξ is sometimes taken for a party of twenty-eight men, sometimes of eight thousand; but a complete φάλαγξ is said to be the same with Τετραφαλαγγαρχία. Several other numbers are signified by this name, it being frequently taken for the whole body of foot, and as often in general for any company of soldiers. Indeed the Grecian battles were usually ranged into an order peculiarly termed *phalanx*; which was of such strength, that it was able to bear any shock, with what violence soever charged upon them. The Macedonians were the most famous for this way of embattling; their phalanx is described by Polybius to be a square battail of pikemen, consisting of sixteen in flank, and five hundred in front; the soldiers standing so close together, that the pikes of the fifth rank were extended three feet beyond the front of the battail: the rest, whose pikes were not serviceable by reason of their distance from the front, couched them upon the shoulders of those that stood before them; and so locking them together in

file, pressed forward to support and push on the former ranks, whereby the assault was rendered more violent and irresistible. The commander was called Φαλαγγάρχης.

Μῆκος φάλαγγος, was the length or first rank of the phalanx, reaching from the farthest extremity of one wing to that of another. It is the same with μέτωπον, πρόσωπον, εἶμα, παράταξις, πρωτολογία, πρωτοσάται, πρῶτος, ζυγός, &c. The ranks behind were called, according to their order, δεύτερος, τρίτος ζυγός, &c.

Βάθος, or πάχος φάλαγγος, sometimes called τοῖχος, was the depth, consisting in the number of ranks from front to rear.

Ζυγοὶ φάλαγγος, were the ranks taken according to the length of the phalanx.

Στίχοι, or λόχοι, were the files measured according to the depth.

Διχοτομία φάλαγγος, the distribution of the phalanx into two equal portions, which were termed πλευραὶ, κέρατα, &c. or wings: the left of these was κέρας ἐνώνυμον, and ἐξά· the right, κέρας δεξιόν, κεφαλὴ, δεξιὸν ἀκρωτήριον, δεξιὰ ἐρχή, &c.

Ἄρσος, ὁμῶστος, συνοχή φάλαγγος, the body, or middle part between the wings.

Λεπτυσμὸς φάλαγγος, the lessening the depth of the phalanx, by cutting off some of its files.

Ορθία, ἐτερομήκης, or παραμήκης φάλαγξ, *acies recta*, or the *herse*, wherein the depth exceeded the length.

Πλαγία φάλαγξ, differed from the former, being broad in front, and narrow in flank; whereas the other was narrow in front, and broad in flank.

Λοξὴ φάλαγξ, or *obliqua acies*, when one wing was advanced near the enemy's, to begin the battle, the other holding off at a convenient distance.

Ἀμφίστομος φάλαγξ, when the soldiers were placed back to back, that they might every way face their enemies; which form of *battalia* was used when they were in danger of being surrounded.

Ἀντίστομος φάλαγξ differed herein from the former, that it was formed length-wise, and engaged at both flanks; whereas the former engaged at front and rear.

Ἀμφίστομος διφάλαγξ, when the leaders were placed in both fronts, but the οὐραγοὶ, who followed the rear, transplanted into the middle, so that their enemies were confronted on all sides.

Ἀντίστομος διφάλαγξ was contrary to the former, having the οὐραγοὶ and their rear on the two sides, and the rest of the commanders

who were placed at other times in the front, in the midst, facing one another; in which form, the front opening in two parts, so closed again, that the wings succeeded in its place, and the last ranks were transplanted into the former place of the wings.

Ὅμοιόμομος διφάλαγγία, was, when both the phalanxes had their officers on the same side, one marching behind the other in the same form.

Ἐτερόμομος διφάλαγγία, when the commanders of one phalanx were placed on the right flank, in the other on the left.

Πεπλεγμένη φάλαγγ, when its form was changed, as the ways required, through which it marched.

Επικαμπής φάλαγγ represented an half moon, the wings turned backwards, and the main body advanced toward the enemy, or, on the contrary.

The same was called κυρτή and κοίλη, being convex and hollow.

Εσπαρμένη φάλαγγ, when the parts of the battalia stood at an unequal distance from the enemy, some jutting out before others.

Ὑπερφάλαγγις, when both wings were extended beyond the adverse army's front; when only one, ὑπερέκρωσις.

Ῥομβοειδής φάλαγγ, called likewise σφηνοειδής, a battalia with four equal, but not rectangular, sides, representing the figure of a diamond. This figure was used by the Thessalians, being first contrived by their countryman Jason. Indeed most of the common forms of battalia in Greece, in Sicily also, and Persia, seem to have been devised after this, or some other square^b.

Ῥεμβολον, *rostrum*, or *cuneus*, was a rhombus divided in the middle, having three sides, and representing the figure of a wedge, or the letter Δ. The design of this form was to pierce, and enter forcibly into the enemy's body.

Κοιλίρεμβολον, or *forfex*, was the *cuneus* transversed, and wanting the basis; it represented a pair of sheers, or the letter V; and seems to have been designed to receive the *cuneus*.

Πλινθιον, Πλινθία, *laterculus*, an army drawn up in the figure of a brick or tile, with four unequal sides; its length was extended towards the enemy, and exceeded the depth.

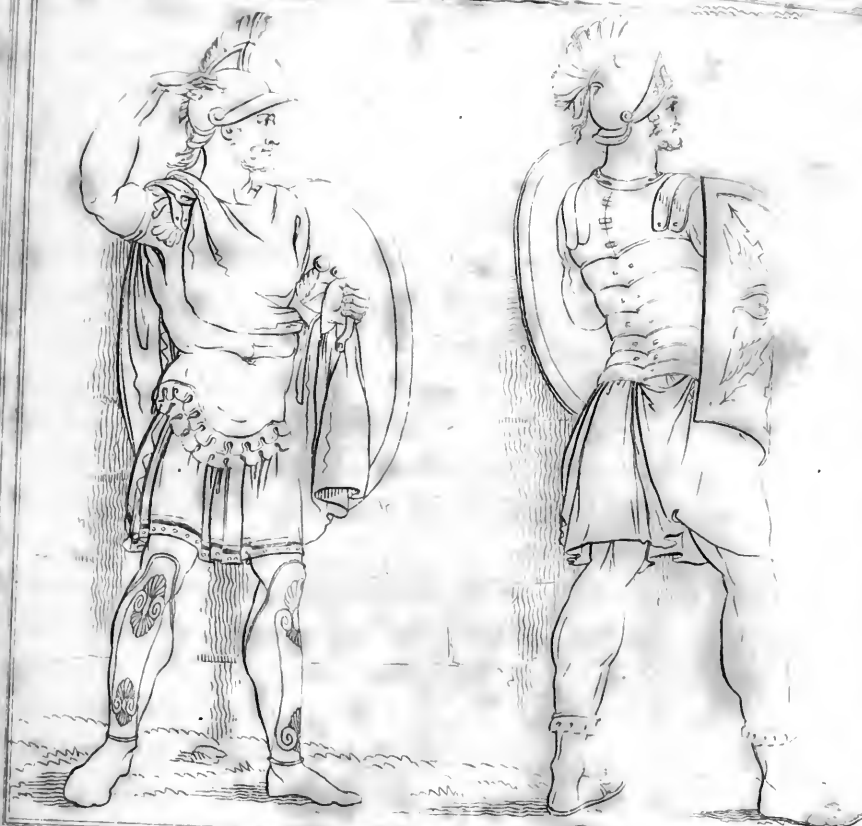
Πύργος, *turris*, was the brick inverted, being an oblong square, after the fashion of a tower, with the small end towards the enemy. This form is mentioned by Homerⁱ;

Οἳ δὲ τι πύργῳ δὸν σφίεας αὐτὰ ἀρτύναντες.

Wheeling themselves into a tower's form.

^b Ælianus Tacticis, qui ubique in hoc capite consulendus.

ⁱ Iliad. μ'. v. 45.



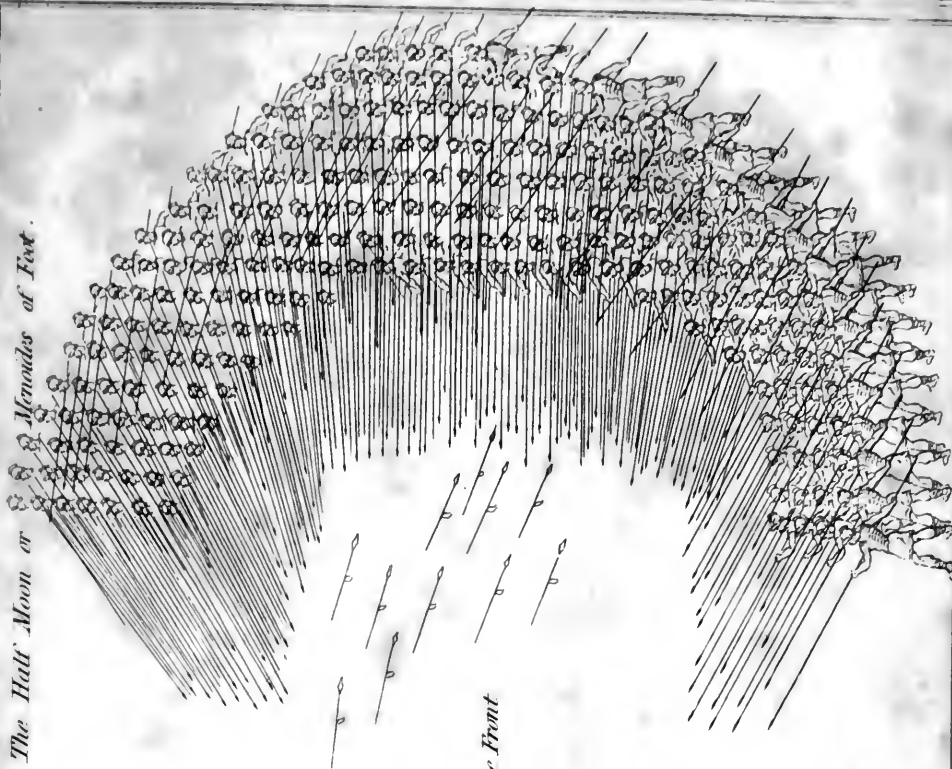
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Drawn by J. W. S. D. 1816.

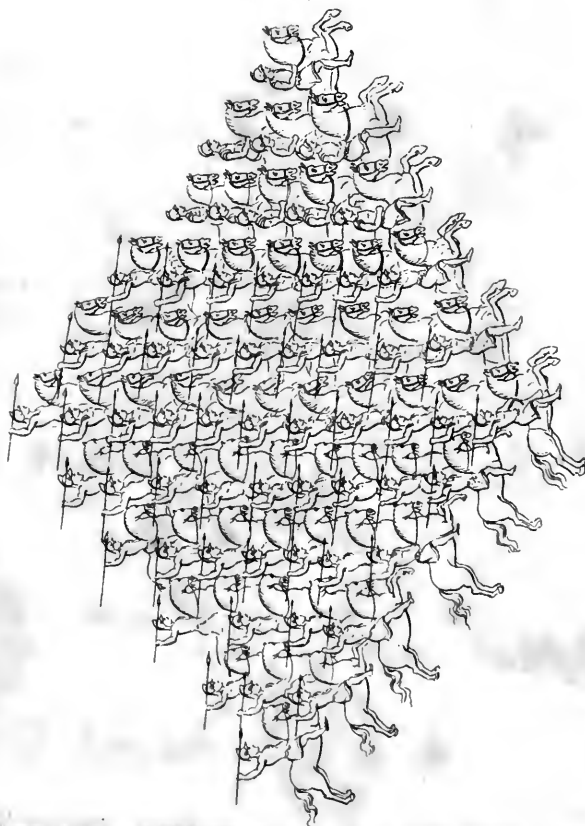
Edinburgh Published by Doig, Stirling, & Slade 1816.



*The Half Moon or
Menades of Feet.*



The Rhombic of Horse.

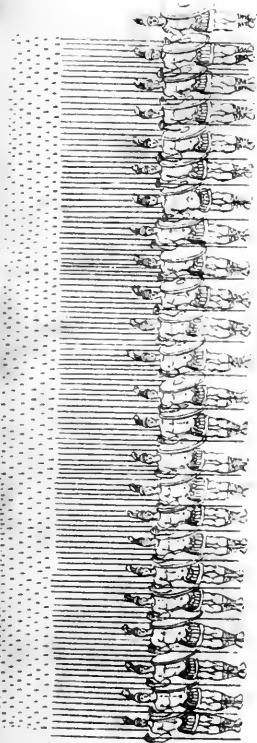


The Front

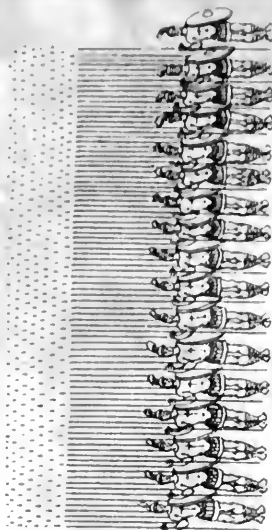
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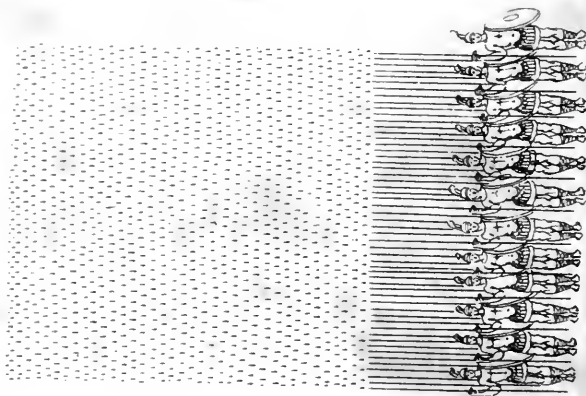
Platiophalanx or the Broad Fronted Phalanx.



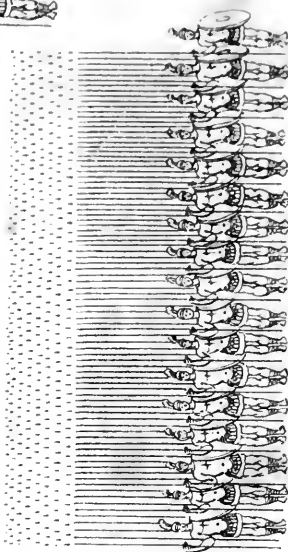
Laxe Phalanx or the uneven Fronted Phalanx.



Orthiophalanx or the Hesper.



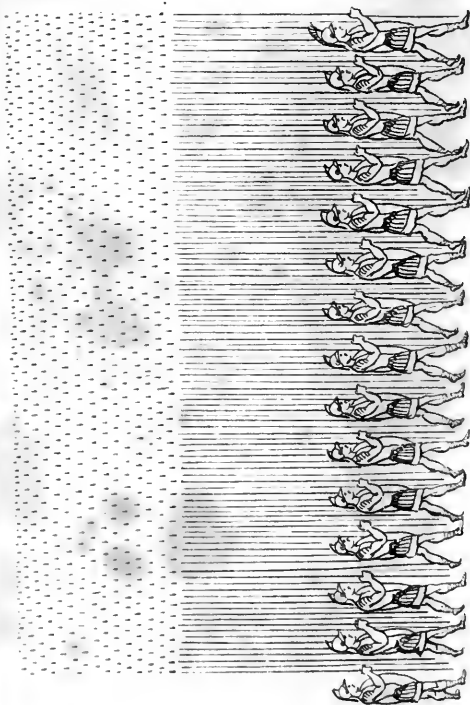
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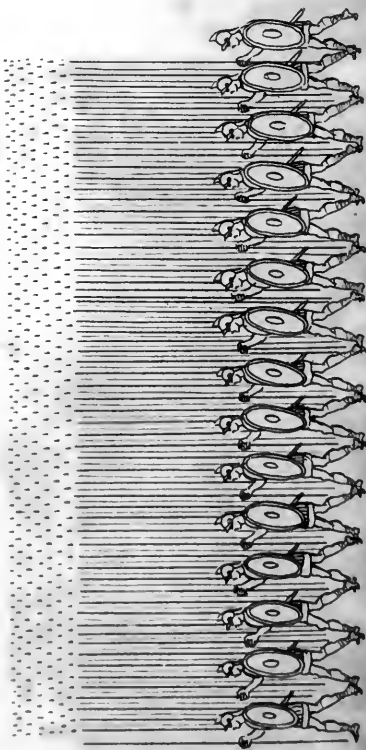




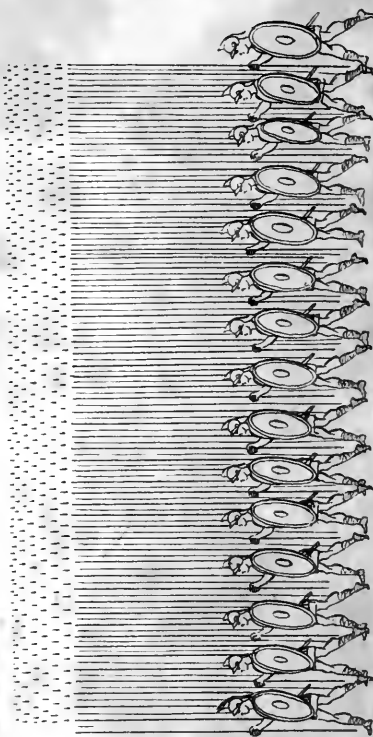
*The Battle called
Pinthium*



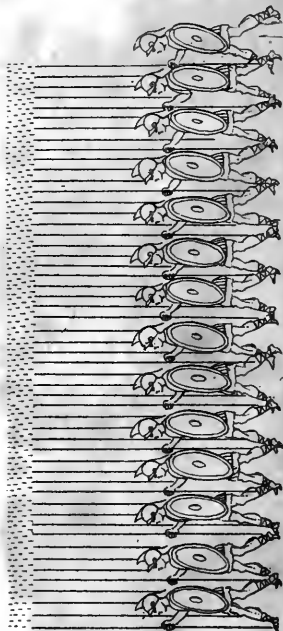
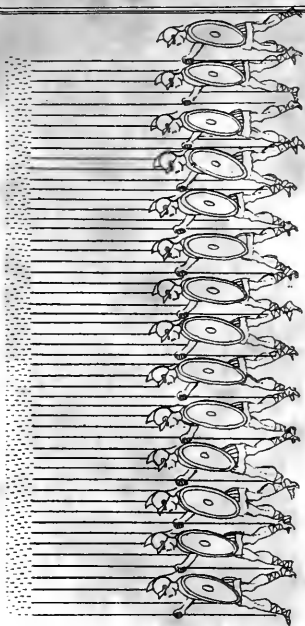
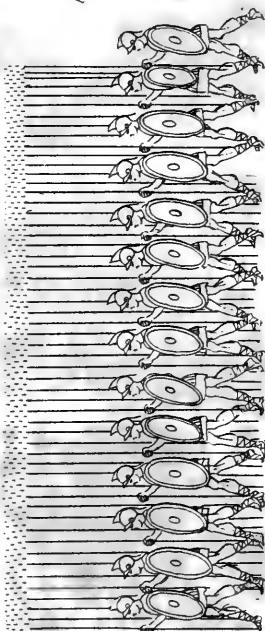
The Diphalangia



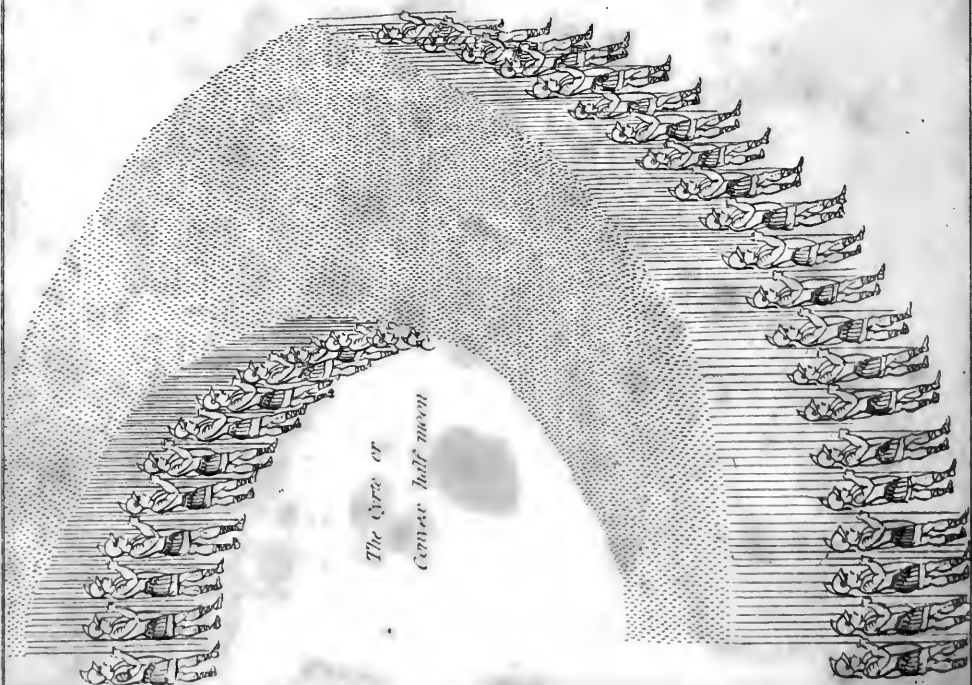
Homoistomus



the Epicampian



*The City or
Carnae half moon*





Πλαίσιον had an oblong figure, but approaching nearer to a circle than quadrangle.

Τετρηδών was an army extended at length, with a very few men in a rank, when the ways they marched through could not be passed in broader ranks : the name is taken from a worm that insinuates itself into little holes in wood. On the same account, we find mention of φάλαγξ ξιφοειδής, so ranged, as it were, to pierce through the passages.

Πύκνωσις φάλαγος was the ranging soldiers close together, so that, whereas in other battalias every man was allowed four cubits space on each side, in this he took up only two.

Συνασπισμός was closer than the former, one cubit's room being allowed to every soldier : it is so called from bucklers, which were all joined close to one another.

Several other forms of battalia may occur in authors, as those drawn in all other sorts of spherical figures. One of these was called ἴλη, first invented by Ilion of Thessaly, representing the figure of an egg, into which the Thessalians commonly ranged their horse. It is commonly taken for any party of horse, of what number soever, but sometimes in a more limited sense for a troop of sixty-four.

Ἐπιλαρχία contained two ἴλαι, i. e. one hundred and twenty-eight.

Ταραντιναρχία was a duplicate of the former, consisting of two hundred and fifty-six ; for they commonly used a sort of horsemen, called Ταραντίνοι, or ἵππαγωνισταί, who annoyed their enemies with missive weapons, being unable to sustain a close fight by reason of their light armour. There was likewise another sort of Tarentine horsemen, who, having discharged their missive weapons, engaged their enemies in close fight. Their name was derived from Tarentum in Italy, which used to furnish out horsemen of these sorts : but whether the name of this troop was taken from the sort of horsemen, or the numbers being the same with that used by the Tarentines, is not certain.

Ἰππαρχία contained two of the former, i. e. five hundred and twelve.

Εφιππαρχία was a double Ἰππαρχία, being made up of one thousand and twenty-four.

Τέλος was the former doubled, containing two thousand and forty-eight.

Ἐπίταγμα was equal to two τέλη, being composed of four thousand and ninety-six.

The Lacedæmonian divisions of their army had peculiar names.

The whole army was divided into Μόραι, or regiments. What numbers of soldiers were ranged in each is uncertain. Some make them five hundred, others seven, and some nine^k; but at the first reformation of the commonwealth, they seem not to have exceeded four hundred, who were all footmen. The commander was called πολέμαρχος^l; to whom was added a subordinate officer, called Συμφορεὺς.^m; the former was colonel, the latter his lieutenant.

Λόχος was the fourth part of a Μόρα; and though some affirm there were five Λόχοι in every μόραⁿ, yet the former account seems more agreeable to the ancient state of the Spartan army; for we are assured by Xenophon, that in every Μόρα there were four Λοχαῖσται.

Πεντηκοσὺς was the fourth part, or, as others say, the half of a Λόχος, and contained fifty men, as appears from the name. The commander hereof was styled Πεντηκοντῆρ, Πεντηκοντατῆρ, or Πεντηκοστήρ. Of these there were eight in every Μόρα, as the fore-mentioned author reports.

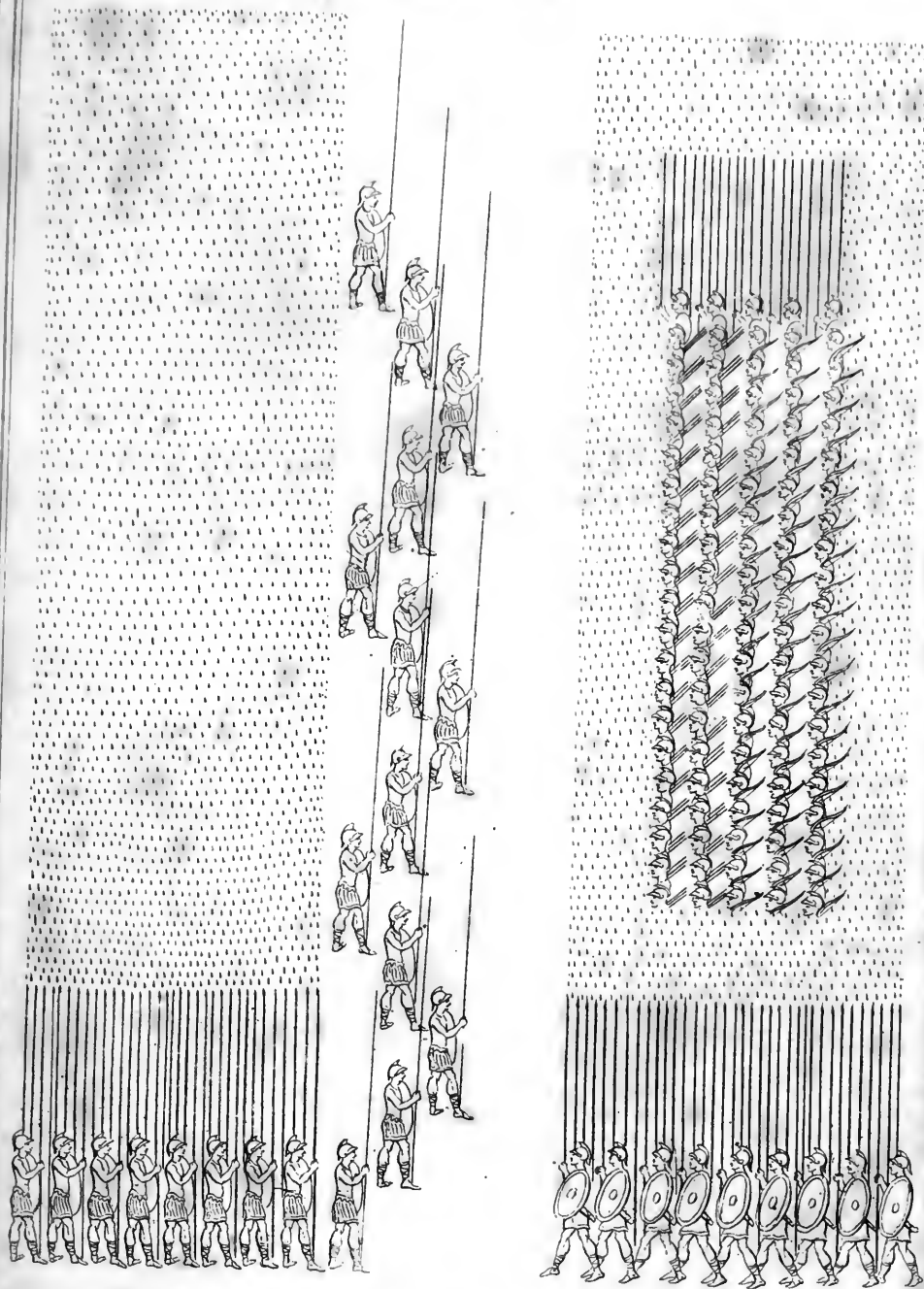
Ἐνωματία was the fourth part, or as others, the half of πεντηκοσὺς, contained twenty-five men, and was so called, because all the soldiers therein were ἐνάμοτοι διὰ σφαγῶν^o, or bound by a solemn oath upon a sacrifice, to be faithful and loyal to their country. The commander was termed ἐνωμοτάρχης, or ἐνωμόταρχος. Of these Xenophon affirms there were sixteen in every μόρα; which, together with his account of the Λόχοι and Πεντηκοσύνες, makes it evident that the primitive Μόραι consisted only of four hundred: the disagreement of authors herein seems to have been occasioned by the increase of the Lacedæmonian army; for, in succeeding ages, the Spartans having augmented their forces, still retained their ancient names, so that the eighth part of a μόρα, though perhaps containing several fifties, was still termed πεντηκοσὺς. The Roman battalions, in like manner, however increased by new additions, were still called *legiones*; which, though at first they contained no more than three thousand were afterwards varied as necessity required, and consisted of four, five, or six thousand. The same may be observed of their *cohortes*, *manipuli*, *ordines*, &c.

^k Plutarchus Pelopida.

^l Xenoph. de Rep. Laced.

^m Idem. Ἑλλην. lib. vi.

ⁿ Hesych. ^o Idem.



THE PEPLIGMENE . THE PLOESTUM .

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There are several other military terms, an explication of some of which may be expected in this place.

Πρόταξις is the placing of any company of soldiers before the front of the army, as *πρόταξις ψιλῶν*, when the light-armed men are drawn before the rest of the army, to begin the fight at a distance, with missive weapons.

Επίταξις is contrary to the former, and signifies the ranging of soldiers in the rear.

Πρόσταξις, when to one, or both flanks of the battle, part of the rear is added, the front of those that are added being placed in the same line with the front of the battle.

Υπόταξις, when the wings are doubled, by bestowing the light-armed men under them in an embowed form; so that the whole figures resemble a three-fold door.

Ἐντάξις, *παρένταξις*, or *προσένταξις*, the placing together of different sorts of soldiers, as when light-armed men are ordered to fill up void spaces between the heavy-armed companies.

Παρεμβολή is distinguished from the former, as denoting the completion of vacant spaces in the files by soldiers of the same sort.

Επαγωγή is a continued series of battalions in marches, drawn up after the same form behind one another, so that the front of the latter is extended to the rear of the former: whence this term is sometimes taken for the rhetorical figure *inductio*, where certain consequences are inferred, in a plain and evident method, from the concession of some antecedents ^P.

Παραγωγή differs herein from *επαγωγή*, that the phalanx proceedeth in a wing, not by file, but by rank, the leaders marching, not directly in the front, but on one side; when towards the left, it was called *εὐάνυμος παραγωγή*; when towards the right, *διξιά παραγωγή*.

Επαγωγή and *παραγωγή* are distinguished into four sorts; for when they expected the enemy, and marched on prepared for him only on one side, they were called *επαγωγή*, or *παραγωγή μονόπλευρος*: when on two sides, *δίπλευρος*: when on three, *τρίπλευρος*: when every side was ready for an assault, *τετράπλευρος*.

The motions of the soldiers at their officers command were termed *κλίσεις*.

Κλίσις ἐπὶ δόρυ, to the right; because they manage their spears with their right hands.

Επανάκλισις, the retrograde motion.

^P Aristot. Topic. lib. i. Quintil. lib. vi. cap. x. Cicero.

Κλισίς ἐπ' ἀσπίδα, to the left, for their bucklers were held in their left hands.

Μεταβολή is a double turn to the same hand, whereby their backs were turned on what before lay to their faces. There were two sorts of it :

1. Μεταβολή ἐπ' ἑρᾶν, whereby they turned from front to rear, which is termed ἑρᾶ, so that their backs were towards their enemies ; whence it is called μεταβολή ἀπὸ τῶν πολεμίων. It was always effected by turning to the right.

2. Μεταβολή ἀπ' ἑρᾶς, or ἐπὶ πολεμίων, from rear to front, whereby they turned their faces to their enemies, by moving twice to the left.

Ἐπιστροφή, when the whole battalion, close joined man to man, made one turn either to the right or left.

Ἀναστροφή is opposed to ἐπιστροφή, being the return of such a battalion to its former station.

Περισπασμός, a double ἐπιστροφή, whereby their backs were turned to the place of their faces, the front being transferred to the place of the rear.

Ἐκπερισπασμός, a treble ἐπιστροφή, or three wheelings.

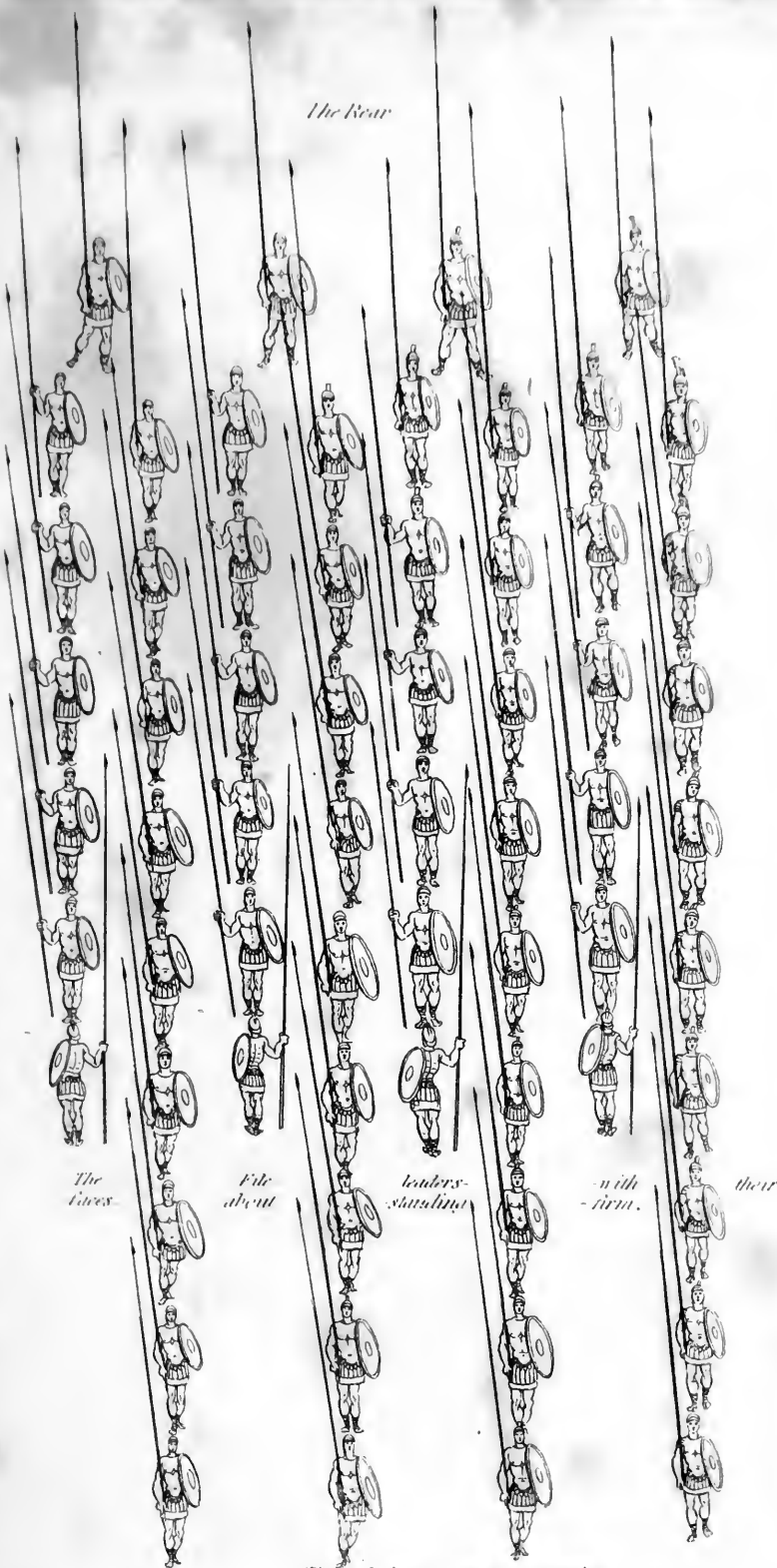
Εἰς ὁρθὸν ἀποδῆναι, or ἐπ' ὁρθὸν ἀποκαταστῆσαι, to turn about to the places they were in at first.

Εὐελιγμός, Εὐελισμός, or Εὐέλξις, countermarch, whereby every soldier, one marching after another, changed the front for the rear, or one flank for another ; whence there are two sorts of countermarches, κατὰ λόχους, and κατὰ ζυγά, one by files, the other by ranks ; both are farther divided into three sorts :

1. Εὐελιγμός Μακεδῶν κατὰ λόχους, invented by the Macedonians, was thus : first, the leaders of the files turned to the right or left about, then the next rank passed through by them on the same hand, and being come into the distant spaces, placed themselves behind the leaders of their files, then turned about their faces the same way. In like manner the third rank after them, with the fourth, and all the rest, till the bringers up were last, and had turned about their faces, and again taken the rear of the battle. Hereby the army was removed into the ground before the front, and the faces of the soldiers turned backward. This appeared like a retreat, and was for that reason laid aside by Philip of Macedon, who used the following motion in its stead.

2. Εὐελιγμός Λάκων κατὰ λόχους, invented by the Lacedæmonians, was contrary to the former ; that took up the ground before the

The Rear



The Files

File about

leaders

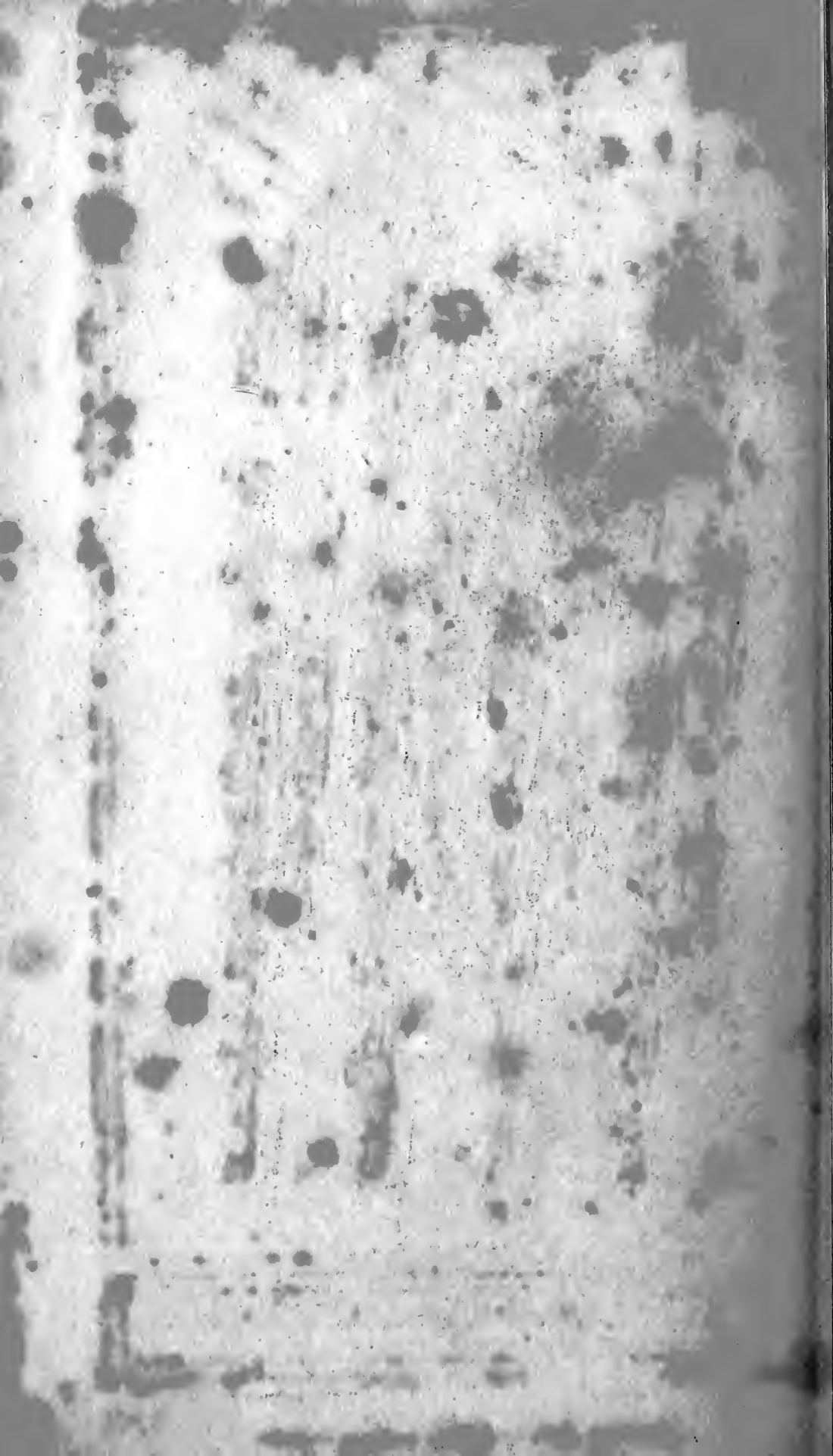
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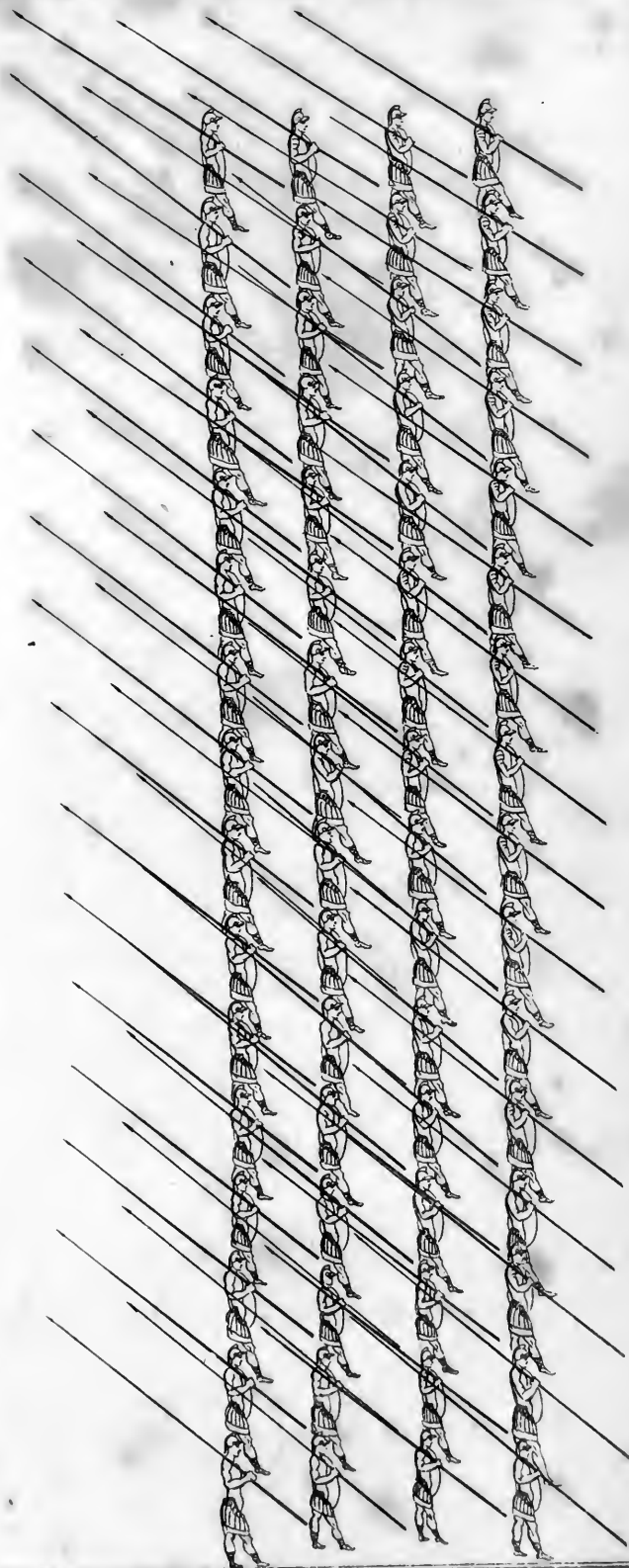
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The bringing up Dismarching.

MACEDONIAN COUNTERMARCH
The File.

Drawn & Engraved by J. & D. Lizars Edin.





THE DEDUCTION

Designed & Engraved by W. S. D. Lister & Co.

Edinburgh. Published by Doig, Stirling, & Slade 1818.

phalanx, this the ground behind it, and the soldiers faces turned the contrary way: in that the motion was from rear to front, in this from front to rear. Ælian^a describes it two ways: one was, when the bringers up first turned about their faces, the next rank likewise turning their faces, began the countermarch, every man placing himself directly before his bringer up; the third did the like, and so the rest, till the rank and file leaders were first. The other method was, when the leaders of files began the countermarch, every one in the files following them orderly; hereby they were brought nearer to their enemies, and represented a charge.

3. Εξελιγμός Περσικὸς, or Κρητικὸς, κατὰ λόχους, was used by the Persians and Cretans; it was sometimes termed χορείας, because managed like the Grecian chori, which, being ordered into files and ranks, like soldiers in battle array, and moving forward toward the brink of the stage, when they could pass no farther, retired, one through the ranks of another; the whole chorus all the time maintaining the same space of ground they were before possessed of; wherein this countermarch differed from the two former, in both which the phalanx changed its place.

Εξελιγμός κατὰ ζυγά, countermarch by rank, was contrary to countermarch by file; in the countermarch by file, the motion was in the depth of the battalia, the front moved toward the rear, or the rear toward the front, and succeeding into each other's place: in this the motion was in length of the battalia flankways, the wing either marching into the midst, or quite through the opposite wing; in doing this, the soldiers that stood last in the flank of the wing moved first to the contrary wing, the rest of every rank following in their order. It was likewise performed three ways:

1. The Macedonian countermarch began its motion at the corner of the wing nearest the enemies, upon their appearing at either flank, and removed to the ground on the side of the contrary wing, so resembling a flight.

2. The Lacedæmonian countermarch, beginning its motions in the wings farthest distant from the enemy, seized the ground nearest to them, whereby an onset was represented.

3. The Chorean countermarch maintained its own ground, only moving one wing into the other's place.

Διπλασιάζει is to double or increase the battalia, which was effected two ways. Sometimes the number of their men was augment-

^a Tact. cap. 28. cum Binghamii notis.

ed, remaining still upon the same space of ground ; sometimes the soldiers, continuing the same in number, were so drawn out by thinning their ranks, or files, that they took up a much larger space than before. Both these augmentations of men, or ground, being made either in length or depth, occasioned four sorts of διπλασιασμοί, which were made by countermarches.

1. Διπλασιασμός ἀνδρῶν κατὰ ζυγά, or κατὰ μῆκος, when fresh men were inserted into ranks, the length of the battalia being still the same, but the soldiers drawn up closer and thicker than before.

2. Διπλασιασμός ἀνδρῶν κατὰ λόχους, or κατὰ βάθος, was when the files were doubled, their ground being of no larger extent than before, by ranging them close to one another.

3. Διπλασιασμός τόπων κατὰ ζυγά, or κατὰ μῆκος, when the length of the battalia was increased, without the accession of new forces, by placing the soldiers at greater distances from one another.

4. Διπλασιασμός τόπων κατὰ λόχους, or κατὰ βάθος, when the depth of ground taken up by an army was rendered greater, not by adding new files, but separating the old to a greater distance.

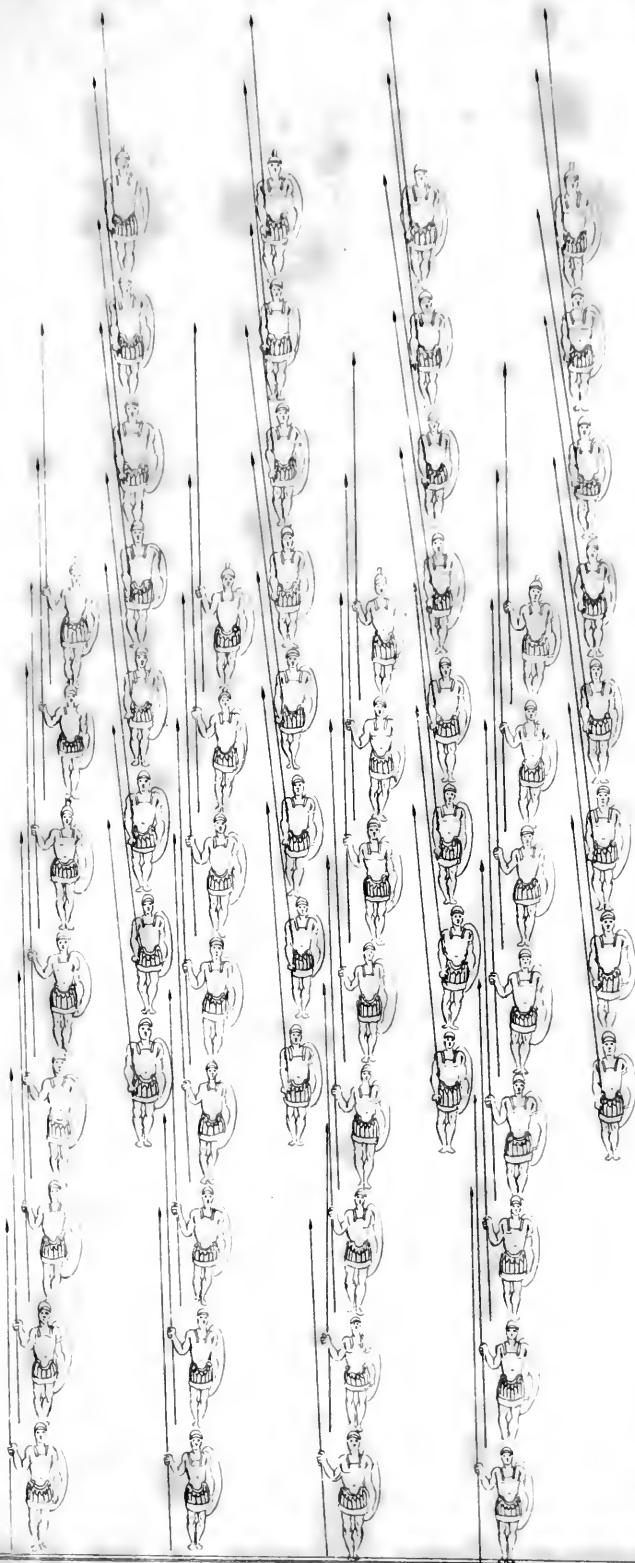
To conclude this chapter, it may be observed, that the Grecians were excellently skilled in the method of embattling armies ; and maintained public professors, called τακτικοί, from τάττειν, who exercised the youth in this art, and rendered them expert in all the forms of battle, before they adventured into the field.

CHAP. VII.

Of their Manner of making Peace and declaring War, their Ambassadors, &c.

BEFORE the Grecians engaged themselves in war, it was usual to publish a declaration of the injuries they had received, and to demand satisfaction by ambassadors ; for, however prepared or excellently skilled they were in the affairs of war, yet peace, if to be procured upon honourable terms, was thought more eligible ; which custom was observed even in the most early ages, as appears from the story of Tydeus, when Polynices sent to compose matters with his brother Eteocles, king of Thebes, before he proceeded to invest that city, as we are informed by Statius^r, and several others ;

^r Thebaid, lib. ii. v. 368.



DOUBLING OF RANKS IN ACTION.

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— *potior cunctis sedit sententia, fratris
Prætentare fidem, tutosque in regna precando
Explorare aditus : Audax en muneru Tydeus
Sponte subit* —

Long they debate, at length by joint consent,
Decree to sound the brother king's intent
By embassy, ere yet from hostile force,
They seek redress, the last and worst resource :
Fraught with th' adventurous task bold Tydeus glows. LEWIS.

Nor was the Trojan war prosecuted with so great hazard and loss to both parties, till these means proved ineffectual; for we find that Ulysses and Menelaus were dispatched on an embassy to Troy, to demand restitution; whence Antenor thus bespeaks Helen^s.

Πῶν γὰρ ἔδιδυρό ποτ' ἤλυθε δῖος Ὀδυσσεύς
Σεῦ ἔνεκ' ἀγγιλῖνς σὺν ἀρηϊφίλῳ Μενελάῳ.

— Hither once
The noble Ithacan, on thy behalf
Embassador with Menelaus came.

COWPER.

The same poet, in another place, acquaints us, that their proposal was rejected by the Trojans, over-ruled by Antimachus, a person of great repute amongst them, whom Paris had engaged in his party by a large sum of money^t;

— *Ἀντιμάχοιο δαΐφρονος, ὅς ῥα μάλιττα
Χρυσὸν Ἀλέξανδροιο δεδεγμένους, ἀγλαὰ δῶρα,
Οὐκ εἶασχ' Ἑλῆνην δόμιναι ξανθῷ Μενελάῳ.*

Amidst the tumult of the routed train,
The sons of false Antimachus were slain ;
He who for bribes his faithless counsels sold,
And voted Helen's stay for Paris' gold.

POPE.

Invasions without notice were looked on rather as robberies than lawful wars, as designed rather to spoil and make a prey of persons innocent and unprovided, than to repair any losses or damages sustained, which, for aught the invaders knew, might have been satisfied for an easier way. It is therefore no wonder, what Polybius^u relates of the Ætolians, that they were held for the common out-laws and robbers of Greece; it being their manner to strike without warning, and make war without any previous and public declaration, whenever they had opportunity of enriching themselves with the spoil and booty of their neighbours. Yet there want not instances of wars begun without previous notice, even by nations of better repute for justice and humanity: but this was only done upon provocations so great and exasperating, that no recompence was thought sufficient to atone for them; whence it came to pass, that such wars were of all others the most bloody and pernicious, and fought with excess of rage and fury; the con-

^s Iliad. γ'. v. 205.^s Iliad. λ'. v. 154.^u Lib. iv.

testing parties being resolved to extirpate each other, if possible, out of the world.

Ambassadors were usually persons of great worth or eminent station, that, by their quality and deportment, they might command respect and attention from their very enemies: and what injuries or affronts soever had been committed, yet ambassadors were held sacred by all sides. Gods and men were thought to be concerned to prosecute, with the utmost vengeance, all injuries done to them; whence (to omit several other instances), we read, that the Lacedæmonians having inhumanly murdered Xerxes's ambassadors, the gods would accept none of their oblations and sacrifices, which were all found polluted with direful omens, till two noblemen of Sparta were sent as an expiatory sacrifice to Xerxes, to atone for the death of his ambassadors by their own. That emperor, indeed, gave them leave to return in safety, without any other ignominy than what they suffered by a severe reflection on the Spartan nation, whose barbarous cruelty he professed he would not imitate, however provoked by them; yet divine vengeance suffered them not to go unpunished, but inflicted what those men had assumed to themselves, upon their sons, who being sent on an embassy into Asia, were betrayed into the hands of the Athenians, and by them put to death: which my author concludes to have been a just revenge from heaven for the Lacedæmonian cruelty^w.

Whence this holiness was derived upon ambassadors, has been matter of dispute: fabulous authors deduce it from the honour paid by the ancients to the *κῆρυκες*, or *heralds*, who were either themselves ambassadors, or, when others were deputed to that service, accompanied them, being held sacred on the account of their original, because descended from Ceryx, the son of Mercury, who was honoured with the same employment in heaven these obtained upon earth. It is true, that these men were ever had in great esteem, and their persons held sacred and inviolable; whence, as Eustathius observes, Ulysses in Homer, when cast upon foreign and unknown coasts, usually sends an herald to protect the men deputed to make discovery of the country and its inhabitants, persons of that character being revered even in barbarous nations, except some few, such as the Læstrygones, or Cyclopes, in whom all sense of humanity was extinguished^x. They were likewise under the care and protection of Mercury, the president god

^w Herodot. Polymn. cap. 134.

^x Eustath. Iliad. 4. p. 83, 84. ed Basil.

of their occupation, and Jupiter^y; whence Achilles calls them the messengers, not of men only, but of Jupiter^z.

Χαίρειτε κήρυκες, Διὸς ἄγγιλοι, ἧδὲ καὶ ἀνδρῶν.

All hail! ye envoys of great Jove and men.

But these honours seem not to have been conferred upon them so much because they were descended from Mercury (several other families to whom no such respect was due, bearing themselves much higher on their original) as upon account of their office, which being common to them with other ambassadors, seems to have challenged an equal reverence to both. License indeed being once granted to treat persons of that character injuriously, all hopes of peace and reconciliation amongst enemies must be banished for ever out of the world; and therefore, in the most rude and unpolished ages, all sorts of ambassadors were civilly entertained, and dismissed with safety: whence Tydeus's lady in Statius² is prevailed with to let her husband go ambassador to Thebes, because that title would afford him protection in the midst of his enemies;

——— *Tē, fortissime gentis*

Ætolum, multum lachrymis conata morari est

Deiphile, sed jussa patris, tulique regressus

Legato, justæque preces vicere sororis.

Fraught with the adventurous task bold Tydeus glows,

Though long oppos'd by his dissuading spouse;

At length the compact which in every state

Secures th' ambassador a safe retreat,

His sire's commands and sister's tears prevail,

O'ercome her prayers and sink the doubtful scale. LEWIS.

The Athenian heralds were all of one family, being descended from Ceryx the son of Mercury, and Pandrosus daughter to Cecrops king of Athens.

The Lacedæmonian heralds were all descended from Talthybius, Agamemnon's herald, who was honoured with a temple, and divine worship, at Sparta^b.

They carried in their hands a staff of laurel or olive, called κηρύκειον, round which two serpents, without their crests erected, were folded, as an emblem of peace and concord^c. Instead of this, the Athenian heralds frequently made use of the Εἰρεσιώνη, which was a token of peace and plenty, being an olive branch covered with wool, and adorned with all sorts of fruits of the earth.

Κήρυκες, or heralds, are by some thought to differ from πρέσβεις, or ambassadors, in this; that ambassadors were employed in treat-

^y Eustath, Iliad. κ'. p. 729.

^z Iliad. ε'.

^a Thebaid. lib. ii. v. 571.

^b Herodotus. loc. citat. Pausanias Lacedæmonicis.

^c Plinius, lib. xxix. cap. 5.

ties of peace, whereas, heralds were sent to declare war ^d; but this distinction is not constant or perpetual, the *κῆρυκες* being frequently taken for persons commissioned to treat about accommodating differences, which may appear, as from some of the fore-cited places of Eustathius, so from several passages in Homer, and other authors.

Ambassadors were of two sorts, being either sent with a limited commission, which they were not to exceed, or invested with full power of determining matters according to their own discretion. The former were liable to be called in question for their proceedings; the latter were subject to no after reckoning, but wholly their own masters, and for that reason stiled *Πρόξενος αὐτοκράτηρις*, plenipotentiaries ^e.

It may be observed, that the Lacedæmonians, as in most other things their customs were different from the rest of the Greeks, so likewise in their choice of ambassadors had this peculiar, that for the most part they deputed men, between whom there was no very good correspondence; supposing it most improbable, that such persons should so far trust one another, as to conspire together against the commonwealth. For the same reason, it was thought a piece of policy in that state to raise dissensions between their kings ^f.

Their leagues were of three sorts. 1. A bare *σπονδή, συνθήκη, εἰρήνη*, or peace, whereby both parties were obliged to cease from all acts of hostility, and neither to molest one another, nor the confederates of either.

2. *Ἐπιμαχία*, whereby they obliged themselves to assist one another in case they should be invaded.

3. *Συμμαχία*, whereby they covenanted to assist one another as well when they made invasions upon others, as when themselves were invaded, and to have the same friends and enemies ^g.

All these covenants were solemnly confirmed by mutual oaths; the manner of which I have already described in a former book ^h: to the end they might lie under a greater obligation to preserve them inviolate, we find it customary to engrave them upon tables, which they fixed up at places of general concourse, that all the world might be witnesses of their justice and fidelity. Thus we find the articles of treaty between Athens and Sparta not only pub-

^d Suidas.

^e Vide Archæol. nostr. lib. i. cap. 15.

^f Aristoteles Politic. lib. ii.

^g Suidas.

^h Lib. ii. cap. 6.

lished in those cities, but at the places where the Olympian, Pythian, and Isthmian games were celebratedⁱ. Others exchanged certain *tesserae*, in Greek *σύμβολα*, which might be produced on any occasion, as evidences of the agreement. The covenant itself was also called by the same name^j. Farther, to continue the remembrance of mutual agreements fresh in their minds, it was not uncommon for states thus united, interchangeably to send ambassadors, who, on some appointed day, when the people assembled in great numbers, should openly repeat, and, by mutual consent, confirm their former treaty. This we find practised by the Athenians and Spartans after their fore-mentioned league, the Spartan ambassadors presenting themselves at Athens upon the festival of Bacchus, and the Athenians at Sparta on the festival of Hyacinthus.

Their manner of declaring war, was to send an herald, who bade the persons who had injured them to prepare for an invasion, and sometimes, in token of defiance, cast a spear towards them. The Athenians frequently let loose a lamb into their enemies territories; signifying thereby, that what was then an habitation for men, should be laid waste and desolate, and become a pasture for sheep^k. Hence *ἄρνα προβάλλειν* came to be a proverbial phrase for entering into a state of war.

This was rarely done without the advice and encouragement of the gods; the soothsayers, and all sorts of diviners were consulted, the oracles enriched with presents, and no charge or labour spared to engage heaven (so they imagined) to their party: instances of this kind are almost as common as the declarations of war, which was never undertaken before the gods had been consulted about the issue. Nor was the verdict of a single deity thought sufficient; but in wars of great moment and consequence, whereon the safety of their country and liberties depended, they had recourse to the whole train of prophetic divinities, soliciting all with earnest prayers lifted up to heaven on the wings of costly offerings and magnificent presents, to favour them with wholesome counsel. A remarkable example whereof we have in Cræsus, before he declared war against the Persians; when not content with the answers of his own gods, and all the celebrated oracles in Greece, in consulting which he had profusely lavished vast quantities of treasure, he

ⁱ Thucydides de Bello Peloponnes.

^j Harpocration's *Σύμβολον*.

^k Diogenian. Collect. Prov. Suidas, &c.

dispatched ambassadors as far as Libya laden with wealth, to ask advice of Jupiter Hammon¹.

When they were resolved to begin the war, it was customary to offer sacrifices, and make large vows to be paid upon the success of their enterprise. Thus, when Darius invaded Attica, Calimachus made a vow to Minerva, that, if she would vouchsafe the Athenians victory, he would sacrifice upon her altars as many he-goats as should equal the number of the slain among their enemies. Nor was this custom peculiar to Greece, but frequently practised in most other countries: many instances occur in the histories of Rome, Persia, &c. The Jews used the same method to engage the divine favour, as may appear from Jephthah's vow, when he undertook to be captain over Israel against the Ammonites^m.

After all these preparations, though the posture of affairs appeared never so inviting, it was held no less impious than dangerous to march against their enemies, till the season favoured their enterprise; for, being extremely superstitious in the observation of omens and days, till those became fortunate, they durst not make any attempts upon their enemies. An eclipse of the moon, or any other of those they esteemed unlucky accidents, was enough to deter them from marching: and if all other things promised success, yet they deferred their expedition till one of the days they looked on as fortunate, invited them to it. The Athenians could not be persuaded to march *ἔντὸς ἑβδομήνης*, before the seventhⁿ; which gave occasion to the proverb, whereby persons, who undertook any business unseasonably, and before the proper time, were said to do it *ἔντὸς ἑβδομήνης*^o. But the Lacedæmonians were of all others the most nice and scrupulous in these observations; their lawgiver having commanded them to pay a critical and inviolate obedience to the celestial predictions, and to regulate all their proceedings, as well in civil as military affairs, by the appearance of the heavenly bodies; amongst the rest they were obliged, by a particular precept, never to march before the full moon^p; for that planet was believed to have a particular influence upon their affairs, to bless them with success, when itself was in the height of its splendour, but till it was arrived there, to neglect, or suffer them to be

¹ Herodotus, lib. i.

^m Judicum, cap. xi. v. 30.

ⁿ Aristophanis Scholiastes Equit. Hesy-
sychius.

^o Zenobius Cent. iii. Proverb. 79.

^p Lucianus Astrolog.

blasted for want of power to send assistance. So constant a belief of this they had entertained, that the greatest necessity could not prevail upon them to alter their measures; for, when the Athenians were like to fall into the hands of Darius, and sent to implore their assistance, they agreed indeed to send them a supply of men, but, rather than march before full moon, forced them to run the hazard of a decisive battle, and with a very small force to encounter an hundred thousand Medians ^q.

CHAP. VIII.

Of their Camps, Guards, Watches, and Military Course of Life.

OF the form of the Grecian camps nothing exact and constant can be delivered, that being not always the same, but varied, as the custom or humour of different states, or the conveniences of place and time required. The Lacedæmonians, indeed, are said to have been prescribed a constant method of building towns and encamping, by their lawgiver, who thought a spherical figure the best fitted for defence ^r; which was contrary to the custom of the Romans, whose camps were quadrangular: but all forms of that sort were rejected by Lycurgus, the angles being neither fit for service, nor defensible, unless guarded by a river, mountain, wall, or some such fortification. It is farther observable of the Lacedæmonians, that they frequently moved their camps, being accustomed vigorously to prosecute all their enterprises, impatient of delays and tedious procrastinations, and utterly averse from passing their time without action: wherefore the reason of this being demanded of Lycurgus, he replied, ‘it was that they might do greater damage to their enemies ^s.’ To which Xenophon adds a second, ‘that they might give more early relief to their friends ^t.’

Of the rest of the Grecian camps it may be observed, that the valiantest of the soldiers were placed at the extremities, the rest in the middle; that the stronger might be a guard to the weaker, and sustain the first onsets, if the enemy should endeavour to force their entrenchments. Thus, we find Achilles and Ajax posted at

^q Herodotus, lib. vi.

^r Xenophon de Repub. Laced,

^s Plutarch. Apophthegmat. Laconic.

^t Loco citato.

the ends of the Grecian camp before Troy, as bulwarks on each side the rest of the princes, who had their tents in the middle, as we learn from Homer ^u.

Στῆ δ' ἐπ' Ὀδυσσεὺς μεγαλήτεϊ νηϊ μελαίνῃ,
 Ἡ ῥ' ἐν μισσάτρῃ ἴσκει, γιγνόμενῃ ἀμφοτέρωσιν,
 Ἡ μὲν ἐπ' Αἴαντος κλισίῃς Τελαμωνιάδαο,
 Ἡ δ' ἐπ' Ἀχιλλεύῃ· τοί ῥ' ἔσχατοι νῆας ἴσας
 Εἴρυσαν, ἐνθὲν πίονοι, καὶ κάρτεϊ χερσῶν.

Thro' camp and fleet the monarch took his way,
 And, his wide robe imperial in his hand,
 High on Ulysses tow'ring galley stood,
 The central ship conspicuous; thence his voice
 Might reach the most remote of all the line
 At each extreme, where Ajax and the son
 Of Peleus, fearless of surprise and strong
 In conscious valour, flank'd the tented field.

COWPER.

When they designed to continue long in their encampments, they contrived a place, where altars were erected to the gods and all parts of divine service solemnly performed: in the same place public assemblies were called together, when the general had any thing to communicate to his soldiers; and courts of justice were held, wherein all controversies among the soldiers were decided, and criminals sentenced to punishment: which custom was as ancient as the Trojan war, and is mentioned by Homer ^v;

—κατὰ νῆας Ὀδυσσεὺς θείοιο

Ἰζε θεῶν Πάτροκλος, ἵνα σφ' ἀγορή τι, θέμις τε

Ἦν, τῇ δὲ καὶ σφί θεῶν ἐπιτεύχαστο βωμοί.

Soon as he came, where, on the crowded strand,
 The public mart and courts of justice stand;
 Where the tall fleet of great Ulysses lies,
 And altars to the guardian gods arise.

FOPE.

When they were in danger of having their camp attacked, it was usual to fortify it with a trench and rampire, or wall, on the sides whereof they erected turrets not unlike those upon the walls of cities, out of which they annoyed their enemies with missive weapons. Thus, the Grecians in Homer were forced to defend themselves in the ninth year of the Trojan war, when Achilles refused to assist them; whereas, till that time, they had wanted no fortifications, but immured the Trojans within their own walls. The poet has thus described their works ^w:

—τείχος ἰδεῖμαν,

Πύργους δ' ὑψηλὰς, εἴλαρ νηῶντι, καὶ αὐτῶν.

Ἐν δ' αὐτοῖσι πύλας ἐνείποιον εὖ ἀραρυίας,

Ὅφρα δι' αὐτῶν ἰππηλασίῃ ὁδὸς εἴη,

Ἐποσθὲν δὲ βαθεῖαν ἐπ' αὐτῶν τάφρον ὄρουσαν,

Εὐρείαν, μεγάλην, ἐν δὲ σκόλοπας κατίπτηζαν.

Then to secure the camp and naval powers,
 They rais'd embattel'd walls with lofty towers;

^u Iliad. 9. v. 222. Item Sophocles.
 Ajax ejusque Scholiastes Triclinus, v. 4.

^v Iliad. λ'. 806.

^w Iliad. ζ. v. 436.

From space to space were ample gates around,
 For passing chariots, and a trench profound,
 Of large extent; and deep in earth below
 Strong piles infix'd stood adverse to the foe.

POPE.

The manner of living in camps depended upon the disposition of their generals, some of which allowed their soldiers all sorts of excess and debauchery; others obliged them to the strictest rules of temperance and sobriety; a remarkable instance whereof we have in Philip of Macedon, who (as Polybius reports) condemned two of his soldiers to banishment for no other offence, than because he had found them with a singing-woman in his camp. But the Grecian discipline was not always so severe and rigid, as may appear from Plutarch ^x, who tells us, that the Lacedæmonians alone, of all the Grecians, had no stage-players, no jugglers, no dancing or singing-women attending them, but were free from all sorts of debauchery and looseness, of gaudy pomp and foppery; the young men, when commanded nothing by their general, were always employed in some exercise, or manly study; the old were busied in giving instructions, or receiving them from persons more skilful than themselves; and their looser hours were diverted with their usual drollery, and rallying one another facetiously after the Laconic fashion: yet their lawgiver allowed them greater liberty in the camp than at other times, to invite them to serve with delight in the wars; for whilst they were in the field, their exercises were more moderate than at home, their fare not so hard, nor so strict a hand kept over them by their governors; so that they were the only people in the world, to whom war gave repose. They were likewise allowed to have costly arms, and fine clothes, and frequently perfumed themselves and curled their hair: whence we read, that Xerxes was struck with admiration, when the scouts brought him word, the Lacedæmonian guards were at gymnical sports, and curling their hair ^y.

It was also customary at Athens for horsemen to nourish their hair. Hence the following words of Aristophanes ^z;

—δ δὲ κόμην ἔχων
 ἱππάζεσθαι τε, καὶ ξυνορκεύεσθαι.

And in another place of the same poet, there is an allusion to this practice ^a:

Νῆς ἐκ ἐνι ταῖς κόμαις
 ἑμῶν.

^x Cleomene, p. 810. edit. Paris. et Lycurgo.

^y Herodotus, lib. vii. cap. 208, et 209.

^z Nubibus, act. i. sc. 1.

^a Equitibus, act. iii. sc. 2.

The custom seems to have been derived from the primitive times, there being scarce any expression so frequent in Homer as that of *καρηκομῶντες Ἀχαιοί*. Afterwards, Cyneas and Phrynus, beside several other changes in the Athenian discipline of soldiers, procured a law to be enacted, which forbade them *κομᾶν, καὶ ἀερόδιαίτους εἶναι* to nourish their hair and to live delicately^b.

Their guards may be distinguished into *Φυλακαὶ ἡμεριναὶ* and *νυκτεριναὶ* the first were upon duty by day, the other by night. At several hours in the night, certain officers, called *περίπολοι*, did *περιπολεῖν*, or walk round the camp, and visit the watch, to try whether any of them were asleep, they had a little bell, termed *κάδων*, at the sound of which the soldiers were to answer^c: whence, to go this circuit, was called *κωδωνίζειν*, and *κωδωνοφορεῖν*.

— κωδωνοφορεῖται. πανταχῇ
Φυλακαὶ κατεστήκασι. —

Hence also *κωδωνίζειν* is used for *πειράζειν*, to try, to prove^d; and *ἀκωδάνισος* for *ἀπειράσος*, untried, or unproved^e. This custom furnished Brasidas with an advantage against Potidæa in the Peloponnesian war; for having observed the sounding of the bell to be over, he took his opportunity before the bell's return, to set up ladders in an unguarded place of the wall, and so entered the city^f.

The Lacedæmonian watch were not permitted to have their bucklers, that, being unable to defend themselves, they might be more cautious how they fell asleep. To which custom Tzetzes alludes in one of his historical chiliads^g.

Ποτὲ καὶ τὶς τῶν στρατηγῶν μᾶλλον φρονόντων πάντας
Τυμνὸς ἀσπίδων ἀνυθετὸς φύλακας ἔωσεν,
Ὅπως ἐπαγρυπνότερα τὴν φυλακὴν ποιῶνται,
Καὶ μὴ θαρρήσαντες αὐταῖς εἰς ὕπνον ἐκτραπῶσιν.

One of the gen'als once most eminent
In stratagems and warlike policy
Gave orders that the guards should march *unarm'd*
With bucklers, to secure their vigilance
Lest they supine should sleep upon their posts.

The rest of the Spartan soldiers were obliged to take their rest armed, that they might be prepared for battle upon any alarm^h.

It may be farther observed of the Spartans, that they kept a double watch: one within their camp, to observe their allies, lest they should make a sudden defection; the other upon some emi-

^b Aristophanis Scholiastes ad Equites.

^c Suidas.

^d Aristophanes *Βατράχοις*.

^d Idem *Lysistrate*.

^f Thucydides, lib. iv.

^g Chiliad, ix. Hist. 276.

^h Xenophon.

nence, or other place, whence there was a good prospect, to watch the motions of their enemies¹.

How often the guards were relieved, doth not appear; as neither whether it was done at set and constant times, or according to the commander's pleasure; φυλακή, indeed, which signifies a watch, is frequently taken for the fourth part of the night, answering to the Roman *vigiliæ*, as appears from several places of the New Testament, as well as other authors. But it seems to have this signification rather from the Roman than Grecian watches, those being changed four times every night, that is, every third hour computing the night from six to six, or rather from sun to sun), for the time between the two suns was divided into twelve equal parts, which were not always the same, like our hours, but greater or less, according to the season of the year; and are therefore, by astronomers, termed unequal and planetary hours.

CHAP. IX.

Of their Battles, the General's Harangues, the Sacrifices, Music, Signals, Ensigns, the Word, and Way of ending Wars by single Combat, &c.

BEFORE they joined battle, the soldiers always refreshed themselves with victuals, eating and drinking plentifully: which custom, with its reasons, we have largely accounted for in Ulysses's elegant oration to Achilles^j, where he advises the young general by no means to lead out his army fasting:

Μηδ' ἔσθως, ἀγαθὸς περ ἐὼν, θεοείκελ' Ἀχιλλεῦ,
 Νήσιας ὅτρυνε προτὶ Ἴλιον νῆας Ἀχαιῶν
 Τρωσὶ μαχέσσομένους· ἐπεὶ ἔκ ὀλίγον χρόνον ἔσται
 Φύλοπις, εὖπ' ἂν πρῶτον ὁμιλήσωσι φάλαγγες,
 Ἀνδρῶν, ἐν δὲ θεὸς πνεύσῃ μῖνος ἀμφοτέροισιν.
 Ἀλλὰ πάσασθαι ἀνωχθὶ θοῆς ἐπὶ νηυσὶν Ἀχαιῆς
 Σίτῃ καὶ οἴνοιο, τὸ γὰρ μῖνος ἐστὶ καὶ ἄλκη.
 Οὐ γὰρ ἀνὴρ πρόπαν ἡμᾶρ ἐς ἥλιον καταδύντα
 "Ἀκμηὸς σίτοιο δυνήσεται ἅντα μάχεσθαι.
 Εἴπερ γὰρ θυμῶν γε μενοινᾶα πολέμιζεν,
 Ἀλλὰ τε λάβρη γυνὴ βαρύνετ' αἶμα καὶ κίχάνει
 Δίψα τε, καὶ λιμός, βλάπεται δὲ τε γύναι' ἰόντι.
 "Ὅς δὲ καὶ ἀνὴρ οἴνοιο κορεσσάμενος καὶ ἰδωδῆς,
 Ἀνδράσι δυσμενέεσσι πανημέριος πολέμιζεν,
 Θαρσαλίον νύ οἱ ἦτορ ἐνὶ φρεσὶν, ἔδ' ἐτι γυνὴ
 Πρὶν κάμνει, πρὶν πάντας ἐρωῆται πολέμοιο.
 Noble Achilles! tho' with martial rage
 Thy gen'rous mind is fir'd thy foes t'engage,

i Xenophon.

j Iliad. τ'. v. 155.

Tho', godlike, thou art by no toils oppress,
 At least our armies claim repast and rest:
 Long and laborious must the combat be,
 When by the gods inspir'd and led by thee.
 Strength is deriv'd from spirits and from blood,
 And those augment by generous wine and food:
 What boastful son of war without that stay,
 Can last a hero thro' a single day?
 Courage may prompt; but, ebbing out his strength
 Mere unsupported man must yield at length;
 Shrunk with dry famine, and with toils declin'd,
 The drooping body will desert the mind:
 But built anew with strength-conferring fare
 With limbs and soul untam'd, he tires a war.

POPE.

We are told so by Livy, that the Romans thought this a preparative absolutely necessary, and never omitted it before engagements ^k.

This done, the commanders marshalled the army in order to an engagement, in which art the Grecians were far inferior to the Romans; for drawing up their whole army, as it were, into one front, they trusted the success of the day to single force: whereas, the Romans, ranging their *hastati*, *principes* and *triarii*, in distinct bodies behind one another, were able, after the defeat of their first body, twice to renew the battle, and could not be entirely routed till they had lost three several victories. Yet something not unlike this we find practised as long since as the Trojan war, where old Nestor is said to have placed a body of horse in the front; behind these the most infirm of the foot; and, last of all, such of them as surpassed the rest in strength and valour ^l.

Ἰππῆας μὲν πρῶτα σὺν ἵπποισιν ἔ' ὄχισφι,
 Πιξῆς δ' ἐξόπιθεν σῆσεν πολέας τε, ἔ' ἰσθλῆς,
 Ἐρκος ἔμιν πολέμοιο κακῆς δ' ἐς μίσσον ἔλασσειν,
 Ὀφρα ἔ' ἐκ ἐβέλων τις ἀναγκαίῃ πολέμιζῃ.

The reverend Nestor ranks his Pylian bands.
 The horse and chariots to the front assign'd;
 The foot, the strength of war, he rang'd behind;
 The middle space suspected troops supply,
 Inclos'd by both, nor left the power to fly.

POPE.

Where, though some interpret τὸ πρῶτον, and τὸ ὕπιν, of the right and left wings, and others several other ways, yet the most natural and genuine sense of the poet seems to be, that they were drawn up behind one another ^m.

At this time the general made an oration to his soldiers, wherein, with all the motives suitable on such occasions, he exhorted

^k Lib. ix.^l Iliad. Ὀ. v. 297.^m Plutarchus, lib. de Homero.

them to exert their utmost force and vigour against the enemy : and so wonderful was the success that attended these performances, that many times, when affairs were in a declining, and almost desperate condition, the soldiers, animated with fresh life and courage, have instantly retrieved them, and repulsed those very enemies by whom themselves had before been defeated : several of these instances may be found in the Grecian and Roman histories, few of which are more remarkable than that of Tyrtæus the lame Athenian poet, to whom the command of the Spartan army was given by the advice of an oracle in one of the Messenian wars : the Spartans had at that time suffered great losses in many encounters, and all their stratagems proved ineffectual, so that they began to despair almost of success, when the poet, by his lectures of honour and courage, delivered in moving verse to the army, ravished them to such a degree with the thoughts of dying for their country, that, rushing on with a furious transport to meet their enemies, they gave them an entire overthrow, and by one decisive battle put an happy conclusion to the war ^m.

Before they ventured to join their enemies, they endeavoured, by prayers, sacrifices, and vows, to engage heaven to their assistance, and sung an hymn to Mars, called *παιὼν ἐμβατήριος*, as that sung to Apollo after a prosperous battle, was termed *παιὼν ἐπινίκιος*.ⁿ The Lacedæmonians had a peculiar custom of sacrificing to the Muses, which was either designed to soften and mollify their passionate transports, it being their custom to enter the battle calm and sedate °, or to animate them to perform noble and heroical exploits, deserving to be transmitted by those goddesses to posterity ^p. The soothsayers inspected all the sacrifices, to presage the success of the battle ; and, till the omens proved favourable, they rather chose tamely to resign their lives to the enemy than to defend themselves. The Spartans, especially, were above measure addicted to this superstition : for, in the famous battle at Plataæ, when Mardonius the Persian general had fallen upon the Grecians, Pausanias the Spartan, who at that time commanded the Grecian army, offering sacrifice, found it not acceptable to the gods, and thereupon commanded his Lacedæmonians, laying down their bucklers at their feet patiently to abide his commands ;

^m Pausanias Messeniæcis, Diodorus Sic. lib. xv. Justin. lib. iii.

ⁿ Thucyd. Schol. lib. i. &c.

° Plutarchus, *περὶ ἀρχηγμάτων*.

^p Idem Lycurgo.

the priests offered one sacrifice after another, but all without success, the barbarians all the time charging upon them, and wounding and slaying them in their ranks, till at length Pausanias, turning himself towards the temple, with hands lifted up to heaven and tears in his eyes, besought Juno of Cithæron, and the rest of the tutelar deities of the Plataëans, that if the Fates would not favour the Grecians with victory, they would grant at least, that, by some remarkable exploit, they might demonstrate to their enemies, that they waged war with men of true courage and bravery. These prayers were no sooner finished, when the sacrifices appearing propitious, the signal was given, and they fell with such resolution upon the Persians, that, in a short time, they entirely defeated their whole army ^a.

Their signals are commonly divided into *σύμβολα*, and *σημεῖα* which words sometimes, indeed, are used promiscuously, but, in propriety of speech, are distinguished.

Σύμβολα were of two kinds, either *φανικά*, or *ὄρατά*, i. e. pronounced by the mouth, or visible to the eye. The first are termed *συνθήματα*, the latter *παρυσυνθήματα*.

Σύνθημα, in Latin, *tessera*, or the *word*, communicated by the general to the subordinate officers, by them to the whole army, as a mark of distinction to know friends from enemies^r. It commonly contained some good omen, or the name of some deity worshipped by their country, or general, and from whom they expected success in their enterprises. Cyrus, for example, used *Ζεὺς σύμμαχος*, *ἡγεμὼν*, or *σωτήρ*^s; Cæsar, *Venus genetrix*^t; Augustus, *Apollo*^u; but this custom often proved of fatal and pernicious consequence; for by frequently questioning one another, they bred confusion among themselves, and (which was no less dangerous) discovered the *word* to the enemies; as we find happening in the fight between the Athenians and the Syracusans, spoken of by Thucydides^v; it became likewise the occasion of several mischievous stratagems, one of which we find practised by an Arcadian captain in a war with Lacedæmon; when engaging in the night, all the *tessera* he gave his soldiers was, that they should forthwith kill whoever demanded the *word*; whereby they easily distinguished and slew the Spartans, themselves being undiscovered and therefore secure^w.

^a Plutarchus Aristide.

^r Glossographi.

^s Xenophon *Κύρου παιδ.* lib. vii.

^t Appianus Bell. Civil. lib. ii.

^u Valerius Maximus, lib. i. cap. 5.

^v Lib. vii.

^w Polyænus, lib. i.

Παρασύνθημα was a visible character of distinction, as nodding their heads, waving their hands, clashing their weapons, or such like ^x.

Σημεῖα were ensigs, or flags, the elevation whereof was a signal to join battle, the depression to desist ^y. Of these there were different sorts, several of which were adorned with images of animals, or other things bearing peculiar relations to the cities they belonged to: the Athenians, for instance, bore an owl in their ensigs ^z, as being sacred to Minerva, the protectress of their city; the Thebans, a sphinx ^a, in memory of the famous monster overcome by Oedipus. The Persians paid divine honours to the sun, and therefore represented him in their ensigs ^b.

The σημεῖον was frequently a purple coat upon the top of a spear, as appears from Canon's in Polyænus, and Cleomenes's in Plutarch: nor was it uncommon to use other colours; Polybius speaking of the fight between Antigonus and Cleomenes ^c, tells us, 'that the Illyrians, having orders to begin the battle, were to receive a signal by a white flag, that should be spread from the nearest post to Olympus: but the signal to be given by the Megalopolitans and the cavalry, was a purple coat, which was to be advanced in the air where Antigonus himself was posted.'

The Ancient Grecian signals were lighted torches thrown from both armies by men called πυρφόροι, or πυροφόροι, who were priests of Mars, and therefore held inviolable; and, having cast their torches, had safe regress ^d: whence, of battles fought with transport of fury, wherein no quarter was given, it was usual to say, ἔδ' ὁ πυρφόρος ἐσώθη, i. e. not so much as a torch-bearer escaped. To this custom there are frequent illusions in Greek and Latin poets: Lycophron, speaking of the Phœnicians, who, by stealing Io, began the quarrel between Europe and Asia, saith,

"Εχθρας δὲ πυρσὸν ἦσαν ἡπείροις διπλαῖς ^e.

They rais'd envenom'd discord, who then shook
Her baleful torch within two continents.

Hence also Statius ^f.

*Prima manu rutilam de vertice Larissæo
Ostendit Bellona facem.*————

Bellona first o'er Larissæa's tow'r
Shakes the dire torch.————

^x Onosander Strateg. cap. 26.

^y Suidas, Thucydides Schol. lib. i.

^z Plutarchus Lysandro.

^a Idem. Pelopida, Cornelius Nepos Epaminonda.

^b Curtius, lib. iii.

^c Fine lib. ii.

^d Euripidis Scholiastes Phœnissis, Lycophronis Scholiastes, v. 250. alique plures.

^e Cassandra, v. 1295.

^f Thebaid, iv. v. 5.

Claudian likewise, with others, whom I shall forbear to mention, takes notice of this custom ^g.

*Tisiphone quatiens infesto lumine pinum,
Armatus ad castra vocat pallentia manes.*

Tisiphone adjures the ghosts t' appear,
Shaking a flaming torch, as signal of the war.

These being laid aside, shells of fishes succeeded, which they sounded in the manner of trumpets, which in those days were not invented ^h. Hence Theognis's riddle may easily be interpreted:

*"Ἦδη γάρ με κίκληκε θαλάττιος οἶκαδ' νεκρὸς,
—Τιβηνηκῶς ζῶν φθιγγόμενος εἶματι.*

A sea inhabitant, with living mouth,
Spoke to me to go home, though it was dead.

Triton's shell trumpet is famous in poetical story; whence Ovid, speaking of Neptune ⁱ;

—————supraque profundum
*Extantem, atque humeros innato murice tectum
Ceruleum Tritona vocat, conchæque sonaci
Inspirare jubet, fluctusque et flumina signo
Jani revocare dato, cava buccina sumitur illi
Tortilis, in latum quæ turbine crescit ab imo.*

Already Triton at his call appears
Above the waves, a Tyrian robe he wears,
And in his hand a crooked trumpet bears.
The sov'reign bids him peaceful sounds inspire,
And give the waves the signal to retire:
His writhen shell he takes, whose narrow vent
Grows by degrees into a large extent.

DRYDEN.

And most of the poets mention this custom, in their description of the primitive wars: whence Theocritus, in his poem about the exploits of Castor and Pollux ^j,

*Ἡ δ' Ἀμυκος, ἔ κόχλον ἐλὼν μυκάσατο κοῖλον,
Οἱ δὲ θεῶς συνάγεθ' ἐν ὑπὸ σκιερῶς πλατανίστῳ,
Κόχλῳ φουαβέντος, ἀεὶ βίβρυκες κομόωντες.*

This said, Amycus did his trumpet sound,
The valleys rung, and echo'd all around,
Through every distant field the noise was heard,
And crouds of stout Bebrycians soon appear'd.

GREEK.

Lycophron also, speaking of the Trojan war ^k:

*Καὶ δὴ καταίθει γαῖαν ὀρχηστὴς Ἄρης,
Στρέβλῳ τὸν αἵματηρὸν ἐξέρχων νόμον.*

Great Mars, that nimble god of war,
Invigorates the youth by sound of shell,
Twining and circling into various rounds,
Thus was the land laid waste, thus rag'd the fiery god.

Where, though the scholiast falls foul upon the poet for introduc-

^g De Raptu Proserpinæ, lib. i.

^h Tzetzes in Lycophron, v. 250.

ⁱ Metamorph. lib. i.

^j Idyll. xβ'. v. 75.

^k Cassandra, v. 249.

ing shells at a time when trumpets were in use, which he tells us may be made appear from Homer ; yet herein he seems to be too audacious, it being observable ^l, that though Homer mentions trumpets, yet they never make any part of the description of his heroic battles, but only furnish him with a simile, or allusion; as happens in the place cited by Tzetzes ^m :

Ως δ' ὅτ' ἀριζήλη φωνή, ὅτε τ' ἰαχεὶ σάλπιγξ,
 " Ἀστυ περιπλομένων δῆτων ὑπὸ θυμοραϊσίων"
 ' Ως τότ' ἀριζήλη φωνή γίνετ' Αἰακίδαο.

When foes encamp'd around a city lie,
 And wait surrender from the enemy,
 Great fear assails the hearts of those within,
 Soon as the warlike trumps to sound begin :
 Such was Achilles' voice, such dread appear'd
 In all the Dardan host, when his loud call was heard. J. A.

Whence it may be presumed, that trumpets were indeed used in Homer's time, being then only a late invention, and not so ancient as the Trojan war, as the old scholiast hath also observed ⁿ. Virgil indeed appears to give some countenance to Tzetzes's opinion, when he speaks of Misenus, whom he makes to have served Hector in the Trojan war, and afterwards Æneas, in the office of a trumpeter ^o :

— ille Misenum in litore sicco,
 Ut venere, vident indignâ morte peremptum ;
 Misenum Æoliden, quo non præstantior alter
 Ære ciere viros, Martemque accendere cantu :
 Hectoris hic magni fuerat comes; Hectora circum
 Et lituo pugnâ insignis obibat et hastâ.
 Postquam illum victor vitâ spoliavit Achilles,
 Dardanio Æneæ sese fortissimus heros
 Addiderat socium, non inferiora secutus.

But when arriv'd amid the crowded strand,
 They saw Misenus stretched along the sand ;
 The great Misenus of celestial kind,
 Sprung from the mighty monarch of the wind ;
 Whose trump with noble clangors, fir'd from far
 Th' embattled hosts, and blew the flames of war.
 By Hector's side with unresisted might
 His javelin rag'd ; his trumpet roused the fight.
 But when that hero on the Phrygian plain
 By stern Pelides' thundring arm was slain,
 He follow'd next Æneas' conquering sword
 As brave a warrior as his former lord. PITT.

But here the brazen trumpet and *lituus* are taken from the practice of the poet's own age, by a figure familiar to men of his profession ; for Misenus was never acquainted with so rare a contrivance ; and though we find him so proud of his art, as to chal-

^l Eustathius Iliad. ζ.

^m Iliad. ζ. v. 219.

ⁿ Iliad. ζ. v. 219. Iliad. φ. v. 388.

^o Æneid. vi. v. 163.

lunge the gods of the sea, yet it was not to a contention on the trumpet, but on a shell, the instrument used by these deities; whence the same poet, who may be supposed to be the best interpreter of his own words, speaks thus in the verses immediately following:

*Sed tum forte, cava dum personat æquora concha
Demens, et cantu vocat in certamina divos,
Æmulus exceptum Triton, si credere dignum est,
Inter saxa virum spumosa immerserat unda.*

But while the daring mortal, o'er the flood,
Rais'd his high notes, and challeng'd every god,
With envy Triton heard the noble strain,
And whelm'd the bold musician in the main.

PITT.

Nevertheless, in the more eastern countries, trumpets were used several ages before. They are several times mentioned in the sacred history of the Jews, whose priests office it was to sound the alarm upon that instrument ^P.

There were six several sorts of trumpets ^q, which have occasioned the disagreement in ancient writers concerning the first author of the invention; it being common for them to ascribe to the inventor of any one sort, the honour of the first contrivance.

1. The first trumpet was contrived by Minerva, the common mother and patroness of almost all arts and useful inventions; whence she was honoured with the title of Σάλπιγξ, mentioned in Lycophon ^r,

Ἀντὴ γὰρ ἄκραν ἄρδιν εὐθυνοῖ χειροῖν
Σάλπιγξ.

Under this name, she was worshipped in a temple, dedicated to her at Argos ^s: but Pausanias is rather of opinion, that this trumpet was the invention of one of Hercules's sons, called Tyrrhenus, whose son Hegelaus (having communicated it to a party of Dorians, the subjects of Temenus) in memory of the invention, and out of gratitude to the goddess for her assistance therein, gave her this surname ^t.

2. The second was the Egyptian trumpet, called χύβη, Osiris's contrivance it was round, and used at sacrifices to call the congregation together ^u.

3. The third was invented in Gallia Celtica, where it was term-

^P Numer. xxxi.

^q Eustath. Iliad. δ'. p. 1189. edit. Basil.

^r Cassandra, v. 915.

^s Hesych. Phavorin. Eustath. loc. cit. videndus.

^t Pausan. Corinthiacis. Vide commentarium nostrum in Lycophon, v. 915.

^u Eustathius loc. cit. idem deinceps

ed *κάρυξ*: it gave a very shrill sound, but was not very large: it was cast in a mould, and had its mouth adorned with the figure of some animal. They had a pipe of lead, through which they blew into the trumpet when they sounded.

4. The fourth was first used in Paphlagonia, and called *Βόϊνος*, from *βῆς*, or the figure of an ox upon its upper orifice: it had a deep bass sound.

5. The fifth was invented in Media, had also a deep note, and was sounded by the help of a pipe, composed of reeds.

6. The sixth was called *Σάλπιγξ Τυρρήνικη*, because invented by the Tyrrhenians, from whom it was communicated to the Grecians by one Archondas, who came to assist the Heraclidæ, or posterity of Hercules ^v. Others attribute the first contrivance of it to Tyrrhenus, Hercules's son ^w. Its orifice was cleft, and sent forth an exceeding loud and shrill sound, not unlike the Phrygian flute; whence it became of all the rest the most proper for engagements: Ulysses in Sophocles compares to it the goddess Minerva's voice ^x,

᾽Ω φθίγμ' Αἰάνης φιλάτης ἔμοι θεῶν,
᾽Ως εὐμαθὲς σε κἄν ἄποπτος ᾔης, ὅμως
Φώνημι' ἀκέω, καὶ ξυναρπάζω φρενὶ,
Χαλκοσόμῃ πῶδανος ὡς Τυρσηνικῆς.

Ye accents of Minerva, of the gods

Most friendly to me! Well, O Queen, I know

Thy voice, though thou not seen; it strikes my sense

Clear as the Tuscan trumpet's brass-tuned notes.

POTTER.

Where the scholiast observes, that Minerva's voice is resembled to the Tyrrhenian trumpet, because it was easily known by reason of its loudness, as that trumpet excelled all others, and was at the first hearing easy to be distinguished from them.

These were the most common and remarkable sorts of trumpets; others may perhaps now and then occur in authors, such as the Libyan mentioned by Suidas, and one of Sophocles's scholiasts ^y, but seem to be of less note, and not so frequently used.

Several other instruments were used in sounding alarms; the *αὐγίγξ*, or *pipe*, in Arcadia; the *πηκτις*, sometimes termed *μάγαδης*, in Sicily ^z. The Cretans were called to battle by the sound of *αὐλοὶ*, or *flutes* ^a; as others, of Citharæ, lutes or violins ^b; but as most of

^v Sophocles Scholiastes Ajace, v. 17.

Suidas, Diodorus Siculus, lib. v.

^w Hyginus Fab. 274.

^x Ajace, v. 16.

^y Loco citato.

^z Clemenens Pædag. lib. ii. cap. 4.

^a Polybius, lib. iv.

^b A. Gellius, lib. i. cap. 11. Marti-
nus Capella, lib. ix.

the ancient writers affirm, of *lyra*, or harps ^c, which Plutarch tells us, were not laid aside for many ages ^d: the person that sounded the alarm, the Cretans called *Ιερίος*, and others termed him *Ιευνκτῆρ* ^e, from a sort of trumpet called *Ἰεὺξ*.

The Lacedæmonians are particularly remarkable for beginning their engagements with a concert of flutes ^f; the reason of which practice being demanded of Agesilaus, he replied, ‘that it was to distinguish cowards;’ such being unable, by reason of their consternation, to keep time with their feet to the music, as was their custom. This answer is indeed facetious, and not wholly without truth, yet seems not fully to comprehend the design of this custom. Valerius Maximus is yet farther from the truth, and stands in direct opposition to it, when he supposes it intended to raise the courage of the soldiers, that they might begin the onset with greater violence and fury; for Thucydides, with whom the rest of the ancient historians agree, assures us, that the design of it was rather to render them cool and sedate, trumpets and other instruments being more proper to inspire with heat and rage; but these passions they thought rather apt to beget disorder and confusion, than to produce any noble and memorable actions, valour being not the effect of a sudden and vanishing transport, but proceeding from a settled and habitual firmness and constancy of mind: wherefore they endeavoured, not with noise and haste, but with composed minds and settled countenances, to advance in a majestic and deliberate pace towards their enemies. The manner of it is described by Plutarch ^g, who tells us, ‘that the army being drawn up in battle-array, and the enemy near, the king sacrificed a she-goat, and at the same time commanded the soldiers to adorn their heads with garlands, and the fluters to play *Κασόρειον μέλος*, the tune of Castor’s hymn; and himself, advancing forward, began the *ἐμβατήριος παιάν*, or alarm; so that it was at once a delightful and terrible sight, to see them march on, keeping pace to the tune of their flutes, without ever troubling their order, or confounding their ranks, their music leading them into danger cheerful and unconcerned: for (proceeds my author) men thus disposed were not likely to be possessed with fear, or transported with fury; bu

^c Clemens. loc. citat. Athenæus, lib. xii. et xiv. Eustathius ad Iliad. ψ’.

^d Lib. de Musica.

^e Hesychius.

^f Idem Auctores, qui de Cretensibus citantur, item Xenophon, Maximus Ty-

rius Dissert. xii. et xxi. Quintilianus, lib. i. cap. xvi. Thucydides, lib. v. Valerius Maximus, lib. ii. cap. 6. Lucianus de Saltatione, et alii passim.

^g Lycurgo.

they proceeded with a deliberate valour, full of hope and good assurance, as if some divinity had sensibly assisted them.' Maximus the Tyrian attributes to this method those great successes, and numerous victories, that have rendered the Spartan name famous in all succeeding ages; but it seems peculiarly calculated and adapted to the discipline and temper of that state, and scarce to be imitated, till the old Lacedæmonian resolution, and unparalleled firmness of mind, shall be recalled.

The rest of the Grecians advanced with eager haste and fury, and in the beginning of their onset gave a general shout, to encourage and animate themselves, and strike terror into their enemies: this was called ἀλαλαγμός, from the soldiers repeating ἀλλᾶλ. Suidas makes them to have cried also ἐλελέν: the first author of it was Pan, Bacchus's lieutenant-general in his Indian expedition; where, being encompassed in a valley with an army of enemies far superior to them in number, he advised the god to order his men in the night to give a general shout, which so surprised the opposite army, that they immediately fled from their camp; whence it came to pass, that all sudden fears impressed upon men's spirits, without any just reason, were called by the Greeks and Romans, *panic terrors*^h.

This custom seems to have been used by almost all nations, barbarous as well as civil; and is mentioned by all writers that treat of martial affairs. Homer hath obliged us with several elegant descriptions of it, too numerous to be inserted in this place: I shall, however, give you one out of the fourth Iliadⁱ, where he resembles the military noise to torrents rolling with impetuous force from mountains into the subjacent vallies.

‘Ως δ’ ὅτε χεῖμαίροι ποταμοὶ, κατ’ ὄρεσφι ῥέοντες,
Ες μισγάγκειαν συμβάλλετον ὄμβριμον ὕδαρ,
Κρηναὶν ἐκ μεγάλων, κοίλης ἔντοσθε χαράδρης,
Τῶν δέ τι τηλόσε δᾶπον ἐν οὔρεσιν ἔκλυε ποιμήν.
Ὡς τῶν μισγομένων γένετο ἰαχή τε, φόβος τε.

As torrents roll, increas'd by numerous rills,
With rage impetuous down their echoing hills;
Rush to the vales, and, pour'd along the plain,
Roar thro' a thousand channels to the main;
The distant shepherd trembling hears the sound:
So mix both hosts, and so their cries rebound.

POPE.

Some may infer from the beginning of Homer's third Iliad, that this noise was only a barbarous custom, practised indeed by the Trojans, but laughed at by the more civilized Grecians^j:

^h Polyænus Strateg. lib. i.

ⁱ v. 452.

^j v. 1.

Αὐτὰρ ἰπεὶ κόσμηθεν ἄμ' ἠγεμόνεσσιν ἕκαστοι,
 Τρῶες μὲν κλαγγῇ τ' ἐνοπῇ τ' ἴσαν ὄρνυες ὤς·
 ἥντι περ κλαγγῇ γυράνων πέλει ἑραινῶ πρόδ',
 Αἴτ' ἰπεὶ ἐν χειμῶνα φύγον, ἔθλίσφατον ὄμβροσιν,
 Κλαγγῇ ταίγῃ πέτονται ἰπ' ὠκεανοῖο βόαςιν,
 Ἀνδράσι Πυγμαίοισι φόνον ἔκῃρα φέρουσιν·
 Ηἱεῖαι δ' ἄρα ταίγῃ κακὴν ἔριδα προφέρονται.
 Οἱ δ' ἄρ' ἴσαν σιγῇ μένεα πνείοντες Ἀχαιοί,
 Ἐν θυμῷ μεμαῶτες ἀλεξέμεν ἀλλήλοισιν.

So when inclement winters vex the plain,
 With piercing frosts, or thick descending rain,
 To warmer seas the cranes embodied fly,
 With noise and order thro' the midway sky ;
 To pigmy nations wounds and death they bring,
 And all the war descends upon the wing.
 But silent, breathing rage, resolv'd and skill'd,
 By mutual aid to fix a doubtful field
 Swift march the Greeks : the vapid dust around
 Darkning arises from the labour'd ground.

POPE.

But this is only to be understood of their march, as appears likewise from another passage in the fourth Iliad, where the poet has admirably represented the order and regular march of the Grecians, with the confusion and disorderly motion of the barbarians ^k :

——— ἵπασσύντ' εἰσι Δαναῶν κίνυντο φάλαγγες
 Ναυλιμῶς· πολυμόνδε κέλευε δὲ οἷσιν ἵπαστος
 ἠγεμόνων· οἱ δ' ἄλλοι ἀκὴν ἴσαν (ὕδ' κε φαίης
 Τόσσον λαὸν ἵπασθαι ἔχοντ' ἐν σῆθεσιν αὐδῆν,)·
 Σιγῇ διδιότις σημαντόρας· ἀμφὶ δὲ πᾶσι
 Τεύχεα ποικίλ' ἔλαμπε, τὰ εἰμένοι ἐσιχρόντο.
 Τρῶες δ' ὥς πολυτάμμενος ἀνδρὸς ἐν αὐλῇ
 Μυρία· ἐσηκασιν, ἀμειλόμεναι γάλα λευκόν,
 Ἀζηχὲς μεμακύναι, ἀκύσασαι ὅσα ἀρνῶν
 Ὡς Τρώων ἀλαλητὸς ἀνὰ στρατὸν εὐρὺν ὁράρει.

Sedate and silent move the numerous bands
 No sound, no whispers, but the chief's commands,
 Those only heard; with awe the rest obey,
 As if some god had snatch'd their voice away.
 Not so the Trojans; from their host ascends
 A general shout that all the region rends.
 As when the fleecy flocks unnumber'd stand
 In wealthy folds, and wait the milker's hand ;
 The hollow vales incessant bleating fills
 The lambs reply from all the neighbouring hills:
 Such clamours rose from various nations round,
 Mix'd was the murmur, and confus'd the sound.

POPE.

Where it is manifest he only speaks of their march; because a few verses after, where he comes to describe the engagement of the two armies, he does it in the words before cited; and in all other places he mentions the great noise and clamour of both parties in their encounters. Thus, in the sixteenth Iliad, he speaks of Achilles's Myrmidons ^l :

^k v. 427.^l v. 276.

Εν δ' ἔπαιον Τρώεσσι πολλαῖς· ἀμφὶ δὲ νῆες
Σμυρδάλιον κонаῖσαν αὐσαντων ὑπ' Ἀχαιῶν·

————— Loud shouted all

The joyful Grecians, and the navy rang.

COWPER.

And a little before ^m ;

Εκ νηῶν ἰχίοντο· βοὴ δ' ἄσβεστος ἐρώρει.

They throng out of their ships with joyful shout.

Nay, so necessary, and almost essential, was this shout to a battle, that φύλοπις, αὐτή, and βοή, are used by the poet as equivalent terms for μάχη· and when he commends his heroes for being βοὴν ἀγαθοί, he often means no more than μάχην ἀγαθοί, excellent warriors. It was also one part of a good soldier's and commander's character, to have a strong voice, not only because it was the custom to signify their orders by word of mouth, before trumpets were invented, but for the terror wherewith it surprised and astonished their enemies ⁿ. Instances of this nature are very frequent in Homer, where Hector, Achilles, and several others, strike a consternation into the adverse party with a shout : and later authors give this good quality its peculiar commendation : Plutarch, in particular, in his character of Marcus Coriolanus, the Roman general, observes, that he was not only dreadful to meet in the field, by reason of his hand and stroke, but (what he tells us Cato required in an accomplished warrior) insupportable to an enemy for the very tone and accent of his voice, and the sole terror of his aspect.

In the heroical wars, the generals fought at the head of their armies, as appears in all Homer's battles : whence they are frequently termed πρόμαχοι and πρόμοι, because they did προμαχίζειν τῷ στρατῷ, *fight before their armies*. Thus, when he led up the Trojans ^o,

Τρωσὶν μὲν προμαχίζεν Ἀλέξανδρος θιοιδής.

Leading the Trojans godlike Paris fought.

And when Achilles sends out his soldiers to defend the Grecian ships, having allotted to the rest of his officers their several posts, he places Patroclus and Automedon, as chief commanders, before the front ^p.

Πάντων δὲ προπάροιθε δὴ ἄνιρι θαρσύνεσθον,
Πάτροκλός τε, καὶ Ἀυτομήδων, ἵνα θυμὸν ἔχοντες,
Πρόσθεν Μυρμιδόνων πολεμιζέμεν·—————

^m v. 267.
&c. ed. Basil.

ⁿ Eustathius Iliad. β'. p. 187. Iliad. γ'. p. 305. Iliad. λ'. p. 799.
^o Iliad. γ'. v. 16.

^p Iliad. π'. 218.

In front of all, two chiefs their station took
 Patroclus and Automedon, one mind
 In both prevail'd, to combat in the van,
 Of all the Myrmidons. —————

COWPER.

To heap up more instances in a thing so well known, would be to no purpose. In wiser ages, this practice was laid aside, and generals, considering how much the event of the battle depended upon the preservation of their persons, usually chose safer posts, and were more cautious how they adventured themselves into danger.

The retreat, and other commands, seem usually to have been sounded upon the same instrument wherewith the alarm was given; yet in those places where the alarm was sounded by soft and gentle music, the retreat and other orders we find sometimes signified upon louder instruments: which may be observed of the Lacedæmonians, who seem to have used trumpets in signifying the general's orders, as appears from Polybius^a, who reports that Cleomenes commanded a party of his army to change their posts by sound of trumpet.

The Lacedæmonians, when their enemies fled out of the field, were not allowed to prosecute their victory, or make long and eager pursuits after them^r: while they made opposition, and were able to fight for mastery, they contended with invincible courage and resolution to bear them down; but, when they ceased to make resistance, and yielded the day, they gave them liberty to provide for their safety by flight, pursuing them only a very short space, and that by slow and easy paces; the reason of which custom Pausanias^s accounts for, from their strict and inviolate observance of order and discipline, which made them rather choose to let their enemies escape, than by breaking their ranks to overtake them. Plutarch's relation seems also rational, and well suited to the old Spartan temper: 'That the Spartans, having routed an enemy, pursued them till they had completed their victory, and then sounded a retreat; thinking it base, and unworthy of true Grecians, to cut men in pieces that had ceased from resisting them, and left them the field. Which manner of dealing with those they had conquered, did not only show their magnanimity and greatness of soul, but had a politic end in it too; for their enemies, knowing that they killed only those who made resistance,

^a Lib. ii. *prope finem.*^r Thucydides, lib. v. Polyænus, lib. i.
^s Messeniæcis.

and gave quarter to the rest, generally thought it their best way to consult their safety by an early flight ^t.'

One thing farther remains before the conclusion of this chapter, viz. that it was frequent amongst the ancient Grecians to put their cause upon the issue of a single combat, and to decide their quarrels by two or more champions on each side : and their kings and great commanders were so eager in their pursuit after glory, and so tender of the lives of their subjects, that they frequently sent challenges to their rival princes, to end their quarrel by a single encounter, that by the death of one of them they might prevent the effusion of more blood. Remarkable instances hereof we have in Xanthus, king of Bœotia, who, challenging the king of Attica, was slain by him, and so ended a dangerous war between those states ^u ; and in Pittacus, the famous Mitylenian, who slew Phryno the Athenian general in a single combat. Ancient histories are full of such examples, as likewise of wars happily concluded by a small number commissioned by mutual agreement to decide the controversy. The Lacedæmonians furnished us with one memorable instance in their wars with Argos about the title to Thyrea, which was determined by three hundred on each side. Nor was the conclusion of the war between the Tegeans and Phe-neans, two small states in Arcadia, less remarkable, being effected by a combat of three brothers on each side ^v, all the circumstances of whose story run exactly parallel to that of the Horatii and Curiatii, so famous in Roman histories. The eastern countries were acquainted with the same custom, as may appear from Goliath's challenging the Israelitish host to give him a man to fight with him, and the flight of the Philistines upon David's victory over their champion.

CHAP. X.

Of their Sieges, with the most remarkable of their Inventions, and Engines used therein.

THERE are no footsteps of any siege among the primitive Grecians : their cities were not fortified with walls, but lay open

^t Plutarchus Lycurgo, Apophthegmat. Laconicis, *πρὸς ἀποφθέγματα*.

^u Vide Archæolog. nostr. vol. i. cap. 20. in *Ἀπαρχία*.

^v Plutarchus Parallelis.

to all invaders ; and their inhabitants, once vanquished in open field, became an easy prey to the conquerors. Wherefore, it is not to be wondered that the people of those times enjoyed no fixed and settled habitations, but frequently removed from one part of the country to another, being forced to quit their seats whenever they were coveted by a power superior to their own ^w.

This moving and unsettled condition, wherein they continued for some ages, caused them to attempt several methods to secure themselves : some built their cities upon the tops of inaccessible rocks and mountains, whence they could easily repel a greater force of enemies : others, whose situation was not so defensible, were driven to seek other ways for their safety ; till at length, some heads of no vulgar understanding, brought forth an amazing contrivance, to inclose their houses and possessions within walls. This, at first, was looked on as a work so wonderful, so far above human capacity, that the gods were frequently called from their blessed mansions to undertake it. The walls of Troy (to mention no more) were of divine workmanship, and raised by no meaner persons than Neptune and Apollo : but if mortals had the happiness to project and finish so great a design, they seldom failed of being translated to heaven, and having their names enrolled among those exalted beings, to whom they were thought to make near approaches, whilst on earth.

And, since it was their custom to immortalize the first authors of every little contrivance, it is no wonder if they conferred the same honours on those great benefactors, to whom they were obliged for the security and quiet possession of whatever the rest of their deities had gratified them with. Once, indeed, inclosed within walls, they looked upon themselves safe from all assaults ; and, had not a weak opposition within been sufficient to repel much greater forces of invaders, such a town as Troy could never have held out ten years against an hundred thousand besiegers.

Nor were the Grecians of later ages, however renowned for knowledge in military affairs, very willing to undertake, or expert in managing sieges ; but rather chose to end their quarrels, if possible, by one decisive battle, than to undergo the fatigue, and other incommodities of so tedious, so dangerous, and expensive a method.

Of all the Grecians, the most averse from undertaking leaguers, and the most unskilful in carrying them on to advantage, were the

^w Thucydides initio lib. i.

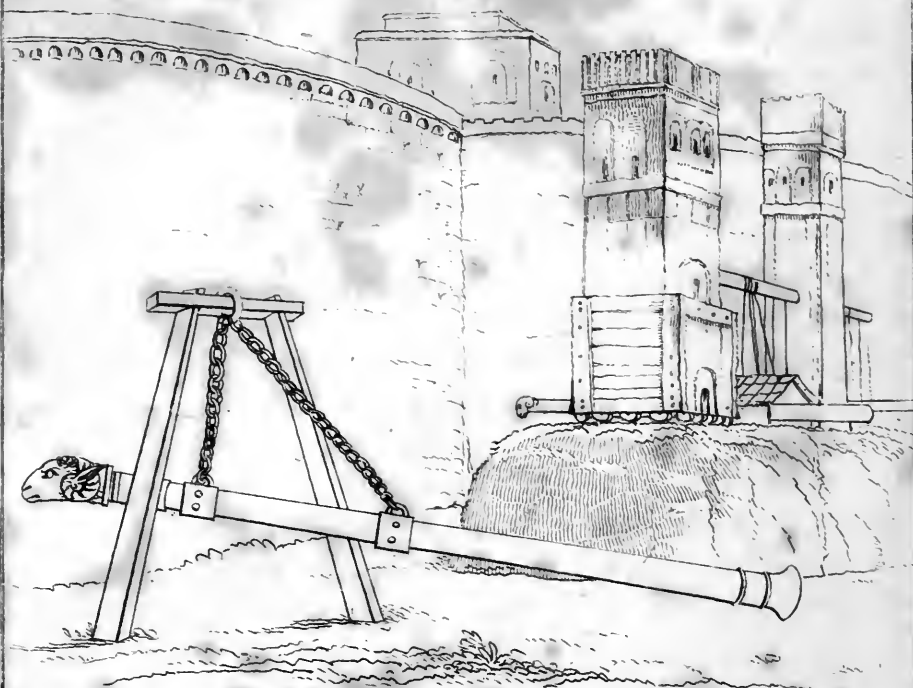


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TURRES, AGGER ET ARIES.

Drawn & Engraved by W. S. D. Lewis Esq.

Edinburgh Published by Doig, Stirling & Slade 1818.

Lacedæmonians ; insomuch that after Mardonius's defeat at Platæa, when a body of Persians had taken refuge in some wooden fortifications, they could find no means to drive them thence, but must have been forced to retire, had not the Athenians and some other Grecians advanced to their assistance ^x. For we are told by Plutarch, that their lawgiver obliged them, by a special injunction, not easily to engage in besieging towns ; and to lose their lives in such undertakings, was accounted inglorious, and unworthy a Spartan, as we learn from the same author ^y, who, speaking of Lysander's being slain before the gates of a little Bœotian town, called Haliartus, tells us, ' That, like some common soldier, or one of the forlorn hope, he cast away his life ingloriously, giving testimony to the ancient Spartans, that they did well to avoid storming of walls, where the stoutest man may chance to fall by the hand, not only of an abject fellow, but of a boy or woman ; as they say Achilles was slain by Paris at the Scæan gates of Troy ^z. Pyrrhus also, the great king of Epirus, fell by the hand of a woman at Argos ^a.

When they endeavoured to possess themselves of a town or castle, it was usual first to attempt it by storm, surrounding it with their whole army, and attacking it in all quarters at once, with the Greeks called *σαγήνειν*, the Romans, *corona cingere*. When this method proved ineffectual, they frequently desisted from their enterprize ; but if resolved to prosecute it, they prepared for a larger siege ; in carrying on which, they seem not to have proceeded in any constant and settled method, but to have varied it according to the direction of their generals, as well as the difference in time, place, and other circumstances.

When they designed to lay close siege to a place, the first thing they went about was *ἀποτειχισμός*, or *περιτειχισμός*, the works of circumvallation, which we find sometimes to have consisted of a double wall or rampire, raised up of turfs, called in Greek *πλίνθοι* and *πλινθία*, in Latin, *cespites*. The interior fortification was designed to prevent sudden and unexpected sallies from the town, and to deprive it of all possibility of succour from without ; the exterior, to secure them from foreign enemies, that might come to the relief of the besieged. Thus when the Peloponnesians invested Platæa, Thucydides reports, they raised a double wall, one towards the city, the other towards Athens, to prevent all danger on

^x Herodotus, lib. ix. cap. 69.

^y Plutarch. Sylla.

^z Homer. Iliad. χ'. v. 360.

^a Plutarchus. Pyrrho.

that side : the middle space, which was sixteen feet, was taken up with lodges for guards and sentinels, built at due distance one from another, yet so close, that at a distant view, the whole pile appeared to be one broad wall, with turrets on both sides, after every tenth of which was a larger tower, extended from wall to wall.

Engines were called by the ancient Greeks *μάγχανα*, and afterwards *μηχαναί*. The first invention of them the Grecians claim to themselves, being not easily induced to allow the contrivance of any art to other nations; for it was their custom to travel into Egypt, India, and other eastern countries, to furnish themselves with sciences and inventions, which afterwards they made public in Europe, and vented as productions of their own: hence was derived most of the Grecian philosophy; and as for engines used in sieges, it appears that they were invented in the eastern nations many ages before Greece had the least knowledge of, or occasion for them. Moses's times seem not to have been unacquainted with them^b: several of the Jewish kings likewise appear to have known the use of them; whereas the Grecians, till Homer's time, are not found to have had the least hint of any such thing: Statius indeed carries them as high as the Trojan war; and, speaking of the presents sent to Achilles by the Grecians, in order to carry on the war, reports, that Pylus and Messene furnished him with engines to batter the walls:

Murorum tormento Pylos Messanaque tradunt.

Large battering engines are from Pylos sent,
And from Messene.——

But the poet seems to have forgotten the rude and unskilful age of this hero, and to have formed his description from the practices of his own times, since authors of better credit have no mention of any such thing. Homer indeed speaks of *κρόσσαι*, which some ancient interpreters take for *κλίμακες*, *scaling ladders*^c:

———ὁ μὲν ἔπειτα

Κροσσῶν ἐπίβαινον, ἀναχμῖνα δ' ἄρατ' ἔχοντες.

Bearing well-pointed spears, these straight ascend
The scaling ladders.——

But it may, with no less propriety, be taken for the pinnacles of towers, as we find it used in the following verse^d:

Κρόσσας μὲν πύργων ἔρυον, ἔ' ἔρειπον ἐπάλλξεις.

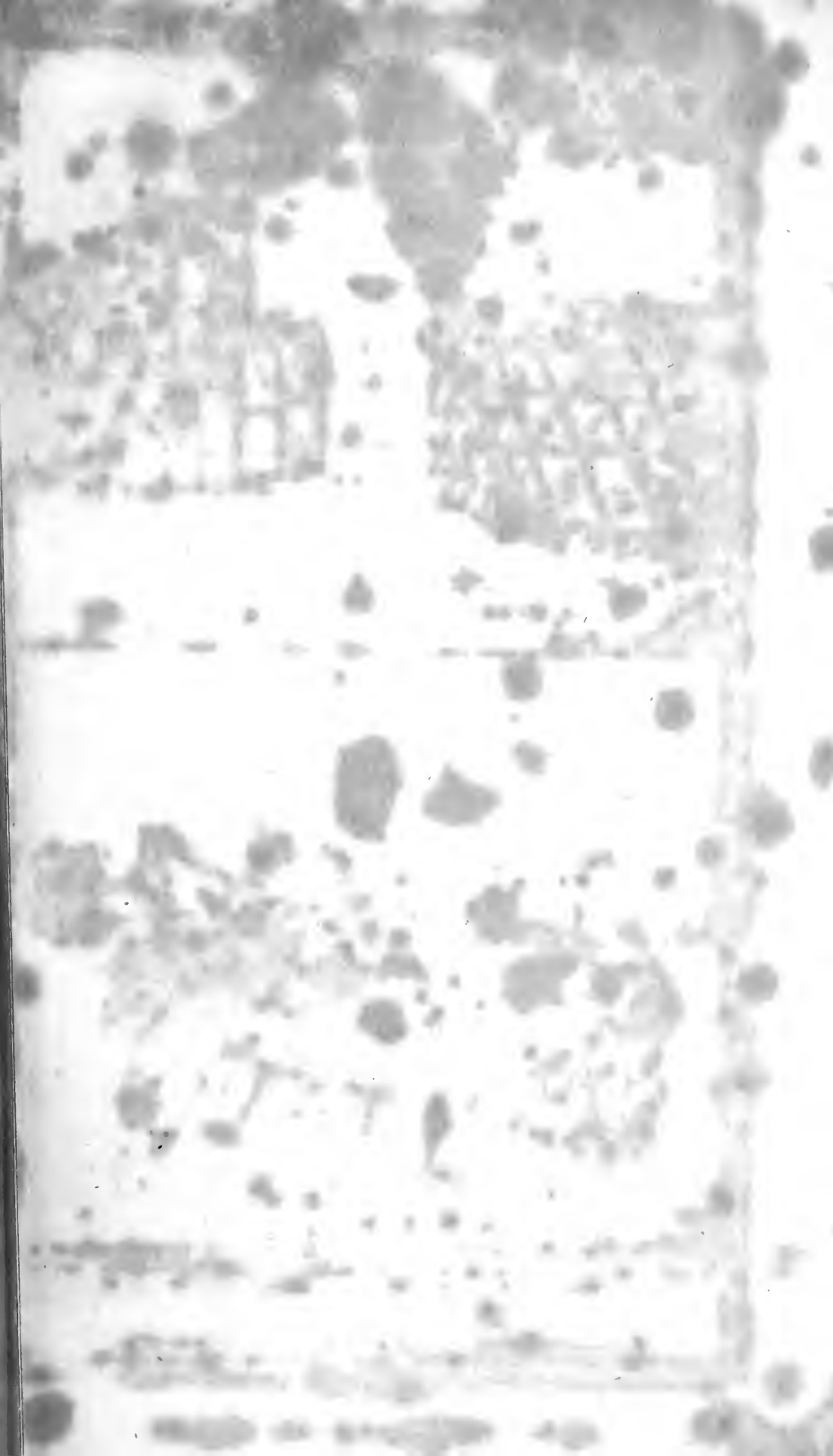
The tow'rs exalted pinnacles they raz'd,
And levelled all their bulwarks.——

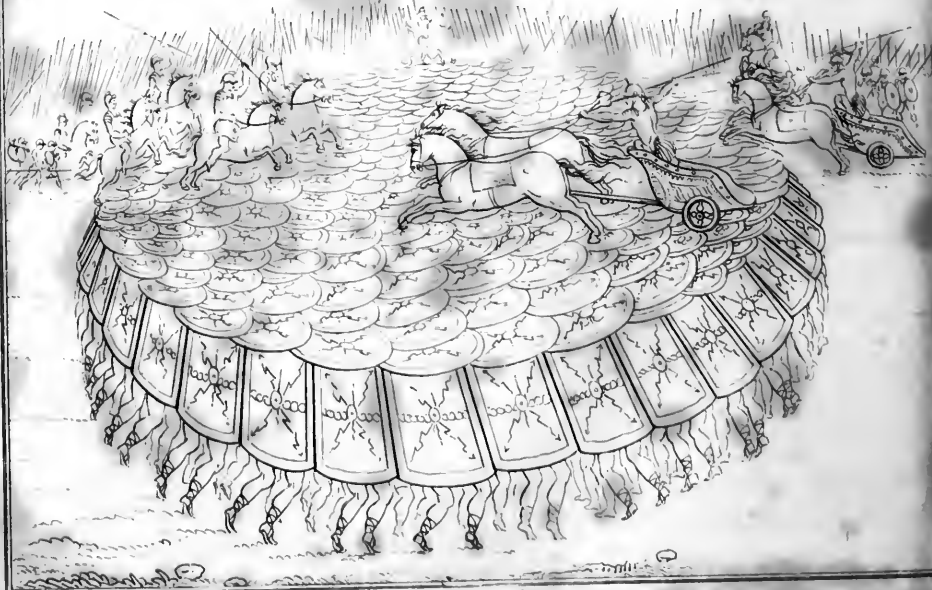
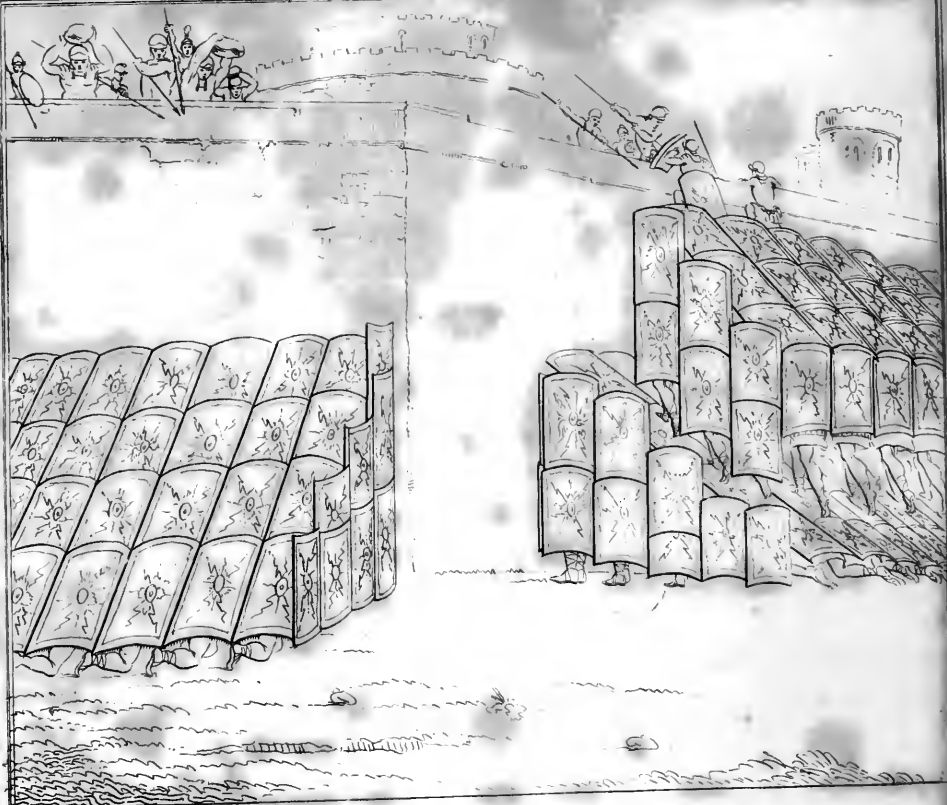
Others again will have them to have been as ancient as the The-

^b Deuteron, xx. 20.

^c Iliad. μ'. v. 444.

^d Ibid. v. 258.





TESTUDO MILITARIS.

Drawn & Engraved by W. F. D. Lucas Esq.

ban war, and to have been the contrivance of Capaneus, one of the seven champions, the story of whose being knocked down with thunderbolts was grounded on no better a foundation, than that, attempting to scale the walls of Thebes with ladders, he was beaten down, and slain with stones; and since the contrivance is so easy and obvious, it may not be wholly improbable, that even those ages were acquainted with it: however, the different sorts of ladders were invented afterwards, when some of them were *πηκταί*^e, *plicatiles*, folded; others, *διαλυταί*^f, *solutiles*, to be taken in pieces for the conveyance of carriage. The matter they were composed of was likewise very different, being not only wood but ropes, leather, &c.

The rest of their engines seem, however, to have been later: the ram is indeed said by Pliny to have been invented in the Trojan war, and to have given occasion to the fable of the wooden horse, built by Epeus, it being the constant practice of those times to wrap up the original of every invention in fables; but this is only conjecture, and may with the same ease be denied as asserted. Athenæus indeed speaks of this engine as very ancient^g, but doth not fix its invention to any determinate time, only observes that the Romans were obliged for it to the Grecians; and since Vetruius gives the honour of its contrivance to the Carthaginians, in their siege of Gades, and neither Homer, nor any Greek writer for many ages after, has the least mention thereof, there seems little reason to credit Pliny's report. It is probable, however, that those ages might have some small helps in taking towns, contrived, as by several others, so particularly by Epeus, who is famous in poetical story for being an artificer, and (as Lycophron reports) was very serviceable, on that account, to the Grecian army:

Πύκτην μὲν ἰσθλὸν, πᾶν δ' ἐμ κλόνῳ δορὺς,
Καὶ πλείεστα τέχναις ὠφελήσαντα στρατὸν ἡ.

Dauntless in boxing, at the sound dismay'd
Of clashing arms, yet by his famous art
He was most useful to the Grecian fleet.

But these devices seem to have been exceeding contemptible, and unartificial; and therefore were wholly laid aside in wiser ages, and, it may be, never practised but at their first invention. The only constant instruments used by the ancient Grecians in demolishing walls, were (for ought appears to the contrary) those they called *τεύπανα*, in Latin *terebræ*, which were long irons with sharp ends. Wherefore it is reasonable to conclude, that most of their

^e Appian.

^f Plut. Arato.

^g Fine lib. iv.

^h Cassandr. v. 945.

famous engines were invented about the time of the Peloponnesian war, wherein it is plain from Thucydides they were used. Diodorus ⁱ and Plutarch ^j will have Pericles to have contrived several of them, by the assistance of Artemon, an artificer of Clazomenæ, as rams, tortoises, &c. yet Cornelius Nepos reports, that some of them were used in the age before, by Miltiades, when he besieged Paros : Plutarch also himself, when he reports out of Ephorus, that battering engines were first employed in the Samian war by Pericles, and composed at that time by Artemon, being then a strange and surprising sight, presently after adds, that Heraclides of Pontus will have that engineer to have flourished several ages before the Samian war ; so that nothing of certainty can be expected in this matter. The principal of the Grecian inventions were these which follow :

Χελώνη, *testudo*, a tortoise ; a defensive invention, so called from covering and sheltering the soldiers, as a tortoise is covered by its shell. Several sorts we find of it, as,

1. Χελώνη στρατιωτῶν, *testudo militaris*, termed sometimes συνασπισμός, when the soldiers drawn up close to one another, and the hindermost ranks bowing themselves, placed their targets above their heads ; as if we suppose the first rank to stand erect, the rest to stoop lower and lower by degrees, till the last rank kneeled upon the ground ; the men in the front and on the sides holding their targets before their bodies, the rest covering the heads of those that were placed before them ; so that the whole body resembled a pent-house, or roof covered with tiles, down which the enemy's missive weapons easily glided, without prejudice to the soldiers underneath. This invention was used in field battles, but more frequently in surprising cities before the besieged were prepared for defence, and served to protect the besiegers in their approach to the walls.

2. Χελώνη χωσεῖς, was four square ; the chief design thereof was (as the name imports) to guard the soldiers in *filling* ditches, and *casting up* mounts.

3. Χελώνη ὀβυζ, was triangular, with its front shelving downwards, for the protection of pioneers, who undermined walls.

4. To these may be added *testudo arietaria*, wherewith those that batterred the walls were protected ; of which afterwards.

ῥέββα, *wicker hurdles*, resembling the Roman *vineæ*, which the soldiers held over their heads. The word came at length to sig-

nify trifles, from the siege of Syracuse, where the Athenians calling continually for hurdles to shelter them, the besiegers in derision cried, γίψα, γίψα.

Another engine, composed of boards, and like the Roman *pluteus*, was used by Alexander's soldiers, as we read in Curtius.

ἄγγερ, *agger*, a mount, which was raised so high as to equal, if not exceed, the top of the besieged walls: the sides were walled in with bricks or stones, or secured with long rafters, to hinder it from falling; the fore part only, being by degrees to be advanced nearer the walls, remained bare. The pile itself consisted of all sorts of materials, as earth, timber, boughs, stones, &c. as Thucydides reports in the seige of Plataea: into the middle were cast also wickers, and twigs of trees, to fasten, and, as it were, cement the other parts. The whole fabric is thus described by Lucan ^k;

— tunc omnia latè

Procumbunt nemora, et spoliantur robore silvæ;

Ut, cum terra levis mediam virgultaque molem

Suspendant, structâ laterum compage ligatam

Arctet humum, pressus ne cedat turribus agger.

Now while with toil unwearied rose the mound,

The sounding axe invades the groves around:

Light earth and shrubs the middle banks supplied,

But firmer leaves must fortify the side.

Lest when the towers advance their ponderous height,

The mouldering mass should yield beneath the weight.

ROWE.

Πύργοι, *turres*, moveable towers of wood, usually placed upon the mount: they were driven upon wheels, which were fixed within the bottom planks, to secure them from the enemies. Their size was not always the same, but proportioned to the towers of the city they besieged. The front was usually covered with tiles, and, in later times, the sides were likewise guarded with the same materials: their tops were covered with raw hides, and other shrouds, to preserve them from fire-balls and missive weapons: they were formed into several stories, which were able to carry, not soldiers only, but several sorts of engines; whence Silius ^l:

Turris multiplici surgens ad sidera tecto

Exibat, tabulata decem cui crescere Grajus

Fecerat, et multas nemorum consumpserat umbras.

Thin were the groves, and scarce could boast a shade

When Grajan with ten rooms a tower made,

Whose various turrets seem'd the stars t' invade.

The first contrivance is attributed to some artificers of Sicily, about the time of Dionysius the tyrant; by some to Polyidus a Thesali-

^k Lib. iii.

^l Lib. xiv.

an, Philip of Macedon's engineer ^m; by others to Diades and Chæreas ⁿ, who were Polydius's scholars, and entertained by Alexander in his eastern expedition: the last of these seem rather to have been improvers of the former invention; for we find mention of wooden towers in the elder Dionysius's reign ^o: it may be the device of making *πίργους φορητὰς*, *portable turrets*, to be taken in pieces, and carried along with the army, may be owing to them.

Κεῖδος, *aries*, the ram was an engine with an iron head, called in Greek *κεφαλὴ*, or *ἑμβολή*, resembling a ram's head, wherewith they battered the enemy's walls. Of this there were three kinds:

1. The first was plain and unartificial, being nothing but a long beam with an iron head, which the soldiers drove with main force against the wall.

2. The second was hung with ropes, to another beam, by the help of which they thrust it forwards with much greater force.

3. The third differed only from the former, as being covered with a *χελώνη* or shroud, to guard the soldiers, whence it is called *testudo arietaria*.

The beam was sometimes no less than an hundred and twenty feet in length, and covered with iron plates, lest those who defended the walls should set it on fire; the head was armed with as many horns as they pleased. Josephus reports, that one of Vespasian's rams, the length whereof was only fifty cubits, which came not up to the size of several of the Grecian rams, had an head as thick as ten men, and twenty-five horns, each of which was as thick as one man, and placed a cubit's distance from the rest; the weight, hung (as was customary) upon the hinder part, weighed no less than one thousand and five hundred talents: when it was removed from one place to another, if it was not taken in pieces, an hundred and fifty yoke of oxen, or three hundred pair of horses and mules, laboured in drawing it; and no less than fifteen hundred men employed their utmost strength in forcing it against the walls. At other times we find these rams driven upon wheels.

Ελέπολις was first invented by Demetrius, son to Antigonus, who having taken Rhodes, with several other towns, by the help of this engine, was honoured with the surname of *πολιορκητής*. We have several descriptions of it left us by Vitruvius ^p, Plutarch ^p, and Diodorus ^r, who, though differing in other points, are thus far

^m Athenæus *Mechanicis* apud Turneb.
Vitruvius, lib. x. cap. 19.

ⁿ Heron. cap. 16.

^o Diodorus Siculus.

^p Lib. x.

^r Demetrio.

^r Lib. xx.

agreed, that it was a machine of prodigious bulk, not unlike the ram covered with a shroud, but vastly bigger, and of far greater force; that it was driven both with ropes and wheels, and contained several other smaller engines, out of which stones and other missive weapons were cast.

Καταπέλται are used in different senses, sometimes for arrows, sometimes for engines, out of which arrows were cast; in the latter of which significations they are termed ὀξυβελεῖς and βελοσάσεις. They are likewise, though not very properly, taken for engines to cast stones; and we find them sometimes used to throw great pieces of timber. The invention of them is ascribed to the Syrians by Pliny; but Diodorus^s and Plutarch report, they were first contrived in Sicily, about the time in which the elder Dionysius engaged in the war with Carthage.

Engines to cast stones were of several sorts; some only for smaller stones, such as σφειδόναι, slings; others for those also of a larger size, called sometimes only by the general names of μάγγανα and μαγγανικά ὅργανα, or ἀφειτήρια ὅργανα, the former of which seem to signify all sorts of engines, the latter all those designed to cast missive weapons; sometimes by more peculiar titles, as λιθοβόλοι, πετροβόλοι, πετροβολικά ὅργανα, which names are yet so general, as to comprehend all engines that cast stones: nor is there any proper term that I know of, for that famous engine, out of which stones of a size not less than millstones were thrown, with so great violence, as to dash whole houses in pieces at a blow: it was called indeed, by the Romans, *ballista*; but this name, though of Grecian original, appears not to have been used in Greece: this engine, however, was known there, and was the same with that used by the Romans, the force of which is thus expressed by Lucan^t:

*At saxum quoties ingenti verberis ictu
Excutitur, qualis rupes, quam vertice montis
Abscidit impulsu ventorum adjuta vetustas;
Frangit cuncta ruens, nec tantum corpora pressa
Exanimat, totos cum sanguine dissipat artus.*

Now by some vast machine a ponderous stone
Pernicious, from the hostile wall is thrown;
At once on many swift the shock descends,
And the crush'd carcasses confounding blends.
So rolls some falling rock by age long worn,
Loose from its root by raging whirlwinds torn;
And thundering down the precipice is borne.

ROWE.

These were the most remarkable engines the Grecians used in

^s Lib. xiv.

^t Lib. iii.

taking towns. It will be expected, in the next place, that some account be given of the methods by which the besieged defended themselves.

Upon the enemy's approach, they gave notice to their confederates (if they had any) to hasten their assistance: in the day this was done by raising a great smoke; in the night by fires, or lighted torches, called *φευκτοὶ* and *φευκτωρίζαι*, whence, to signify the coming of enemies, was called *φευκτωρεῖν* ^u. These torches were termed *φευκτοὶ πολέμιοι*, to distinguish them from those they called *φευκτοὶ φίλιοι*, which were lighted upon the approach of friends: they differed in this, that the latter were held firm and unmoved, the former tossed and waved to and fro in the air.

They seem not to have had any constant method of defending themselves; but this much may be observed in general, that the walls were guarded with soldiers, who, with stones, and all sorts of missile weapons, assaulted the invaders; and the *καταπέλται*, with other engines of that kind, were planted within the town, and played upon them. Several other methods were practised against them, as when the Tyrians, heating brass bucklers red hot, and filling them with sand and lime, poured it upon Alexander's soldiers, which getting between their armour and flesh, burned vehemently, and caused them to fling off their armour, so that the besieged wounded them at pleasure, without receiving any hurt. Several ways they had to elude the force of their engines, and defeat their stratagems: their mines they rendered ineffectual by counter-mines: their mounts they let fall to the ground, by undermining the foundations: their towers, and all their engines, they burned with fire-balls: themselves they defended with skins, wool-packs, and other things proper to ward off stones, and other missile weapons: the heads of battering rams they broke off with stones of a prodigious size from the walls; or (as we read of the Tyrians) rendered them useless, by cutting the ropes whereby they were governed with long scythes; and if there remained no hope of defending their walls, they sometimes raised new ones, with forts within. Many other contrivances were used, as the posture of affairs required, and as the besieged were ingenious in finding out methods for their own preservation.

Their manner of treating the cities they had taken was not always the same, depending upon the temper of their general, who sometimes put all, at least all that were in arms, to the sword, demo-

^u Theognidis Scholiastes, Homeri Scholiastes, Iliad. σ'.

lished the walls and buildings, and made the rest slaves; sometimes graciously received them into favour, requiring only some tributary acknowledgment. The Athenians had a custom of sending colonies to inhabit the places they had depopulated, which they divided by lots among some of the commonalty, when met together in a public assembly ^v.

When they demolished a city, it was frequent to pronounce direful curses upon whoever should endeavour to rebuild it; which some imagine was the reason that Troy could never be raised out of its ashes, though several persons attempted it, being devoted to eternal and irreparable ruin by Agamemnon ^w. This seems to have been a very ancient custom, and derived from the eastern nations; for (to omit other instances) we find Joshua, at the destruction of Jericho, to have fixed an imprecation upon the person that should rebuild it ^x, which was accomplished in Hiel, the Bethelite, many ages after, in the reign of Ahab ^y.

CHAP. XI.

Of the Slain, and their Funerals.

THE ancient Grecians seem to have treated the bodies of their dead enemies in a very indecent and inhuman manner, basely revenging the injuries they had received from them whilst living, by disfiguring and stabbing their carcasses, and exposing them to scorn and ignominy; which cruel and barbarous practice was not thoroughly reformed in the Trojan war, as appears from divers instances in the *Iliad*, where dead enemies are dismembered by insulting conquerors; none of which is more remarkable than that of Hector, who lay unburied many days, was dragged round Troy's walls, and Patroclus's sepulchre, and suffered all sorts of indignities. This indeed might be imputed to Achilles's extravagant rage for the loss of Patroclus, or (as the Scholiast ^z affirms) to a peculiar custom of Thessaly, his native country, where it was their constant practice to drag at their chariots the murderers of

^v Arittophanes Scholiastes Nubibus, p. 154.

^w Eustathius *Iliad*. 8. p. 350.

^x Joshua, cap. vi. 26.

^y 1 Reg. cap. xvi. 34.

^z *Iliad*. 2. v. 398.

their near friends : but did it not appear that the rest of the Grecians used him in a manner no less brutish and barbarous, insulting over him, and stabbing his dead body ^a ?

Ἡ βᾶ ἔκ νεκροῖο ἐρύσσατο χάλκεον ἔγχος·
καὶ τὸ γ' ἀνιῖβεν ἔθνη, ὃ δ' ἀπ' ὤμων τεύχε' ἐρύλα
αἱματόεντα· ἄλλοι δὲ περὶδραμον νῆες Ἀχαιῶν,
οἳ ἔθνησαντο φυὴν ἔειδος ἀγνητὸν
Ἐκτορος· ἔδ' ἄρα οἳ τις ἀνστητὶ γι παρῖση.
ᾧ δὲ δέ τις εἶπεσκεν ἰδὼν ἐς πησίων ἄλλον·
ᾧ πόποι, ἦ μάλα δὴ μαλακώτερος ἀμφαφάσθαι
Ἐκτορ, ἦ ὅτε νῆας ἐνέπρησεν πυρὶ κηλέρ.

Thus having said, with unrelenting force
He rends his vengeful spear from Hector's corse ;
Too small the recompense one death could give ;
But, Hector dead, his Manes still must grieve :
He then the bloody, lifeless corse despoil'd ;
And soldiers with avenging fury fill'd,
With eager haste about his body press,
Admire his stature and his comeliness ;
Each vents his rage upon th' already slain,
As though they meant to kill him o'er again :
Then thus one pointing to his neighbour said,
With vaunting words insulting o'er the dead :
' Is this the Hector, whose tremendous name
Brought fear and terror wheresoe'er it came ?
Gods ! How he's chang'd since when he threw his fire
Amidst our ships, and made whole Greece retire.'

H. H.

Tydeus has no better treatment, in Statius ^b :

*Ducitur hostili (proh dura potentia fati !)
Tydeus ille solo, modo cui Thebana sequenti
Agmina, sive gradum, seu frena effunderet, ingens
Limes utrinque datus : nusquam arma, manusque quiescunt,
Nulla viri feritas : juvat ora rigentia leto,
Et formidatos impune lacessere vultus ;
Hic amor, hoc unâ timidi, fortesque sequuntur
Nobilitare manus, infectaque sanguine tela
Conjugibus servant, parvisque ostendere natis.*

At godlike Tydeus (wretched turn of fate !)
Avenging Tyrians level all their hate ;
At godlike Tydeus, whose commanding sway
Through Theban troops spread terror and dismay ;
Whether he mounted on his horse appear'd,
Or for destructive war on foot prepar'd,
Th' opposing squadrons dar'd not long to stay,
But, where he led, submissively gave way ;
Yet he, brave chief, is dragg'd along the field,
And bears what foes, with power and fury fill'd,
Cou'd e'er inflict ; his dreadful arms they seize,
They stab his corse, and tear his manly face ;
The most opposing minds in this conspire,
The tim'rous and the brave alike desire
To stab the body of their foe when slain,
And with his blood their glutted blades to stain :
These they as marks of highest honour prize,
And keep to show their wives and blooming boys.

H. H.

^a Iliad. χ'. v. 367.

^b Thebaid. ix. v. 180.

Whence it appears to have been their constant practice, and looked on as very consistent with virtue and honour; as Servius hath likewise observed, when Virgil's Mezentius was used in the same manner. The poet indeed does not expressly affirm any such thing, which, notwithstanding, plainly appears: for, whereas he only received two wounds from Æneas^c, we find his breast-plate afterwards pierced through in twelve, *i. e.* a great many places, a determinate number being put for an indefinite^d:

———— *bis sex thoraca petitum*
Perfossunque locis:

Through twice six places was his breast-plate pierc'd.

The barbarous nations were not less guilty of this inhuman practice. Leonidas king of Sparta, having valiantly lost his life in fighting against Xerxes, had his head fixed upon a pole, and his body gibbeted^e: but the Grecians were long before that time convinced of the villany and baseness of such actions; and, therefore, when Pausanias the Spartan was urged to retaliate Leonidas's injury upon Mardonius, Xerxes's general overcome at Plataea, he refused to be concerned in, or to permit a revenge so barbarous, and unworthy a Grecian. Even in the times of the Trojan war, the Grecians were much reformed from the inhumanity, as well of their own ancestors, as other nations. It had formerly been customary for the conquerors to hinder their enemies from interring their dead, till they had paid large sums for their ransom; and some footsteps of this practice are found about that time: Hector's body was redeemed from Achilles^f; Achilles's again was redeemed from the Trojans for the same price he had received for Hector's^g:

Λαῶν δὲ ταύρῃ τῇ πεφασμένῃ δάνος
 Σκιρτῶν τευκράντῃ τευκράντῃ ἡρσημένον,
 Αὔθις τὸν ἀντίποινον ἐκχέας ἴσον,
 Παικτῶλιον σαβμοῖσι τηλαυγῇ μύδρον,
 Κρατῆρα Βάκχῃ δύσειται————

A ransom large as that which Priam gave,
 That royal Hector's mangled corse might have
 The happy priv'lege of a decent grave,
 By Argian chiefs shall be repaid to Troy,
 And then the slain Achilles shall enjoy
 That honourable urn the grateful god
 Upon his mother Thetis had bestow'd.

H. H.

Nisus is introduced by Virgil, dissuading his friend Euryalus from accompanying him into danger, lest, if he were slain, there

^c Fine Æn. x.

^d Æn. xi. v. 9.

^f Iliad. ω.

^e Herodotus Calliope,

^g Lycophronis Cassandra, v. 289.

should be no person that would recover by fight, or redeem his bodyⁿ :

*Sit, qui me raptum pugna, pretiove redemptum,
Mandet humo solita.*—————

Live to redeem my corse from hostile hands,
And decent to the silent grave commend
The poor remains of him who was thy friend.

PITT.

Whence it appears, that redemption of the dead was practised in those days, and, if neglected, they were frequently suffered to lie unburied ; which misfortune happened to many of Homer's heroes, as we learn from the very entrance of the first Iliad, where he thus speaks of Achilles's anger :

Πολλὰς δ' ἰφθίμους ψυχὰς αἶδι προΐαψεν
Ἡρώων, αὐτὰς δ' ἑλώρια τεύχε' κύνεσσιν,
Οἰωνοῖσι τε πᾶσι

That wrath which hurl'd to Pluto's gloomy reign
The souls of mighty chiefs untimely slain
Whose limbs unburied on the naked shore,
Devouring dogs and hungry vultures tore.

POPE.

But this was not so common as in more early ages ; for we find Achilles himself celebrating the funeral of Eetion king of Thebes in Cilicia, and father of Andromache, whom the poet introduces speaking thusⁱ :

Ἦτοι γὰρ πατὴρ' ἀμόν ἀπύκτανε διὸς Ἀχιλλεύς,
Ἐκ δὲ πόλιν πύρσεν Κιλικῶν εὖ ναιετάωσαν,
Θήκεν ὑψίφυλον, κατὰ δ' ἔκτανεν Ἡσιῶνα·
Οὐδὲ μιν ἐξεΐαριξε, σιζάσσατο γὰρ το γί θυμῷ,
Ἀλλ' ἄρα μιν κατέκχε σὺν ἔντεσι δαιδαλίοισιν,
Ἦδ' ἐπὶ σῆμ' ἔχεν.

Then when the walls of Thebes he overthrew,
His fatal hand my royal father slew ;
He slew Eetion, but despoil'd him not,
Nor in his hate the fun'ral rights forgot ;
Arm'd as he was, he sent him whole below,
And reverenc'd thus the manes of his foe :
A tomb he rais'd.

DRYDEN.

And Agamemnon granted the Trojans free leave to perform the funeral rites of all their slain, promising upon oath to give them no disturbance^j :

Ἀμφὶ δὲ νεκροῖσιν κατακρήμιν ἔτι μιγαίρω·
Οὐ γὰρ τις φειδῶ νεκρῶν κατατιθηνιώται·
Τίνετ', ἰπτεῖ καὶ θάνασι, πυρὸς μελίσσιμιν ὄκα·
Ὅρκια δὲ Ζεὺς ἔγω ἱεργυῖστος, πόσις ἥρης.

For what remains let funeral flames be fed,
With heroes corpse ; I war not with the dead.
Go search your slaughter'd chiefs on yonder plain,
And gratify the manes of the slain ;
Be witness, Jove ! whose thunder rolls on high
He said, and rear'd his scepter to the sky.

POPE.

Not long before, the Grecians were perfect strangers to this piece

^h Æneid. ix. v. 213.

ⁱ Iliad. ζ. v. 414.

^j Iliad. ζ. v. 408.

of humanity; for we are told that Hercules was the first that ever gave leave to his enemies to carry off their dead^k; and others report, that the first treaty made for the recovering and burying the bodies of the slain, was that of Theseus with the Thebans, to inter the heroes that lost their lives in the Theban war^l. In succeeding ages it was looked on as the greatest impiety to deny what they thought a debt to nature, and was rarely or never done to lawful enemies, except upon extraordinary and unusual provocations; for it was thought below a generous temper, and unworthy Grecians, to vent their malice, when their enemies were deprived of all power to defend themselves.

The Athenians seem to have been careful to excess and superstition in procuring an honourable interment for the bodies of their own soldiers that had valiantly lost their lives; insomuch that the ten admirals that gained the famous victory over the Lacedæmonians in the sea-fight at Arginusæ, were put to death chiefly on this pretence, that they were said not to have taken due care in gathering the bodies that floated on the waves; when yet they alleged that they were hindered by a tempest, which might have been dangerous to the whole fleet, had they not provided for their safety by a timely retreat^m: this, no doubt, was one cause why, after a battle upon the Corinthian territory, Nicias, the Athenian general, finding that two of his men were left by an oversight, when they carried off the dead, made a halt, and sent a herald to the enemy for leave to carry them off, hereby renouncing all title to the victory, which belonged to him before, and losing the honour of erecting a trophy; for it was presumed that he who asked leave to carry off his dead could not be master of the fieldⁿ. After that, Chebrius having put to flight the Lacedæmonians at Naxus, rather than leave any of his soldiers, or their bodies, to the mercy of the waves, chose to desist from prosecuting his victory, when he was in a fair way to have destroyed the enemy's whole fleet^o.

When they carried their arms into distant countries, they reduced the bodies of the dead to ashes, that those at least might be conveyed to their relations, and repositied in the tombs of their ancestors: the first author of which custom (they say) was Hercules, who having sworn to Licymnius to bring back his son Argi-
us,

^k Ælianus, Var. Hist. lib. xii. cap. 27.

^l Plutarchus Theseo.

^m Xenophon Græc. Hist. lib. i.

ⁿ Plutarchus Nicia.

^o Diodorus Siculus, lib. xv.

if he would give him leave to accompany him in his expedition against Troy; the young man dying, he had no other expedient to make good his oath, but by delivering his ashes to his father^P: however, we find it practised in the Trojan war, where Nestor advised the Grecians to burn all their dead, and preserve them there till their return into Greece^Q:

Αὐτοὶ δ' ἀγρόμενοι κυκλήσομεν ἐνθάδε νεκροὺς
 Βασίλει' ἡμίονοισιν' ἅτ' ἀρ κατακόμεν αὐτοὺς
 Τυτθὸν ἄπο ποδὸς νεῶν, ὡς κ' ὅστις παῖσιν ἔκαστος
 Οἴκαδ' ἄγῃ, ὅταν αὐτὲς νύμφεθ' ἀπαρτίδ' ἔχῃαν.

Then we will haste with oxen, mules and wains
 To wheel these bodies down toward the fleet,
 Where we will burn them, that the bones of each
 May be deliver'd safe at our return,
 To his own children.

COWPER.

The Lacedæmonians thought this an unprofitable labour, and therefore buried their dead in the country where they died; only their kings they embalmed with honey, and conveyed them home, as we learn from Plutarch^r, who reports, that when Agesilaus resigned his life at the haven of Menelaus, a desert shore in Africa, the Spartans having no honey to embalm his body, wrapped it in wax, and so carried it to Lacedæmon.

The soldiers all attended at the funeral solemnities, with their arms turned upside down, it being customary for mourners, in most of their actions, to behave themselves in a manner contrary to what was usual at other times: in those places where it was the fashion to wear long hair, mourners were shaved; and where others shaved, mourners wore long hair. Their conjecture, therefore, is frivolous, who imagine the soldiers turned the heads of their shields downwards, lest the gods, whose images were engraven upon them, should be polluted with the sight of a corse^s; since not the gods only, but any other figures, were frequently represented there; nor some few only, but the whole company held them in the same posture: besides, not the shields alone, but their other arms, were pointed downwards. Thus Evander's Arcadians, with the rest of Æneas's soldiers in Virgil^t, follow Pallas's herse:

— Tam mæsta phalanx, Teucrique sequuntur,
 Tyrrenique duces et versis Arcades armis.

The Trojan, Tuscan, and Arcadian train
 Trail their inverted javelins on the plain.

PITT.

The Grecian princes, in Statius^u, observe the same custom:

^P Homeri Scholiastes, Iliad. 4, v. 52.

^Q Iliad. 4, v. 332.

^r Agesilao.

^s Servius in Æneid. xi. 92.

^t Loc. citat.

^u Thebaid. vi.

—————versis ducunt insignibus ipsi

Grajugenæ reges. —————

The Grecian chiefs the sad procession led
With ensigns downward turn'd. —————

Their tombs were adorned with inscriptions showing their names, and sometimes their parentage and exploits; which honour the Spartan lawgiver granted to none beside women who died in childbed, and soldiers ^v that lost their lives in battle: these were buried with green boughs, and honoured with an oration in their praise. Such of them as had excelled the rest, and were judged complete and perfect warriors, had a farther honour of being interred in their red coats, which were the soldiers habit at Sparta ^w. Their arms were likewise fixed upon their tombs; whence Leonidas, the Spartan king, is introduced in the epigram refusing Xerxes's purple robe, and desiring no other ornament to beautify his tomb than his buckler:

Παλὺ Λαωνίδειο κατιδὼν δέμας αὐτοδάϊκτον
Ξέρξης, ἰχλαίνα φάρεϊ πορφυρέῳ.
Κῆκ νικύων δ' ἤχησεν ὁ τὰς Σπάρτας μίγας ^{Ἡρώς}.
‘Οὐδέχομαι προδόταις μισθὸν ὀφειλόμενον,
Ασπίς μοι σύμῃς κόσμος μίγας, ἔρρε τὰ Περσῶν,
Ἦζω κ' εἰς αἶδην ὡς Λακεδαιμόνιος.

While Xerxes mov'd with pitying eye beheld
Th' unhappy Spartan, who himself had kill'd;
The royal Persian, with officious haste,
His purple robe about the body cast;
Leonidas, while dying, silence broke,
And thus that gen'rous Spartan hero spoke:
'Forbear, fond prince, this unbecoming pride,
No Persian pomp shall e'er these relics hide.
Soft purple palls are only us'd by those,
Who have betray'd their country to their foes;
My buckler's all the ornament I'll have,
'Tis that which better shall adorn my grave
Than 'scutcheon, or a formal epitaph;
My tomb thus honour'd, I'll triumphant go,
Like each brave Spartan, to the shades below.'

H. H.

This custom was not peculiar to Sparta, but practised all over Greece; where, besides their arms, it was usual to add the badge of whatever other profession they had borne. Elpenor, appearing in the shades below to Ulysses, entreats him to fix the oar he used to row with upon his tomb, and to cast his arms into the funeral pile ^x:

Ἀλλὰ με κάκκηαι σὺν τεύχεσιν ἄσσα μοι ἐστίν,
Σῆμά τε μοι χεῖραι πολλῆς ἐπὶ θνίφ' θαλάσσης
Ἀνδρὸς δυσήνοιο ἧ' ἰσομένισι πυνθίσθαι.

^v Plutarchus Lycurgo.

^w Ælianus, Var. Hist. lib. vi. cap. 6.

^x Odyss. λ'. v. 74.

Ταῦτά κί μοι τελέσαι, πῆξαι τ' ἐπὶ τύμβῳ ἔρετμον,
 Τῷ δ' ἑὸς ἔρσσον, ἵων μετ' ἰμοῖς ἑτάροισιν.

A tomb along the watry margin raise,
 The tomb with manly arms and trophies grace
 To shew posterity Elpenor was.
 There, high in air, memorial of my name,
 Fix the smooth oar, and bid me live to fame.

POPE.

Misenus, Æneas's trumpeter, has both his arms, oar and trumpet, fixed upon his grave ^γ:

*At pius Æneas ingenti mole sepulchrum
 Imponit, suaque arma viro, remumque, tubamque.*

This done, to solemnize the warrior's doom,
 The pious hero rais'd a lofty tomb;
 The towering top his well known ensigns bore,
 His arms, his once loud trump, and tapering oar.

PIET.

It was customary for the Spartan matrons, when there had been a fight near home, to examine the bodies of their dead sons; and such as had received more wounds behind than before, they conveyed away privately, or left them in the common heap; but those who had a greater number of wounds in their breasts, they carried away with joy and triumph, to be reposed amongst their ancestors ^z: they were carried home upon their bucklers; whence that famous command of the mother to her son, related in Plutarch ^a, ἡ τὰν, ἡ ἐπὶ τᾷς, *either bring this* (meaning his buckler) *home with you, or be brought upon it*: to which custom Ausonius alludes ^b:

Arma super veheris quid, Thrasybule, tua?

Why are you thus upon your buckler borne,
 Brave Thrasybulus?

The Athenians used to place the bodies of their dead in tents, three days before the funeral, that all persons might have opportunity to find out their relations, and pay their last respects to them: upon the fourth day, a coffin of cypress was sent from every tribe, to convey the bones of their own relations; after which went a covered hearse, in memory of those whose bodies could not be found: all these, accompanied with the whole body of the people, were carried to the public burying-place, called *Ceramicus*, and there interred: one oration was spoken in commendation of them all, and their monuments adorned with pillars, inscriptions, and all other ornaments usual about the tombs of the most honourable persons. The oration was pronounced by the fathers of the deceased persons, who had behaved themselves most valiantly. Thus, after the famous battle of Marathon, the fathers of Callimachus and Cynægirus were appointed to make

^γ Virgil Æneid. vi. v. 252.

^a Apophthegmat.

^z Ælianus Var. Hist. lib. xii. cap. 21.

^b Epigram. xxiv.

the funeral oration^c. And upon the return of the day on which the solemnity was first held, the same oration was constantly repeated every year^d. This was their ordinary practice at Athens^e; but those valiant men who were slain in the battle of Marathon, had their bodies interred in the place where they fell, to perpetuate the memory of that wonderful victory.

It may be observed farther, that in their lists the names of the soldiers deceased were marked with the letter Θ, being the initial of θανόντες, i. e. *dead*; those of the living with τ, the first in τηζέμενοι, i. e. *preserved*: which custom was afterwards taken up by the Romans^f.

CHAP. XII.

Of their Booty taken in War, their Gratitude to the Gods after Victory, their Trophies, &c.

THEIR booty consisted of prisoners and spoils. The prisoners that could not ransom themselves were made slaves, and employed in the service of their conquerors, or sold.

The spoils were distinguished by two names, being either taken from the dead, and termed σκῦλα, or from the living, which they called λάφυρα: they consisted of whatever moveables belonged to the conquered, whose whole right and title, by the law of arms, passed to the conquerors^g.

Homer's heroes no sooner gain a victory over any of their rivals, but, without farther delay, they seize their armour. Instances of this are as numerous as their combats. But, however this practice might be usual among the great commanders, who rode in chariots to the battle, fought by themselves, and encountered men of their own quality in single combat; yet inferior soldiers were not ordinarily permitted such liberty, but gathered the spoils of the dead, after the fight was ended; if they attempted it before,

^c Polemo in Argumento τῶν Επιταφίων λόγων.

^d Cicero de Oratore.

^e Thucydides, lib. iii.

^f Rufinus in Hieronymum, Paulus Diaconis, De notis Literarum, Isidorus Hispal. lib. i. cap. 23.

^g Plato de Legibus, lib. i.

they were even looked upon to want discipline. Nestor gives the Grecians a particular caution in this matter ^h:

Νέτωρ δ' Ἀργείοισιν ἐκέλευτο, μακρὸν αὔσας
 "ὦ φίλοι, ἥρωες Δαναοί, Διράποντες Ἄρης,
 Μῆτις νῦν ἐνάρων ἐπιβαλλόμενος, μετόπισθε
 Μιμνέτω, ὥς κεν πλείστα φέρων ἐπὶ νῆας ἵκηται·
 Ἀλλ' ἄνδρας κτείνωμιν, ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ τὰ ἔκρηλοι
 Νεκρὸς ἀμπεδιὸν συλήσεται τελευτήωντας.

Old Nestor saw, and rous'd the warrior's rage:
 Thus heroes! thus the vigorous combat wage!
 No son of Mars descend, for servile gains,
 To touch the booty, while a foe remains.
 Behold yon glittering host, your future spoil!
 First gain the conquest, then reward the toil.

POPE.

This method was taken in succeeding ages; for no sooner were their battles ended, but they fell to stripping and rifling the dead carcasses of their enemies; only the Lacedæmonians were forbidden to meddle with the spoils of those they had conqueredⁱ; the reason of which prohibition being demanded of Cleomenes, he replied, 'that it was improper to offer the spoils of cowards to the gods, and unworthy a Lacedæmonian to be enriched by them^j;' but this seems only a pretence, since there are several instances of their dedicating part of their booty to the gods: the true reason perhaps may be collected from the constitution of their state, whereby an equality was maintained amongst them, and nothing more severely prohibited, or more repugnant to the very foundation of their government, than to acquire or possess large estates: wherefore, to prevevent their soldiers from seizing upon the spoils, they had always three hundred men appointed to observe their actions, and to put the law in execution against delinquents^k.

The whole booty was brought to the general, who had the first choice, divided the remainder amongst such as had signalized themselves, according to their quality and merits, and allotted the rest equal portions; thus, in the Trojan war, when the captive ladies were to be chosen, Agamemnon, in the first place, took Astynome, Chryses's daughter; next, Achilles had Hippodamia, daughter to Brises; then Ajax chose Tecmessa, and so on^l: whence Achilles complains of Agamemnon, that he had always the best part of the booty; himself, who sustained the burden of the war, being content with a small pittance^m:

^h Iliad. ζ'. v. 66.

ⁱ Ælianus, lib. vi. cap. 6.

^j Plutarchus Apophthegm. Laconicis.

^k Eustathius Iliad. ζ'. v. 66.

^l Isaac. Tzetzes in Lycophronicis
 Cassandram, v. 299.

^m Iliad. α'. v. 165.

Οὐ μὲν σοὶ ποτὶ Ἴσον ἔχων γέρας, ὅππότε Ἀχαιοὶ
 Τρώων ἱκπίρσωσ' εὐναιόμενον πολυΐθρον.
 Ἀλλὰ τὸ μὲν πλεῖον πολυδαΐκος πολέμοιο
 Χεῖρες ἱμαὶ δίσπασσ' ἄπαρ ἦν ποτὶ δασμὸς ἵκηται,
 Σοὶ τὸ γέρας πολὺ μῆζον, ἐγὼ δ' ὀλίγον τι, φίλον τε
 Εἰρχομ' ἔχων ἐπὶ νῆας, ἱπὴν κικάρω πολεμίζων.

Yet when the Greeks some Trojan town invade,
 And distribution of the spoils is made,
 How small a part, compar'd to thine, I bear,
 I who have borne the burden of the war!
 Nor do you envy me in this the largest share.
 But when the so-much wish'd for time arrives,
 That to each Greek th' allotted portion gives,
 Laden with spoils you haste into your tent,
 Whilst I, with fighting quite fatigu'd and spent,
 Come to the navy with a grateful heart
 For that small pittance they to me impart.

H. II.

And whenever any booty of extraordinary value was taken, we find the soldiers reserving it for a present to their general, or the commander of their party. Instances of this sort are frequent, as in other writers, so especially in Homer: Ulysses's company always honoured him with the best and choicest part of what they took. Herodotusⁿ reports, that after the victory over Mardonius, Xerxes's lieutenant, Pausanias the Spartan, being at that time general of all the Grecian forces, was presented with a great booty of women, money, horses, camels, &c. over and above what was given to any other. This practice indeed was so universal, that to be a commander, and to have the first share of the booty, are used by the poets as equivalent expressions: whence Lycophron^o:

Πολλὰς δ' ἄριστες, πρωτόλειά δ' Ἑλλάδος
 Αἰχμὴ φέροντας, ἔσπορας ὠγκωμίνες
 Αἰσαὶ καταξανῶσιν ὀμβροὶ χεῖρες.

Thy hands shall mighty potentates subdue,
 And brave commanders that the prize first share,
 Chiefs too, that so much boast their pedigree.

But before the spoils were distributed, they looked on themselves obliged to make an offering out of them to the gods, to whose assistance they were indebted for them all; those separated to this use were termed ἀκροθίνια, either *q.* ἀκροσίνια παρὰ τὸ σίνεσθαι ἐν μάχῃ πολλὰς, because the war, wherein they were collected, had destroyed many^p; or, ἐπὶ τῇ θινὸς, because after sea engagements they were exposed upon the shore^q; or rather, from their being taken ἐπ' ἄκρῃ τῇ θινὸς, from the top of the heap; because all the spoils being collected into one heap, the first fruits were offered to the

ⁿ Calliope.

• Cassandra, v. 298.

^p Eustathius Odys. 8.^q Bulengerus, lib. de Spoliis.

gods^r : in allusion to which custom, Megara in Euripides, telling what choice of wives she had made for her sons out of Athens, Sparta, and Thebes, thus expresseth it :

Εγὼ δὲ νύμφας ἠεροθινιάζομην.

The gods to whom this honour was paid, were not only those whom they looked on as having a peculiar concern in all affairs of war, such as Mars, Minerva, &c. but several others, as Jupiter, Juno, and any to whom they thought themselves obliged for success ; those especially that were protectors of their city, or country, &c.

They had several methods of consecrating spoils : sometimes they collected them into an heap, and consumed them with fire ; sometimes they made presents, which were dedicated and hung up in temples. So Pausanias the Spartan is reported to have consecrated out of the Persian spoils a tripod to Delphian Apollo, and a statue of brass, seven cubits long, to Olympian Jupiter^s.

It was very frequent to dedicate their enemy's armour. and hang it in temples ; but the Lacedæmonians were forbidden this custom ; which perhaps may be the meaning of Cleomenes's fore-mentioned reply ; for that they were allowed to offer their other spoils, appears as well from that of Pausanias, so from several other instances. This custom was very ancient^t, and universally received ; not in Greece alone, but most other countries : hence Hector promises to dedicate his enemy's armour in Apollo's temple, if he would vouchsafe him victory^u :

*Εἰ δὲ κ' ἐγὼ τὸν ἔλω, δῶη δέ μοι εὖχος Ἀπόλλων,
Τεύχεα συλήσας, οἷσω ποτὶ ἴλιον ἱεῖον,
Καὶ κρεμόω ποτὶ νηὸν Ἀπόλλωνος ἐκάστοιο.*

And if Apollo, in whose aid I trust,
Shall stretch your daring champion in the dust,
If mine the glory to despoil the foe ;
On Phœbus' temple I'll his arms bestow.

POPE.

Virgil alludes to this custom in his description of the temple, where Latinus gave audience to Æneas's ambassadors^v :

*Multaque præterea sacris in postibus arma,
Captivi pendent currus, curvæque secures,
Et cristæ capitum, et portarum ingentia claustra,
Spiculaque, clypeique, creptaque rostra carinis.*

Hung on the pillars all around appears
A row of trophies, helmets, shields and spears ;

^r Sophoclis Scholiastes Trachin.

^t Eustathius Iliad. ῥ. v. 81.

^s Herodotus, lib. ix.

^u Iliad. loco citato.

^v Æneid, vii, v. 195.

And solid bars, and axes keenly bright,
And naval beaks, and chariots seiz'd in fight.

PITT.

Many other instances to the same purpose occur in authors. This custom seems to have been derived by Greece from the eastern nations, where no doubt it was practised: what else can be the meaning of Goliath's sword being reposit in the Jewish place of worship ^w?

Nor was it customary only to dedicate to the gods weapons taken from enemies, but their own likewise, when retired from the noise of war to a private life; which seems to have been done as a grateful acknowledgment to the gods, by whose protection they had been delivered from dangers. Horace alludes to this custom ^x:

——— *Vejanus, armis*
Herculis ad postem fixis, latet abditus agro.
His arms in great Alcides' temple placed,
The old Veianus, now grown weak with age,
Lives quietly at home, and leaves the stage.

Ovid also speaks to the same purpose ^y:

Miles ut emeritis non est satis utilis annis,
Ponit ad antiquos, quæ tulit, arma lares.
The batter'd soldier, harass'd out with age,
Nor able longer in the war t' engage,
Devotes the arms which formerly he bore,
To 's household gods, for their protecting pow'r.

But lest these arms should furnish malcontents, in sudden tumults and insurrections, they seem to have been usually some way or other rendered unfit for present service: the bucklers, for instance, were hung up without handles; whence a person, in one of the poets, seeing them otherwise, cries out in a fright,

Οἱ μοι τάλας, ἔχουσι γὰρ πόρπακας.
Unhappy wretch! the bucklers handles have.

The reason may be collected from the foregoing verses, where another saith,

Οὐ γὰρ ἐχρῆν, εἴπερ φιλεῖς τὸν δῆμον, ἐκ προνοίας
Ταύτας ἱᾶν αὐτοῖς τοῖς πορπάξιν ἀνατεθῆναι.
If you sincerely wish the public good,
You should not suffer any to devote
Bucklers with handles.———

As a farther expression of their gratitude to the gods, it was customary to offer solemn sacrifices, and return public thanks to them. Here it may be observed, that the Lacedæmonians, for their greatest successes by force of arms, offered no more than a cock to the god of war; but when they obtained a victory by stra-

^w 1 Sam. xxi. 9.^x Lib. i. epist. i. v. 4.^y Trist. lib. iv.

tagem, and without blood, they sacrificed an ox ^z; whereby they gave their generals to understand, that policy as well as valour was required in a complete warrior, and that those victories were to be preferred, whereby they suffered the least damage; excelling herein the Roman constitution, which rewarded with greater honours the victors in open field, than those who gained a conquest by policy, which was esteemed less noble and becoming Romans: wherefore those were permitted to enter the city in triumph, but the latter were only honoured with an ovation ^a. It may not be improper in this place to add, that the Grecians had a custom which resembled the Roman triumph; for the conquerors used to make a procession through the middle of their city, crowned with garlands, repeating hymns and songs, and brandishing their spears: the captives were also led by them, and all their spoils exposed to public view; to do which they called *διατρίβειν* ^b.

Trophies were called by the ancient Athenians *τροπαῖα*, by succeeding ages *τρόπαια* ^c: they were dedicated to some of the gods, especially Jupiter, surnamed *Τρόπαιος*, and *Τροπαίεχος* ^d, and Juno, who shared in her husband's title, being called *Τροπαία* ^e; whence Lycophron ^f:

——— *Τροπαίης ματὸν εὐθελον διεῖς.*

The manner of adorning trophies, was hanging up all sorts of arms taken from the enemy, according to Euripides ^g:

——— *Τρόπαια ἰδρύεται
Παντιυχίαν ἔχοντα τῶν πολεμίων.*

All sorts of arms, that from the foe he took,
He hung about the trophy which he rais'd.

Hence also Juvenal ^h, speaking of the Roman triumphal arches:

*Bellorum exuviae, truncis affixa tropaeis
Lorica, et fracta de casside buccula pendens,
Et curtum temone jugum, victæque triremis
Aplustre.*———

The spoils of war brought to Feretrian Jove,
An empty coat of armour hung above
The conqueror's chariot, and in triumph borne,
A streamer from a boarded galley torn,
A chap-fall'n beaver loosely hanging by
The cloven helm.———

DRYDEN.

To these they usually added the names of the god they were de-

^z Plutarchus Institut. Laconic.

^a Idem Marcello,

^b Phavorinus.

^c Aristophanis Scholiastes Pluto.

^d Pausanias Laconicis, Plutarchus

Parallelis, Phurnutus.

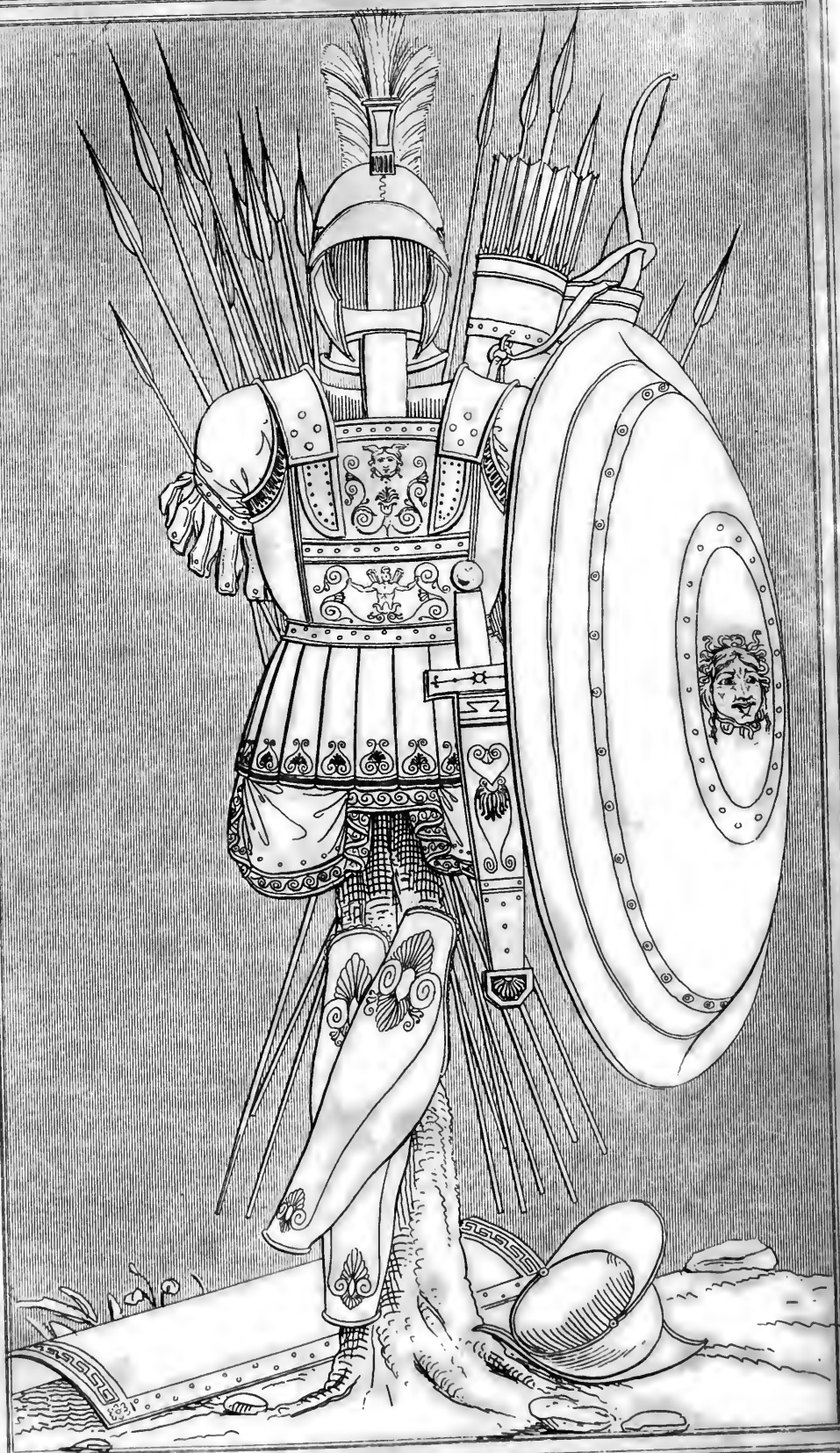
^e Phavorinis.

^f Cassandra, v. 1528.

^g Heraclid. v. 786.

^h Satir. x. v. 153.





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dedicated to, of the conquerors also, and of those overcome by them with an account of all the spoils, and other remarkable occurrences in the war: this inscription was called ἐπίγραφη, or ἐπίγραμμα, and was frequently engraved, whence Lucian saith ἐπὶ τῷ τροπαίῳ ἐς κολάσαι sometimes written with ink, whence Othryades, the Lacedæmonian, just surviving his victory over the Argians, caused a trophy to be erected, upon which, being supported by his spear, he inscribed with his own blood, instead of ink, Διὶ Τροπαίῳ.ⁱ

The spoils were hung upon the trunk of a tree; the olive was frequently put to this use, being the emblem of peace, which is one of the consequents of victory; several other trees also had the same honour, especially the oak, as being consecrated to Jupiter, who had a peculiar right to these respects; there is frequent mention of this in the poets. Sidonius^j:

—————quercusque tropæis

Curva gemit.—————

The bended oak beneath the trophies groans.

Statius describes the same custom^k:

Quercus erat teneræ jamdudum oblita juvenæ,

Huic leves galeas, perfossaque vulnere crebro

Inserit arma.—————

There stood an ancient oak, whose sprightly juice

Decay'd by age, could not like life infuse

Through ev'ry part; on this bright helmets hung,

And batter'd arms.—————

Virgil also concurs herein with them in several places, and adds farther, that Æneas's trophy was upon a hill; whence, it may seem probable, that it was customary to set them upon eminent places, to render them more conspicuous. His words are these^l:

Vota Deum primo victor solvebat Eo;

Ingentem quercum, decisis undique ramis;

Constituit tumulo, fulgentiaque induit arma,

Mezenti ducis cœnvias, tibi, magne, tropæum,

Bellipotens; aptat rorantes sanguine cristas,

Telaque trunca viri, et bis sex thoraca petita

Perfossamque locis, clypeumque ex ære sinistra

Subligat, atque ensem collo suspendit eburnum.

Now o'er the waves Aurora rais'd her head,

The chief, tho' eager to inter the dead;

Yet first to heaven perform'd a victor's vows,

He bar'd an ancient oak of all her boughs;

Then on a rising ground the trunk he placed,

Which with the spoils of his dead foe he graced;

The coat of arms by proud Mezentius worn,

Now on a naked shag in triumph borne.

ⁱ Plutarchus Parallelis, Stobæus, Tit. de Fortuna.

^j Panegyric.

^k Thebaid.

^l Æneid, xi. v. 4.

Was hung on high, and glitter'd from afar:
 A trophy sacred to the God of war.
 Above his arms fix'd on the leafless wood
 Appear'd his plumed crest, besmear'd with blood.
 His brazen buckler on the left was seen;
 Truncheons of shiver'd lances hung between:
 And on the right was placed his corslet bor'd,
 And to the neck was ty'd his unavailing sword.

DRYDEN.

In the same manner, Pompey having subdued the Spaniards, erected a trophy upon the top of the Pyrenean mountains.

Instead of trees, succeeding ages erected pillars of stone, or brass, to continue the memory of their victories: to raise these, they termed *ισάναι τροπαιον*, which expression was likewise applied to the erection of trees; for if the place they pitched upon was void of trees fit for their purpose, it was usual to supply that defect by fixing one there, as appears from the fore-mentioned passage of Virgil.

To demolish a trophy was looked on as unlawful, and a kind of sacrilege, because they were all consecrated to some deity: nor was it less a crime to pay divine adoration before them, or to repair them when decayed, as may likewise be observed of the Roman triumphal arches; this being a means to revive the memory of forgotten quarrels, and engage posterity to revenge the disgrace of their ancestors: for the same reason those Grecians, who first introduced the custom of erecting pillars for trophies, incurred a severe censure from the ages they lived in^m.

The Macedonians never erected trophies, obliged hereto by a prescription observed from the reign of Caranus, one of whose trophies was demolished by wolvesⁿ; which was the reason that Alexander the Great, however vain-glorious in other instances, never raised a trophy: as for those erected by the Macedonians of succeeding ages, in their wars with the Romans, they were inconsistent with the ancient custom of their country. In some ages after this, they seem to have been wholly laid aside.

Yet they were not still wanting to raise monuments to preserve the memory of their victories, and to testify their gratitude to the gods; some of which are likewise mentioned in authors, before the disuse of trophies. Sometimes statues were erected to the gods, especially to Jupiter, as appears from that which Pausanias dedicated out of the Persian spoils^o, and several others: there is frequent mention of this custom in Euripides^p;

^m Plutarchus Romanis Quæstionibus.

ⁿ Pausanias, p. 315.

^o Herodotus, lib. ix.

^p Phœniss.

—— Διὸς τρόπαιον ἱστάναι βερίτας,

Again,

—— Τρόπαιον Ζηνὸς ὀρθῶσαι βερίτας.

Several other instances may be produced: sometimes the same god was honoured with a temple on such accounts, as appears from the story of the Dorians, who having overcome the Achæians, raised a temple to Jupiter Τρόπαιος^q.

Sometimes they erected towers, which they adorned with the spoils of their enemies; which was likewise a Roman custom, and practised by Fabius Maximus, and Domitius Ænobarbus, after the victory over the Allobroges^r.

It was also customary to raise altars to the gods; an instance whereof we have in Alexander, who, returning from his Indian expedition, erected altars in height scarce inferior to the most lofty towers, and in breadth exceeding them^s.

CHAP. XIII.

Of their Military Punishments and Rewards, with their Manner of conveying Intelligence.

THE Grecians had no constant method of correcting their soldiers, but left that to the discretion of their commanders: only in some few cases the laws made provision.

Αὐτομόλοι, runagates, suffered death.

Ἀσράτευτοι, such as refused to serve in the wars, and such as quit-
ted their ranks by one of Charondas's laws, were obliged to sit
three days in the public forum in women's apparel^t. At Athens
ἄσράτευτοι, such as refused to serve in the wars; λειποτάκται, they
who deserted their ranks; and δειλοί, cowards, were neither per-
mitted to wear garlands, nor to enter the ἱερὰ δημοτελῆ, public tem-
ples: and were farther obliged by the undecimviri to appear in
the court called Heliæa, where a fine or other punishment was in-
flicted according to their demerit. If a fine was inflicted, the
criminal was kept in bonds till he made payment^u. To these are
to be reckoned ῥιψάσπιδες, they who lost their bucklers, which was
accounted a token of extreme cowardice. Hence a law came to

^q Pausanias Laconicis.

^r Lucius Florus, lib. iii. cap. 2.

^s Arrianus Exped. Alexand. lib. 7.

^t Diodorus Siculus.

^u Æschines in Ctesiphontem, Demos-
thenes in Timocratem.

be enacted, that whoever should object this crime to any person undeservedly, should be fined ^v. But, of all others, the Lacedæmonians inflicted the heaviest punishments on all such offenders; for their laws obliged them either to conquer, or to die upon the place; and such as quitted their bucklers, laid under as great disgrace as if they had forsaken their ranks. Runagates were not only deprived of all honours, but it was likewise a disgrace to intermarry with them; whoever met them in the streets had liberty to beat them, nor was it permitted them to resist in their own defence; and to make them more remarkable, whenever they went abroad, they were obliged to wear a nasty habit, their gowns were patched with divers colours, and their beards half shaved, half unshaved ^w. Their scandal was likewise extended to their whole family, and therefore their mothers frequently atoned for their crime, by stabbing them at their first meeting; which was a common practice, and frequently alluded to in the Greek epigrams, in one of which, a Spartan matron having run her son through, thus insults over him:

Ἐρρίε, κακὸν φύτευμα, διὰ σκότος, εἴ διὰ μῖσος
 Εὐρώτας δειλαῖς μηδ' ἐλάφοισι ῥίαι.
 Ἀχρεῖον σκυλάκιμα, κακὴ μερὶς, ἔρριε ποθ' ἄδων,
 Ἐρρίε, τὸ μὴ Σπάρτας ἄξιον, εἴδ' ἔτεκον.

Begone, degenerate offspring, quit this light,
 Eurotas is concern'd at thy loath'd sight,
 For, see! he stops his course, ashamed to glide
 By that polluted coast where you abide:
 Hence then, unprofitable wretch, speed to the dead,
 And hide in hell thy ignominious head:
 Base dastard soul, unworthy to appear
 On Spartan ground; I never did thee bear.

H. H.

Several others may be produced to the same purpose; and where the same fate befel those that lost their bucklers. Now the reason being demanded of Demaratus, why they punished so severely those who quitted their bucklers, when the loss of their helmet, or coat of mail, was not looked on to be so scandalous, he replied, *that these were only designed for the defence of single persons, whereas bucklers were serviceable to the whole battalia*. Archilochus the poet was banished from Sparta for publishing the following epigram, wherein he glories in the loss of his buckler ^x:

Ἀσπίδι μὲν Σαῖων τις ἀγάλλεται, ἣν περὶ θάμνω,
 Ἐντὸς ἀμώμητον κάλλιπον ἐκ ἰθίλων.
 ————— ἀσπίς ἱκένη
 Ἐρρίτω ἱζαῦθις κτήσομαι ἢ κακίω.

^v Lysias Orat. 4. in Theomnestum.
^w Plutarchus Agesilao.

^x Strabo Geograph. lib. xii. Plutarchus Institut. Lacon. p. 239. edit. Paris.

To pawn their arms was also accounted a crime, and seems to have been forbidden by a law at Athens, as the Greek scholiast hath observed in his explication of the following passage of Aristophanes ^y:

Ποίαν γὰρ ἔδωκεν, ποίαν ἀσπίδα,
Οὐκ ἐνίχυρον τίθησιν ἢ μιαιφάτῃ;

Where the poet describes the misfortunes to which men are exposed by poverty. Among the Romans, any soldier who pawned his shoulder-piece, or any other of the less considerable parts of his armour, was corrected with stripes; but such as pawned their helmet, buckler, coat of mail, or sword, were punished as deserters ^z.

Beside the rewards of valour already mentioned in the foregoing chapters, there were several others: the private soldiers were put into office, and the subordinate officers were honoured with greater commands. It was likewise customary for the general to reward those that signalized themselves with large presents; whence Telamon, being the first that gained the top of Troy's walls, when it was besieged by Hercules, had the honour to have Hesione the king's daughter for his captive: Theseus was presented by the same hero with Antiope the Amazonian queen, for his service in the expedition against the Amazons. The poets frequently introduce commanders encouraging their soldiers with promises of this nature. Thus Agameimnon animates Teucer to behave himself courageously, by assuring him of a considerable reward, when the city should be taken ^a:

Πρώτῳ τοι μετ' ἐμὲ πρὸς ἑλίου ἐν χερὶ δῆσω,
ἢ τρίποδ', ἢ δὴ δύο ἴππους αὐτοῖσιν ὀχέσφιν,
ἢ γυναῖχ' ἢ κέν τοι ὁμὸν λίχος ἑστανεβαίνοι.

Whatever treasures Greece for me design,
The next rich honorary gift be thine:
Some golden tripod, or distinguish'd car,
With coursers dreadful in the ranks of war;
Or some fair captive whom thy eyes approve,
Shall recompence the warrior's toils with love.

POPE.

Ascanius, in Virgil, makes no less promises to Nisus ^b.

Bina dabo argento perfecta, atque aspera signis
Pocula, devictâ genitor quæ cepit Arisbâ:
Et tripodas geminos, auri duo magna talenta:
Cratera antiquum, quem dat Sidonia Dido.
Si vero capere Italiam, sceptrisque potiri
Contigerit victori, et prædæ ducere sortem:
Vidisti, quo Turnus equo, quibus ibat in armis
Aureus, ipsum illum clypeum, cristasque rubentes
Excipiam sorti, jam nunc tua præmia, Nise.

^y Pluti act. ii. scen. iv.

^a Iliad. 9. v. 289.

^z Paulus libro singulâri de Pœnis Militum.

^b Æneid. ix. 263.

*Præterea bis sex genitor lectissima matrum
Corpora, captivosque dabit, suaque omnibus arma ;
Insuper, id campi quod rex habet ipse Latinus.*

Your common gift shall two large goblets be
Of silver, wrought with curious imagery,
And high emboss'd, which when old Priam reign'd,
My conquering sire at sack'd Arisba gain'd;
And more, two tripods cast in antic mould,
With two great talents of the finest gold,
Beside, a costly bowl, engrav'd with art,
Which Dido gave, when first she gave her heart :
But if in conquer'd Italy we reign,
When spoils by lot the victor shall obtain,
Thou saw'st the courser by proud Turnus prest;
That, Nisus, and his arms, and nodding crest,
And shield, from chance exempt, shall be thy share;
Twelve lab'ring slaves, twelve handmaids young and fair,
All clad with rich attire, and train'd with care ;
At last, a Latin field, with fruitful plains,
And a large portion of the king's domains.

DRYDEN.

Several other promises they encouraged them with, according to every man's temper or condition : wherefore Ascanius thus proceeds to Euryalus, Nisus's companion in danger :

*Te vero, meo quem spatii propioribus ætas
Insequitur, venerande puer, jam pectore toto
Accipio, et comitem casus complector in omnes ;
Nulla meis sine te quæretur gloria rebus,
Seu pacem, seu bella geram, tibi maxima rerum,
Verborumque fides.*————

But thou, whose years are more to mine allied,
No fate my vow'd affection shall divide
From thee, heroic youth ; be wholly mine,
Take full possession, all my soul is thine ;
One faith, one fame, one fate, shall both attend,
My life's companion, and my bosom friend,
My peace shall be committed to thy care,
And to thy conduct my concerns in war.

DRYDEN.

Sometimes crowns were presented, and inscribed with the person's name and actions that had merited them, as appears from the inscription upon the crown presented by the Athenians to Conon, *Κόνον ἀπὸ τῆς ναυμαχίας τῆς πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους*.

Others were honoured with leave to raise pillars, or erect statues to the gods, with inscriptions declaring their victories ; which Plutarch supposeth to have been a grant rarely yielded to the greatest commanders : Cimón indeed was favoured therewith, but Miltiades and Themistocles could never obtain the like ; nay, when Miltiades only desired a crown of olive, one Socharès stood up in the midst of the assembly, and replied, *when thou shalt conquer alone, Miltiades, thou shalt triumph so too* ; which words

were so agreeable to the populace, that his suit was rejected. The reason why Cimon was more respected than the rest, our author ^c thinks, was because under other commanders they stood upon the defensive; but by his conduct they not only repulsed their enemies, but invaded them in their own country. But perhaps a more true and real account may be taken from the change of times; for the primitive ages seem not to have been so liberal in the distribution of rewards as those that succeeded; for later generations degenerating from their ancestors, and producing fewer instances of magnanimity and true valour, the way to honour became easier, and men of common performances without difficulty obtained rewards, which before were only paid to persons of the first rank for virtue and courage ^d.

Another honour conferred at Athens upon the valiant, was to have their arms placed in the citadel, and to be called *Cecropidae*, citizens of the true old blood; to which custom the poet alludes:

Οὐ καλλινίκης Κεκροπίδας ἔθηκ' ἐγώ.

Some were presented with a *πανοπλία*, or complete suit of armour; as we find of Alcibiades, when he was very young, and returned from the expedition against Potidæa ^e.

Others were complimented with songs of triumph, the first of which were composed in honour of Lysander the Spartan general ^f.

They who lost any of their limbs in the war, whom they called *ἀδύνατοι*, were maintained at the public expence, provided they had not an estate of three Attic pounds yearly: on which account they were examined by the senate of five hundred. Their allowance was an obolus by the day. Some affirm they had two oboli every day. Others relate, that they received nine drachmæ, that is, fifty-four oboli, every month. And it is probable, that their maintenance was raised or diminished according to the exigency of affairs, as hath been elsewhere observed concerning the military stipend. The custom of maintaining disabled soldiers was introduced by Solon, who is said to have given an allowance to one Thersippus: afterwards it was established by a law during the tyranny of Pisistratus ^g.

Many other honours were paid to such as deserved well of their

^c Plutarchus Cimone.

^d Æschines in Ctesiphontem.

^e Plutarchus Alcibiade.

^f Plut. Lysandro.

^g Plut. Solone, Lysias *περὶ ἀδύνατον*.
Hesych. Harpocr. Suid. v. *Ἀδύνατοι*.

country ; but I shall only mention one more, which consisted in the care of the children of such as valiantly sacrificed their lives for the glory and preservation of the Athenian commonwealth^h : they were carefully educated at the public charge, till they came to maturity, and then presented with a complete suit of armour, and brought forth before the people, one of the public ministers proclaiming before them, ‘ that hitherto, in remembrance of their fathers’ merits, the commonwealth had educated these young men, but now dismissed them so armed, to go forth, and thank their country by imitating their fathers’ examples.’ For their farther encouragement, they had the honour of *προεδρία*, or having the first seats at shows, and all public meetings.

The laws of Solon made a farther provision for the parents of those that died in the wars, it being extremely reasonable that they should be maintained at the public expence, who had lost their children, the comfort and support of their declining age, in the service of the publicⁱ.

It may not be improper to add something concerning their way of sending intelligence : this was done several ways, and by several sorts of messengers ; such were their ‘ *Ἡμεροδρόμοι*, who were lightly armed with darts and hand-grenadoes ; or bows and arrows^j : one of these was Phidippides, famous in the story of Miltiades, for his vision of Pan^k.

But the contrivance, of all others the most celebrated for close conveyance of intelligence, was the Lacedæmonian *σκυτάλη*, which was a white roll of parchment wrapped about a black stick ; it was about four cubits in length^l, and so called from *σκύτος*, i. e. *skin*. The manner and use of it was thus : when the magistrates gave commission to any general or admiral they took two round pieces of wood, exactly equal to one another ; one of these they kept, the other was delivered to the commander, to whom, when they had any thing of moment to communicate, they cut a long narrow scroll of parchment, and rolling it about their own staff one fold close upon another, they wrote their business upon it ; then taking it off, dispatched it away to the commander, who, applying it to his own staff, the folds exactly fell in one with another, as at the writing, and the characters, which, before it

^h Æsch. in Ctesiph.

ⁱ Plato Menexeno, Diogenes Laert. Solone,

^j Suidas.

^k Cornelius Nepos Miltiade.

^l Pindari Schol. Olymp. Ode vi.

was wrapped up, were confusedly disjoined and unintelligible, appeared very plain^m.

CHAP. XIV.

Of the Invention, and different Sorts of Ships.

MOST of those useful arts, and admirable inventions, which are the very support of mankind, and supply them with all the necessities and conveniencies of life, having at first been the productions of some lucky chance, or from slight and contemptible beginnings, have been, by long experience, curious observations, and various improvements, matured, and brought to perfection. Instances of this kind are every where frequent and obvious, but none can be produced more remarkable than in the art of navigation; which, though now arrived to a pitch of perfection beyond most other arts, by those successful additions it has received from almost every age of the world, was in the beginning so mean and imperfect, that the pleasure or advantage of those who first applied themselves to it, was very small and inconsiderable.

Those who adventured to commit themselves to the liquid element, made their first essays in shallow waters, and trusted not themselves at any considerable distance from the shore: but being emboldened by frequent trials, proceeded farther by degrees, till at length they took courage, and launched forth into the main ocean. To this purpose Claudianⁿ:

*Inventa secuit primus qui nave profundum,
Et rudibus remis sollicitavit aquas,
Tranquillis primum trepidus se credidit undis,
Littora securo tramite summa legens;
Mox longos tentare sinus, et linquere terras,
Et leni cœpit pandere vela noto:
Ast ubi paulatim præceps audacia crevit,
Cordaque languentem dedidicere metum,
Jam vagus irrupit pelago, cælumque secutus,
Ægeas hyemes, Ioniasque domat.*

Whoever first with vessels plough'd the deep,
And with unpractis'd oars the water sweep,

^m Plut. Lysandro, Aristoph. Schol. in Avibus, A. Gellius, &c.

ⁿ Præfat. in Rap. Proserpinæ.

His first attempt on gentle streams he made,
 And near the shore, affrighted, always staid ;
 He launch'd out farther next, and left the land,
 And then the hoisted sails began to stand ;
 Till by degrees, when man undaunted grew,
 Forgetting all those fears before he knew,
 He rush'd into the main, and harmless bore,
 Guided by stars, the storms that loudly roar
 In the Ægean and Ionian seas. —————

E. D.

To whom the world is obliged for the invention of ships, is, like all things of such antiquity, uncertain : there are divers persons who seem to make equal pretensions to this honour ; such are Prometheus, Neptune, Janus, Atlas, Hercules, Janus, Danaus, Erythræus, &c. ; but by common fame it is given to Minerva, the happy mother of all arts and sciences. Some who, leaving these antiquated fables of the poets, pretend to something more of certainty in what they deliver, ascribe it to the inhabitants of some of those places that lie upon the sea coasts, and are by nature designed, as it were, for harbouring ships, such as the Ægians, Phœnicians^o, &c. The reason of this disagreement seems to have proceeded partly from the different places where navigation was first practised, (for it was never peculiar to any one people, and from them communicated to the rest of the world, but found in countries far distant from one another), and in part from the various sorts of ships, some of which being first built by the persons above mentioned, have entitled them to the whole invention.

The first ships were built without art or contrivance, and had neither strength nor durableness, beauty nor ornament ; but consisted only of planks laid together, and just so compacted as to keep out the water^p. In some places they were nothing else but hulks of trees made hollow, which were called *πλοῖα μονόξυλα*, as consisting only of one piece of timber ; of these we find mention in Virgil^q :

*Tunc alnos primum fluvii sensere cavatas:
 Navita tum stellis numeros et nomina fecit.*

The first on seas the hollow'd alder swam,
 Then sailors quarter'd heaven, and found a name,
 For every fix'd, and every wandering star.

DRYDEN.

In later ages, also, they were made use of at some places, being the same with those called *σκάφη*, in the strict and most proper accepta-

^o Plin. lib. v. cap. 12. Strabo, lib. xvi. Mela, lib. i. cap. 12.

^p Maximus Tyr. Dissert. 40. Isidorus.

^q Georgic. lib. i. ver. 156.

tion of that word ^r, from σκάπτισθαι, as made by hollowing, and, as it were, digging in a tree. Nor was wood alone applied to this use, but any other materials that float upon the water without sinking, such as the Egyptian reed *papyrus*, or (to mention no more) leather, of which the primitive ships were frequently composed, and called πλοῖα διφθερινά, or δερμάτινα. These were sometimes begirt with wickers, and frequently used in that manner upon the rivers of Ethiopia, Egypt, and Sabæan Arabia, even in later times; but in the first of them, we find no mention of any thing but leather, or hides sewed together. In a ship of this sort, Dardanus secured his flight to the country afterwards called Troas, when by a terrible deluge, he was forced to leave Samothrace, his former place of residence ^s. Charon's infernal boat was of the same composition, according to Virgil ^t;

————— *Genuit sub pondere cymba
Sutilis, et multam accepit rimosa paludem.*

The feeble vessel groans beneath the load,
And drinks, at many a leak, th' infernal flood.

PITT.

When ships were brought to a little more perfection, and increased in bigness, the sight of them struck the ignorant people with terror and amazement; for it was no small surprise to behold great floating castles of unusual forms, full of living men, and with wings (as it were) expanded, flying upon the sea ^u: what else could have given occasion to the fiction of Perseus's flight to the Gorgons, who, as Aristophanes ^v expressly tells us, was carried in a ship:

Περσεὺς πρὸς Ἀργεὺς ναυστολῶν τὸ Γοργόνος παρακομίζων.

What other original could there be for the famous story of Triptolemus, who was feigned to ride upon a winged dragon, only because, in a time of dearth at Athens, he sailed to more fruitful countries to supply the necessities of his people; or to the fable of the winged horse Pegasus, who, as several mythologists ^w report, was nothing but a ship of that name with sails, and for that reason feigned to be the offspring of Neptune the emperor of the sea ^x. Nor was there any other ground for the stories of griffins, or of ships transformed into birds and fishes, which we frequently meet with in the ancient poets. So acceptable to the first ages of the

^r Polyænus, lib. v.

^s Lycophronis Cassandr. ejusque Scholiastes, ver. 75.

^t Æncid. vi. 414.

^u Apollonius, ejusque Scholiastes.

^v Thesmophor.

^w Palæphatus, Artemidorus.

^x Vossius Idol. lib. iii. cap. 49.

world were inventions of this nature, that whoever made any improvements in the art of navigation, built new ships, of forms better fitted for strength or swiftness than those before used, rendered the old more commodious by any additional contrivance, or discovered countries, untraced by former travellers, were thought worthy of the greatest honours, and (like other common benefactors to mankind) ascribed into the number of the deified heroes; they had their inventions also consecrated, and fixed in the heavens: hence we have the signs of Aries and Taurus, which were nothing but two ships; the former transported Phryxus from Greece to Colchos, the latter Europa out of Phœnicia into Crete: Argo likewise, Pegasus, and Perseus's whale, were new sorts of ships, which, being had in great admiration by the rude and ignorant mortals of those times, were, in memory of their inventors, translated amongst the stars, and metamorphosed into constellations by the poets of those, or the succeeding ages. Thus much concerning the invention of ships.

At their first appearance in the world, all ships, for whatever use designed, were of the same form; but the various ends of navigation, some of which were better answered by one form, some by another, soon gave occasion to fit out ships, not in bigness only, but in the manner of their construction and equipment, differing from one another. Not to trouble you with a distinct enumeration of every little alteration, which would be endless, they were chiefly of three sorts, ships of *burden*, of *war*, and of *passage*. Ships of *passage* were distinguished by several names, taken usually from their carriages; those that served for the transportation of men being called by the general names of πόρια and ἐπιβάδες or, when filled with armed men, by the particular titles of ὀπλιταγωγοί, and στρατιώτιδες: those in which horses were transported, were named ἵππηγοί, ἵππάγωγοί, and *hippagines*, to mention no more.

Ships of *burden* were called ὀλκάδες, φορτηγοί, and πλοῖα to distinguish them from ships of war, which were properly termed νῆες: they were usually of an orbicular form, having large and capacious bellies to contain the greater quantity of victuals, provisions, and other necessaries, with which they were laden; whence they are sometimes called τρογγύλαι, as on the contrary, ships of war we find named μακραι, being extended to a greater length than the former, wherein they agreed in part with the transport vessels,

^y Ulpianus in Demosth. Orat. adv. Leptinem.

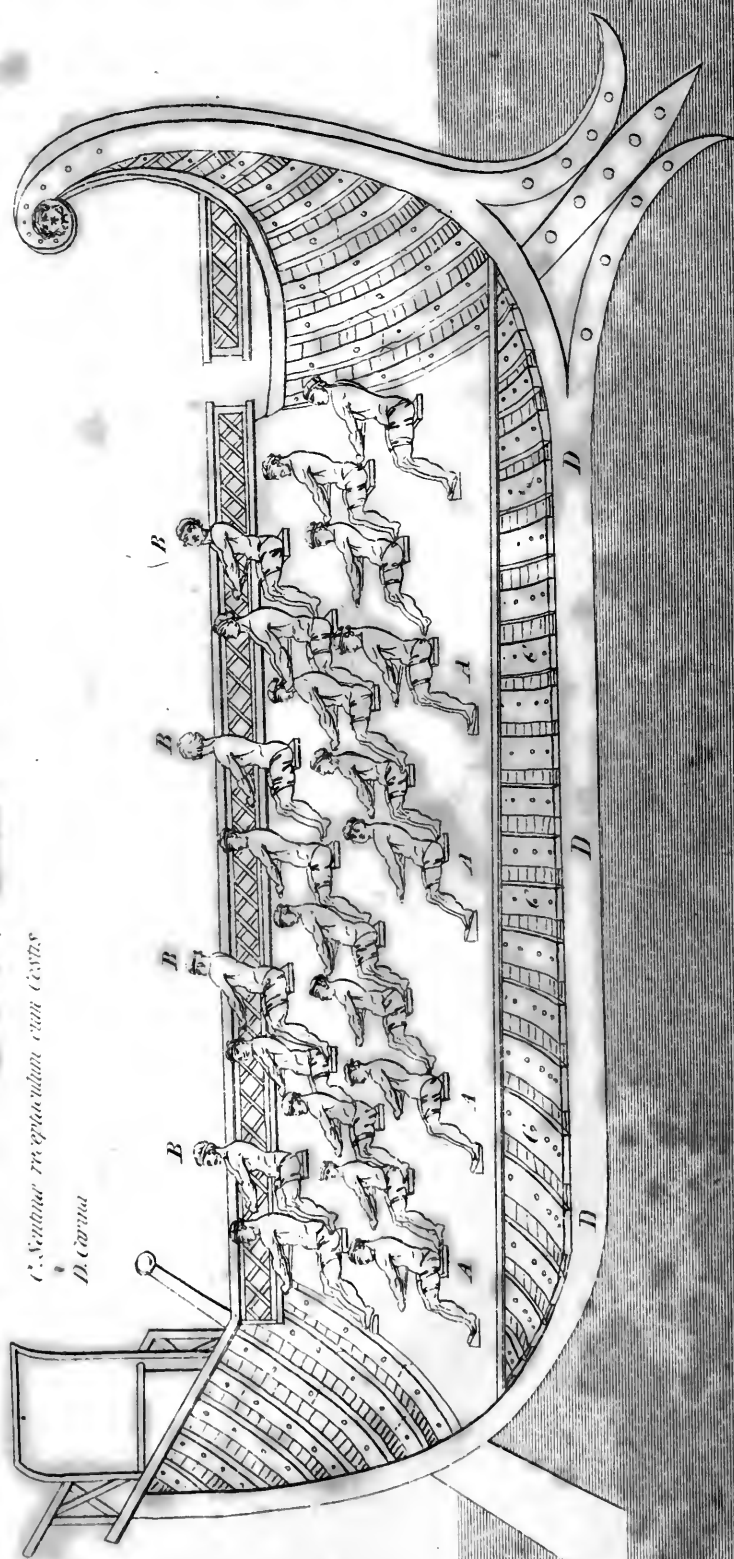


A. Crude wadmus Thalamitacum

B. Crude wadmus Thalamitacum. Reliqui internoda tres Thalamitacum sunt

C. Sentinae receptaculum cum Cistis

D. Cornua





TRIREMIS PRISCAE EFFIGIES.

A *ἄνθος* a Tel. Spande.

B *Thalamus*.

C *ἔγος*.

D *Thranus*

E *Totum spatium hic litteris inchoatum Graecis est ἐκπεριον.*

F *Furculus* vel *asper*.

G *Stethus*.

H *ἄνθος* loci. Nam ipsum abest.

I *ὄculus* vel *scutulum*.

K *Ἀφῆστρε*.

L *ἄνθος* culus.

M *Quaeritur quid sit. et. Ita homini nocturna.*

N *Petitum.*

O *ὄculus* vel *scutulum*. Dextrum sinistrum non conspicitur.

P *Purpurei locus* ipsum abest.

Q *Acetrum*.

R *Purpureia*.

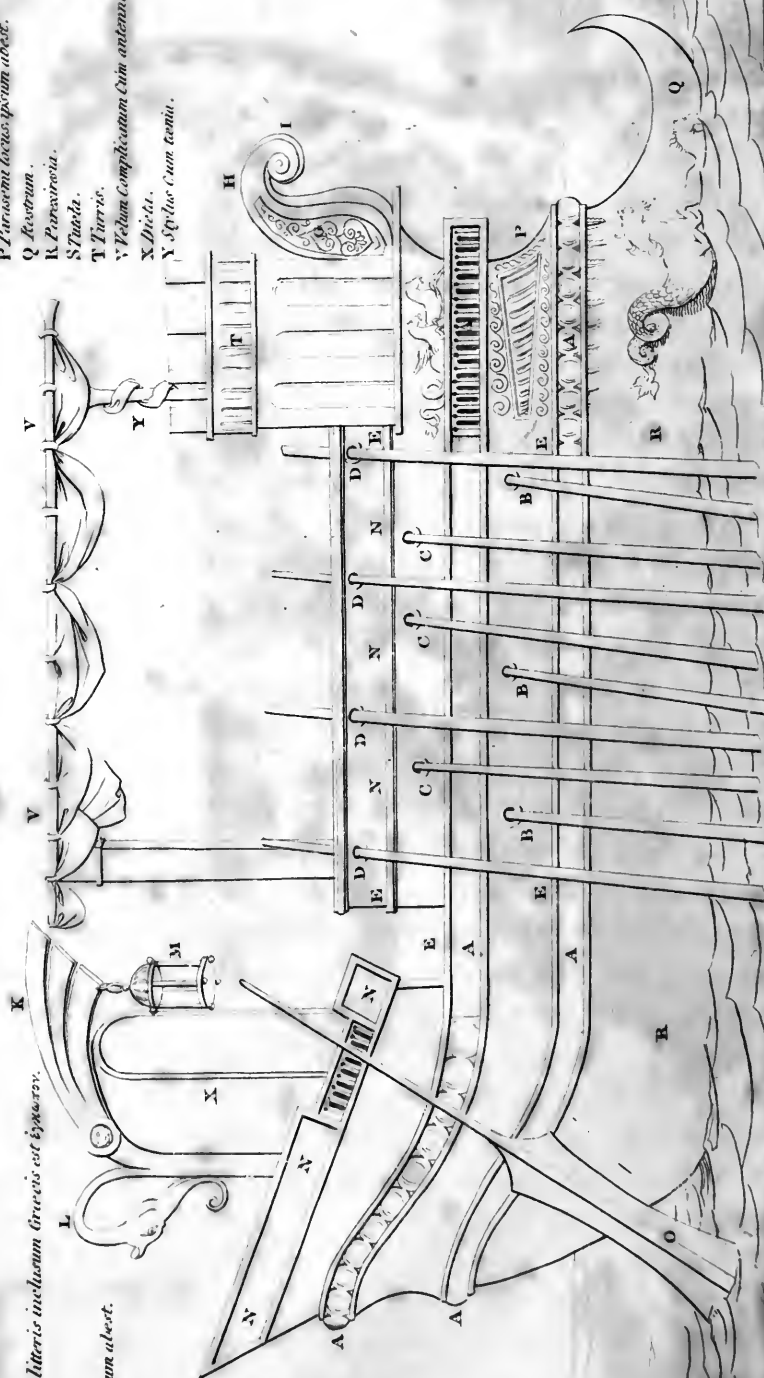
S *Quid.*

T *Turris*.

V *Velum Complicatum Cum antenna.*

X *Dieta*.

Y *Stylus Cum tenui.*



which were of a form betwixt the ships of war and burden, being exceeded by the latter in capaciousness, by the former in length. There was likewise another difference amongst these ships; for men of war, though not wholly destitute of sails, were chiefly rowed with oars, that they might be the more able to tack about upon any advantage, and approach the enemy on his weakest side; whereas, vessels governed by sails, being left to the mercy of the winds, could not be managed by so steady a conduct; hence the ships of war were usually styled ἐπικωποι, and κωπήρη. Ships of burden were commonly governed with sails, and those of transports often towed with cords: not but that in both these all the three ways of government, viz. by sail, oar, and cords, were upon occasion made use of.

Ships of war are said to have been first rigged out by Parhalus, or Samyres; as others, by Semiramis; but according to some², by Ægæon. They were further distinguished from other sorts of ships by various engines, and accessions of building, some to defend their own soldiers, others to annoy enemies, an account of which shall be inserted in the following chapters; and from one another in later ages, by several orders, or ranks of oars, which were not, as some vainly imagine, placed upon the same level in different parts of the ships; nor yet, according to others, directly and perpendicularly above one another's heads; but their seats, being fixed one at the back of another, ascended gradually in the manner of stairs. The most usual number of these banks was three, four, and five; whence there is so frequent mention of νῆες τριήρεις, τετρήρεις, and πεντήρεις, i. e. trireme, quadrireme, and quinquireme gallies, which exceeded one another by a bank of oars, and consequently were built more high, and rowed with greater strength. In the primitive times, the long ships had only one bank of oars, whence they are sometimes termed μονήρεις, and κέλητες, from the name of a single horse: and therefore, when we find them called πεντηκόντοροι, and upwards as far as εκατόντοροι, we are not to suppose they were rowed with fifty, or an hundred banks, but only with so many oars; one of those was the ship Argo, which was rowed with fifty oars, being the first of the long ships, and invented by Jason; whereas, till that time, all sorts of vessels had been of a form more inclining to oval: others³ carry the invention of long ships something higher, referring it to Danaus, who, they tell us, sailed from Egypt into Greece in a ship of fifty oars; and how-

² Plin. Nat. Hist. lib. vii. cap. ult.

³ Apollodorus Biblioth. lib. ii.

ever Jason should be allowed to have introduced them into Greece, yet he cannot be thought their first contriver, but rather imitated the Egyptian or African model, the latter of which was some time before composed by Atlas, and much used in those parts. The first that used a double bank of oars, were the Erythræans^b; which was further enlarged by Aminocles of Corinth with the accession of a third, as Herodotus, Thucydides, and Diodorus the Sicilian report; but Clement of Alexandria^c will have this invention to belong to the Sidonians: to these Aristotle, a Carthaginian, added a fourth; Nesicthon of Salamis (according to Pliny), or Dionysius the Sicilian (according to Diodorus), a fifth; Xenagoras the Syracusian, a sixth; Nesigiton increased the number to ten; Alexander the Great, to twelve; Ptolemy Soter, to fifteen: Philip father to Perseus, had a ship of sixteen banks^d; then (it being easy to make additions, the method of erecting one bank above another once found out), Demetrius, the son of Antigonus, built a ship of thirty banks; and Ptolemy Philopater, out of a vain-glorious humour of out-doing all the world besides, farther enlarged the number to forty^e, which (all others bearing a just proportion) raised the ship to that prodigious bigness, that it appeared at a distance like a floating mountain, or island, and, upon a nearer view, seemed like a huge castle upon the floods. It contained four thousand rowers, four hundred mariners employed in other services, and almost three thousand soldiers. But this, and such like fabrics served only for show and ostentation, being by their great bulk rendered unwieldy, and unfit for use. Athenæus tells us the common names they were known by, were, Cyclades, or Ætnæ, i. e. islands or mountains, to which they seemed almost equal in bigness, consisting, as some report, of as many materials as would have been sufficient for the construction of at least fifty triremes.

Beside those already mentioned, there were other ships, with half banks of oars; such as ἡμισολία, or ἡμίολος, which seems to have been betwixt an unireme and bireme, consisting of a bank and an half; likewise τριηρημισολία, betwixt a bireme and trireme, having two banks and an half: these, though perhaps built in other respects after the model of the long ships, or men of war, are seldom comprehended under that name, and sometimes mentioned in opposition to them. Several other ships are mentioned by authors, which differed from those already enumerated, being fitted for par-

^b Plinius.^c Stromat. lib. i.^d Polybius in Fragment. et Livius.^e Plut. Demetrio, Athenæus, lib. v.

ticular uses, or certain seas ; employed upon urgent necessities in naval fights, but more commonly as ὑπηρετικαί, *tenders*, and victualling ships, to supply the main fleet with provisions ; and sometimes built for expedition to carry expresses, and observe the enemy's motions, without danger of being seized by the heavier, and armed vessels. These were distinguished from the former by the manner of their construction and equipment, being in part like the men of war, partly resembling the ships of burden, and in some things differing from both, as the various exigencies they served in seemed to require.

CHAP. XV.

Of the Parts, Ornaments, &c. of Shipping.

HAVING treated of the different sorts of ships used amongst the ancient Grecians, I shall, in the next place, endeavour to describe the principal parts whereof they consisted ; the ignorance of which has occasioned many mistakes, and much confusion in those who have conversed with authors of antiquity. Herein I shall chiefly follow the account of Scheffer, who hath so copiously treated on this subject, and with such industry and learning collected whatever is necessary to its illustration, that very little room is left for further enlargement.

Now, the principal parts of which ships consisted were three, viz. the *belly*, the *proW*, and the *stern* : these were again composed of other smaller parts, which shall briefly be described in their order.

1. In the *belly*, or middle part of the ship, there was τρόπις, *carina*, or the *keel*, which was composed of wood, and therefore, from its strength and firmness, called σείρη : it was placed at the bottom of the ship, being designed to cut and glide through the waves^f, and therefore was not broad, but narrow and sharp ; whence it may be perceived that not all ships, but only the μακραί, whose bellies were strait, and of a small circumference, were provided with keels, the rest having usually flat bottoms^g. Round the keel were placed pieces of wood, to save it from receiving damage when the ship was first launched into the water, or bulged

^f Homeri Scholiast. Odyss. μ'.

^g Isidor. lib. xxi. cap. 1.

against rocks, these were called *χειύσματα*, in Latin *cunei*, according to Ovid ^h:

*Jamque labant cunei, spoliataque tegmine ceræ
Rima patet.*——

The wedges break, and loosing all its wax,
A hole lets in the water.——

Next to the keel was *φάλκιν* ⁱ; within which was contained the *ἐντλία*, or *pump*, through which water was conveyed out of the ship ^j.

After this was *δευτέρα τρύπις*, or *second keel*, being placed beneath the pump, and called *λίσθιον*, *χαλκήνη*, *κλειτοπόδιον* ^k: By some it is falsely supposed to be the same with *φάλκιν*.

Above the pump was an hollow place, called by Herodotus, *κοίλη τῆς νηὸς*; by Pollux, *κύτος* and *γάστρα* (because large and capacious, after the form of a vessel or belly); by the Latins, *testudo*. This was surrounded with ribs, which were pieces of wood rising from the keel upwards, and called by Hesychius, *ρομφαί*; by others, *ἐγκοιλία* (the belly of the ship being contained within them); in Latin, *costæ*: upon these were placed certain planks, which Aristophanes calls *ἐντερωνείας*, or *ἐντερωνίδα*.

Hence proceed we to the *πλευραί*, *latera*, or sides of the ship, which encompassed all the former parts on both hands; these were composed of large rafters, extended from prow to stern, and called *ὑποζάματα* ^l, *ζωσῆρες* ^m, and *ζωμιάματα* ⁿ, because by them the whole fabric was begirt or surrounded.

In both these sides, the rowers had their places, called *τοῖχοι*, and *ἰδάλια*, in Latin *fori* and *transtra*, placed above one another: the lowest was called *θάλαμος*, and those that laboured therein *θαλάμιοι*: the middle *ζυγά*, and the men *ζύγιοι*: the uppermost *θράνοι*, whence the rowers were termed *θρανίται* ^o. In these were spaces through which the rowers put their oars; these were sometimes one continued vacuity from one end to the other, called *τράχηξ*, but more usually distinct holes, each of which was designed for a single oar; these were styled *τρήματα*, *τρυπήματα*, as also *ὀφθαλμοί*, because not unlike the eyes of living creatures: all of them were, by a more general name, termed *ἔγκωπα*, from containing the oars ^p; but *ἐγκωπὶν* seems to have been another thing, signifying the spaces between the banks of oars on each side, where the passengers seem to

^h Metam. xi. v. 516.

ⁱ Pollux.

^j Aristoph. Schol. Equit.

^k Pollux.

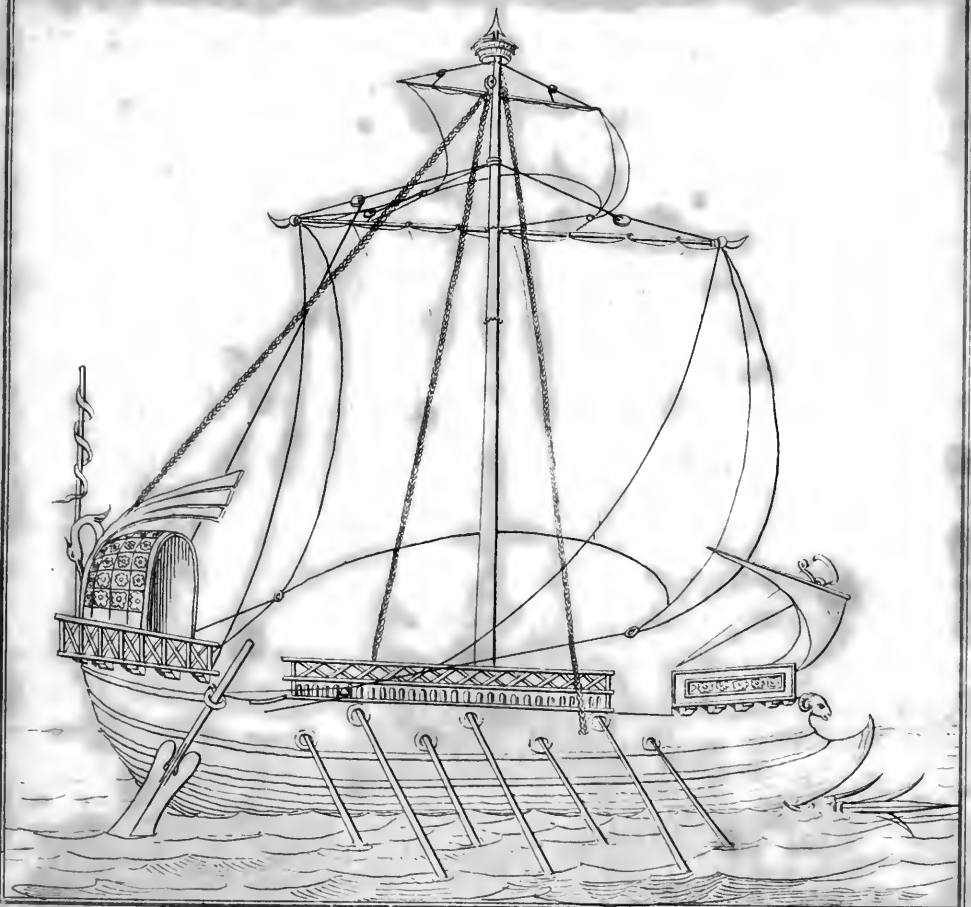
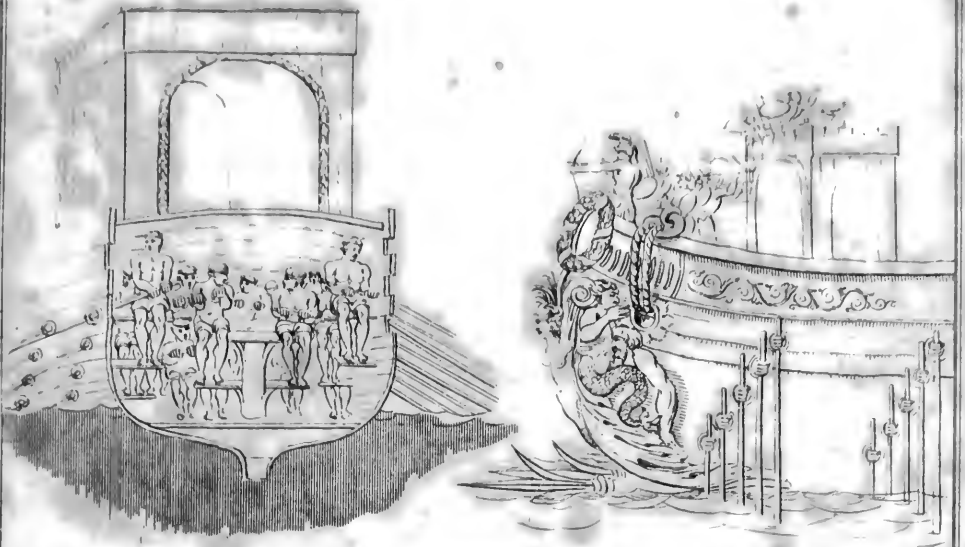
^l Plato de Rep. lib. x.

^m Heliodorus Æthiopis.

ⁿ Aristoph. Equitibus.

^o Pollux.

^p Athenæus, lib. v.

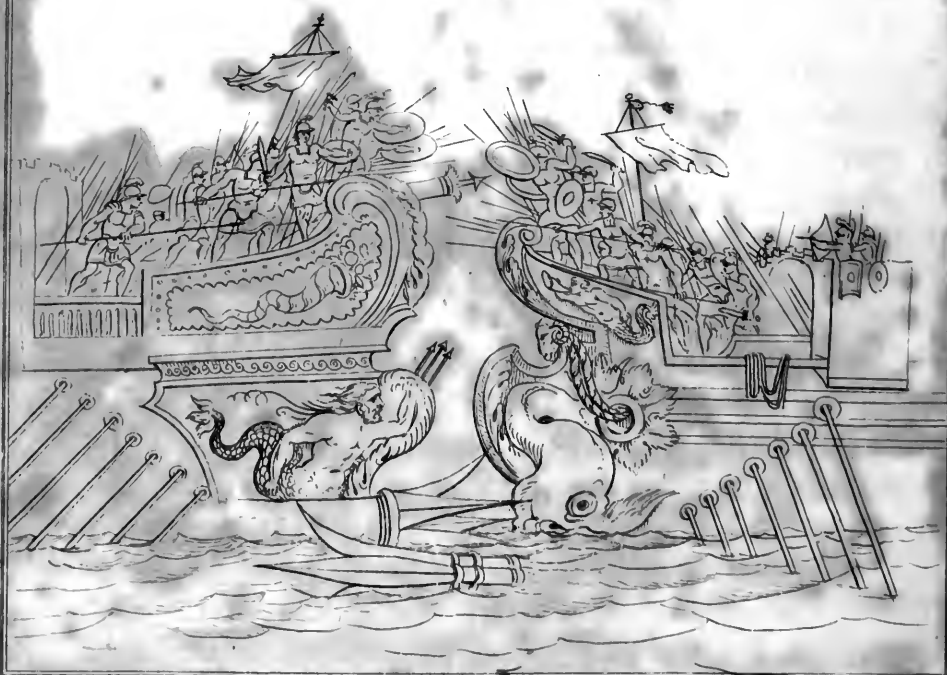
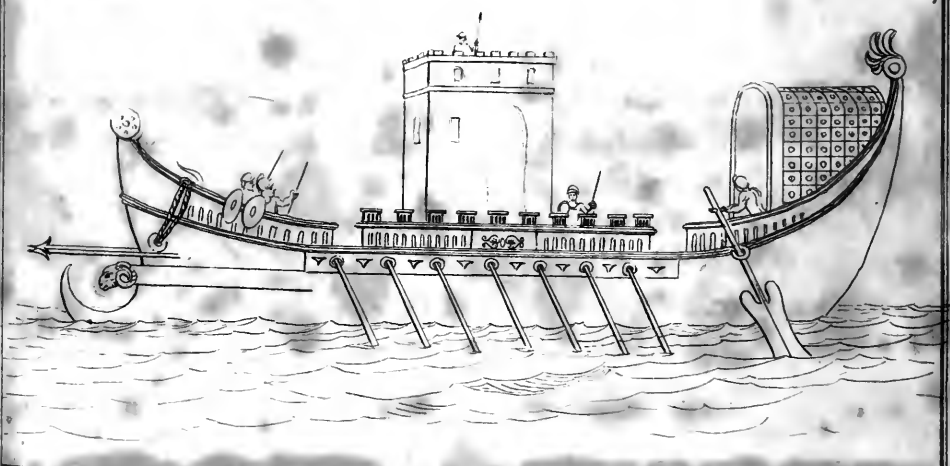


QUADRIREMIS, QUINQUEREMIS & BIREMIS.

Drawn & Engraved by H. & D. Learys Edinburgh

Edinburgh Published by Doig, Stirling, & Slade 1818.





NAVES LONGÆ, TURRITÆ ET ROSTRATÆ.

Drawn & Engraved by W & D Lucas delin.

have been placed : on the top of all these was a passage, or place to walk in, called *πάροδος*, and *παράθρανος*, as joining to the *θράνοι*, or uppermost bank of oars.

2. *Πρόρα*, the prow or fore-deck, whence it is sometimes called *μέτωπον*, the forehead, and commonly distinguished by other metaphorical titles taken from human faces. In some ships there is mention of two prows, as likewise of two sterns. Thus was Danaus's ship adorned by Minerva, when he fled from Egypt. It was customary to beautify the prow with gold, and various sorts of paint and colours. In the primitive times, red was most in use ; whence Homer's ships were commonly dignified with the titles of *μυλτοπάρηοι*, and *φοινικοπάρηοι*, or red-faced. The blue, likewise, or sky-colour, was frequently made use of, as bearing a near resemblance to the colour of the sea, whence we find ships called by Homer *κυανόπρωροι*, by Aristophanes *κυανέμβολοι*. Several other colours were also made use of, nor were they barely varnished over with them, but very often annealed by wax melted in the fire, so that neither the sun, winds, or water, were able to deface them. The art of doing this was called from the wax, *κηρογρυφία* from the fire, *ἐγκαυσική* : it is described by Vitruvius^a, and mentioned in Ovid^r :

———*Picta coloribus ustis*

Cæruleam matrem concava puppis habet.

The painted ship, with melted wax anneal'd,
Had Tethys for its deity.———

In these colours, the various forms of gods, animals, plants, &c. were usually described, which were often added as ornaments to other parts also of the ships, as plainly appears from the ancient monuments presented to the world by Baysius.

The sides of the prow were termed *πτερά*, or *wings* ; and *πάρηαι*, according to Scheffer, or rather *παρειαι* : for since the prow is commonly compared to a human face, it will naturally follow that its sides should be called cheeks. The top of these, as likewise of the stern, was called *παρεξίρησις*^s, because void of rowers.

3. *Πρύμνη*, the hind-deck or stern, sometimes called *ὄρεα*, the *tail*, because the hindmost part of the ship. It was of a figure more inclining to round than the prow, the extremity of which was sharp that it might cut the waters ; it was also built higher than the prow, and was the place where the pilot sat to steer : the bow of it was called *ἐπισείων*, the planks of which that was compos-

^a Lib. vii. cap. 9.
VOL. II.

^r Fastorum, lib. iv.

^s Thucydides Scholiastes.

ed τὰ περιτόνεια. There was another place something below the top, called ἀσάνδιον, the interior part of which was termed ἐνθήμειον.

Some other things there are in the prow and stern that deserve our notice; as those ornaments wherewith the extremities of the ship were beautified, commonly called, in general, ἀκρόνια^t, or νεῶν κορωνίδες^u, in Latin *corymbi*; which name is taken from the Greek κόρυμβος used in Homer:

— νεῶν ἀποκόψειν ἄκρα κόρυμβος.

Though this word, in Greek, is not, as in the Latin, applied to the ornaments of both ends, but only those of the prow^v: these are likewise called ἀκροσόλια, because placed at the extremity of the σόλος, which was a long plank at the head of the prow, and therefore sometimes termed περικεφαλαία^w. The form of them sometimes resembled helmets, sometimes living creatures, but most frequently was winded into a round compass, whence they are so commonly named *corymbæ* and *coronæ*.

To the ἀκροσόλια in the prow, answered the ἄφλασσα in the stern, which were often of an orbicular figure, or fashioned like wings, to which a little shield, called ἀσπιδεῖον, or ἀσπιδίσκη, was frequently affixed: sometimes a piece of wood was erected, whereon ribands of divers colours were hung, and served instead of a flag^x to distinguish the ship, and of a weather-cock, to signify the quarters of the wind.

Χηνίσκος was so called from χήν, a goose, whose figure it resembled, because geese were looked on as fortunate omens to mariners, for that they swim on the top of the waters, and sink not. This ornament, according to some, was fixed at the bottom of the prow, where it was joined to the foremost part of the keel, and was the part to which anchors were fastened when cast into the sea; but others carry it to the other end of the ship, and fix it upon the extremity of the stern^y.

Παράσημον was the flag, whereby ships were distinguished from one another: it was placed in the prow, just below the σόλος, being sometimes carved, and frequently painted, whence it is in Latin termed *pictura*, representing the form of a mountain, a tree, a flower, or any other thing; wherein it was distinguished from what was called *tutela*, or the safeguard of the ship, which always represented some of the gods, to whose care and protection the ship was recommended; for which reason it was held sacred, and

^t Suidas.

^u Homerus.

^v Etymologici Auctor.

^w Pollux.

^x Pollux, Eustathius.

^y Etymologic. Auctor.

had the privilege of being a refuge and sanctuary to such as fled to it; prayers also and sacrifices were offered, and oaths confirmed before it, as the mansion of the tutelar and presiding deity of the ship: now and then we find it taken for the *παράσημον* ^z, and perhaps some few times the images of gods might be represented upon the flags: by some it is placed also in the prow ^a, but by most authors of credit assigned to the stern. Thus, Ovid (to omit more instances), in his epistle of Paris:

Accipit et pictos puppis adunca deos.

The stern with painted deities richly shines.

Farther, the *tutela* and *παράσημον* are frequently distinguished in express words, that being always signified by the image of a god; this usually of some creature, or feigned representation: hence, the same author ^b;

*Est mihi, sitque, precor, flavæ tutela Minervæ,
Navis et a pictâ casside nomen habet.*

Minerva is the goddess I adore,
And may she grant the blessings I implore;
The ship its name a painted helmet gives.

Where the tutelar deity was Minerva, the *παράσημον* the helmet. In like manner the ship wherein Europa was conveyed from Phœnicia into Crete, had a bull for its flag, and Jupiter for its tutelar deity; which gave occasion to the fable of her being ravished by that god in the shape of a bull. It was customary for the ancients to commit their ships to the protection of those deities, whom they thought most concerned for their safety, or to whom they bore any sort of relation or affection. Thus, we learn from Euripides ^c, that Theseus's whole fleet consisting of sixty sail, was under the care of Minerva the protectress of Athens; Achilles's navy was committed to the Nereids, or sea-nymphs, because of the relation he had to them on account of his mother Thetis, who was one of their number; and (to mention no more) the Bœotian ships had for their tutelar god Cadmus, represented with a dragon in his hand, because he was the founder of Thebes, the principal city in Bœotia. Nor were whole fleets only, but single ships recommended to certain deities, which the ancients usually chose out of the number of those who were reputed the protectors of their country or family, or presided over the business they were going about; thus merchants committed themselves and their ships to

^z Lactantius, lib. i. cap. 1. Servius. *lus in catene ad eundem Phropheta.*
Æneid. v. Glossæ veteres. ^b De Tristibus.

^a Procopius in *Esaiæ* cap. 12. Cyril. ^c Iphigenia.

the care of Mercury, soldiers to Mars, and lovers to Venus and Cupid ; so Paris tells his mistress in Ovid :

*Qua tamen ipse vehor, comitata Cupidine parvo
Sponsor conjugii stat Dea picta sui.*

But on my ship does only Venus stand,
With little Cupid smiling in her hand,
Guide of the way she did herself command.

CARTH.

On the prow of the ship, about the *ἐὸλος*, was placed a round piece of wood called *πτύχις*, and sometimes *ὀφθαλμὸς*, the eye of the ship, because fixed in its fore-deck ^a ; on this was inscribed the name of the ship, which was usually taken from the flag, as appears in the fore-mentioned passage of Ovid, where he tells us his ship received its name from the helmet painted upon it : hence comes the frequent mention of ships called Pegasi, Scyllæ, Bulls, Rams, Tygers, &c. which the poets took liberty to represent as living creatures that transported their riders from one country to another ; nor was there (according to some) any other ground for those known fictions of Pegasus, the winged horse of Bellerophon, or the ram that is reported to have carried Phryxus to Colchos, with several others that occur every where in the poets.

The whole fabric being completed, it was fortified with pitch to secure the wood from the waters ; whence it comes that Homer's ships are every where mentioned with the epithet of *μέλαινοι*, or black. The first that made use of pitch, were the inhabitants of Phæacia ^c, called afterwards Corsica. Sometimes wax was employed in the same use ; whence Ovid ^f :

Cærulea ceratas accipit unda rates.

The azure sea receives the waxy ships.

Now and then it was applied with a mixture of rosin, or other materials fit for the same purpose ; whence the colour of ships was not always the same, and the epithets ascribed to them in the poets are various.

After all, the ship being bedecked with garlands and flowers, the mariners also adorned with crowns, she was launched into the sea, with loud acclamations, and other expressions of mirth and joy ^g ; and being purified by a priest with a lighted torch, an egg, and brimstone ^h, or after some other manner, was consecrated to the god whose image she bore.

^d Pollux, Eustathius, Apollonii Scholiastes Argon. lib. i. v. 1089.

^c Suidas, v. *Ναυσίκαα*.

^f Epist. Oenon. v. 42.

^g Athenæus, lib. v.

^h Apuleius Asin. lib. xi.

CHAP. XIV.

Of the Tackling and Instruments required in Navigation.

THE instruments used in navigation were of divers sorts, being either necessary to all sorts of navigation, or only some form of it, as that by sails, by oars, &c. The chief of the former sort were as follow :

Πηδάλιον, *gubernaculum*, the rudder, placed in the hindmost deck, whereby the pilot directed the course of the ship. The smaller sort of ships had only one rudder, but those of greater bulk, as often as occasion required, had more, insomuch that sometimes we read of four rudders in one vessel : the places of these are uncertain, being perhaps not always the same ; but it seems probable, that when there were only two rudders, one was fixed to the fore-deck, the other to the hindmost ; whence we read of νῆες ἀμφίπρυμνοι, or ships with two sterns ; when there were four rudders, one seems to have been fixed to each side of the vessel.

Ἀγκυρα, an anchor, the first invention of which some ascribe to the Tyrrheniansⁱ, others to Midas, the son of Gordius, whose anchor, Pausanias tells us, was preserved in one of Jupiter's temples till his days. Since there were divers sorts of anchors, it is not improbable that both these may justly lay claim to part of the invention. The most ancient anchors are said to have been of stone^j, and sometimes of wood, to which a great quantity of lead was usually fixed. In some places baskets full of stones^k, and sacks filled with sand, were employed to the same use : all these were let down by cords into the sea, and by their weight stayed the course of the ship. Afterwards, anchors were composed of iron, and furnished with teeth, which being fastened to the bottom of the sea, preserved the ship immoveable ; whence ὀδόντες, and *dentes*, are frequently taken for anchors in the Greek and Latin poets. At first there was only one tooth, whence anchors were called ἐτερόσομοι^l but in a short time a second was added by Eupalamus^m, or Anacharsis, the Scythian philosopherⁿ. The scholiast upon Apollonius^o, confidently affirms, that this sort of an-

ⁱ Plin. lib. viii. cap. ult.

^j Apollonius, Argonaut. Arrianus in Periplo Ponti Euxini.

^k Josephus et Suidas, v. Ζεῦγμα.

^l Pollux.

^m Plin. lib. vii. cap. ult.

ⁿ Strabo, lib. x. ex Ephoro.

^o Argon. i. v. 1271.

chors was used by the Argonauts, yet herein he seems to deserve no great credit, for that he runs contrary to the testimonies of other writers, and his own author Apollonius makes mention of none but those of stone. The anchors with two teeth were called ἀμφίβολοι, or ἀμφιστοιμοι, and from ancient monuments appear to have been much the same with those used in our days, only the transverse piece of wood upon their handles is wanting in all of them. Every ship had several anchors, one of which, surpassing all the rest in bigness and strength, was peculiarly termed ἱερὰ, in Latin *sacra*, and was never used but in extreme danger; whence *sacram anchoram solvere* is proverbially applied to such as were forced to their last refuge.

Ἐρμα, θεμέλιος, ἔρσμα, *saburra*, ballast, wherewith ships were poised, whence it is called ἀσφάλισμα πλοῖα; it was usually of sand, but sometimes of any other ponderous matter. Diomedes, in his voyage from Troy, is said to have employed the stones of that city's walls to this use^q. It is sometimes called κεφαλὸν and κέφαλον^q.

Βόλις, called by Herodotus καταπειρητήρ^r, by Lucilius, *catapirantes*^s, was an instrument wherewith they sounded the depth of the sea, and discovered whether the bottom was firm and commodious for anchoring, or dangerous by reason of quick-sands, or other obstructions. It was commonly of lead or brass, or other ponderous metals, and let down by a chain into the deep^t.

Κοντοί, called by Sophocles πλῆκτρα^u, in Latin *conti*, long poles, used to sound the depth of shallower waters, to thrust the ship from rocks and shelves, and to force her forwards in fords and shallows, where the waters had not strength enough to carry her.

Αποβάθραι, ἐπιβάθραι, or κλίμακες, were little bridges or stairs joining the land to ships, or one ship to another.

Αντλῖον, ἄντλον, in Latin, *haustum*, *tolleno*, or *tollena*, &c. a swipe, or engine to draw up water.

To some of the above-mentioned instruments certain ropes were required, and distinguished according to their several uses; as,

Πύσματα, *anchoralia*, or *anchorarii*, the cables wherewith anchors were cast into the sea, called sometimes κάμιλοι^v, or κάμηλοι^w: whence, in the place of St. Matthew, where Christ, speaking of the

^p Lycophronis Cassandr. v. 618.

^q Hesychius.

^r Euterpe.

^s Lib. xix, cap. 4.

^t Glossæ in Act. Apost. cap. 27.

^u Pollux.

^v Aristoph. Scholiastes.

^w Phavorinus.

difficulty of a rich man's entering into heaven, tells his disciples, it is harder than for a camel to pass through the eye of a needle ; Theophylact and some others interpret the word κάμηλις, not of the animal called a camel, but a cable ^x.

Ρύματα, ὀλκοί, or σπιῖραι, *parolcones, remulci*, ropes by which ships were towed.

Ἀπόγεια, ἐπίγεια, πείσματα, πρυμνήσια, *retinacula*, cords wherewith ships were tied to the shore. In most harbours stones were erected for this purpose, being bored through like rings, and thence called δακτύλιοι : to these the cords cast out of the stern were bound : this custom was always observed when ships came into port ; and therefore, when they put to sea, it is usually said they did *solvere funes*, loose their cords. Instances of this are every where frequent ; but I shall only give you one out of Ovid ^y, who speaks thus of Æneas's followers :

*Æneadæ gaudent, cæsoque in littore tauro,
Torta coronatæ solvunt retinacula navis.*

A bull the joyful Trojans sacrific'd
Upon the shore, then loos'd the ropes that ty'd
The ship all crown'd with garlands.—

The end of doing this, was, that the ships might be secured from the violence of the winds and waves ; for which reason, in those commodious harbours that lay not exposed to them, ships remained loose and untied ; whence Homer ^z :

Ἐν δὲ λιμὴν εὐορμος, ἴν' ἔχρῃ πείσματός ἐστιν.

So still the port, there was no need of ropes.

I proceed to the instruments, which were only necessary to some sort of navigation ; where I shall first treat of those required in rowing, which were as follow :

Κῶπαι, *remi*, oars, so called from one Copas, by whom it is said, they were first invented. Πλάτη, in Latin, *palmula*, or *tonsa*, was the blade, or broad part of the oar, which was usually covered with brass, that it might with greater strength and force repel the waves, and endure the longer. There were several banks of oars placed gradually above one another ; the oars of the lowest bank were shorter than the rest, and called θαλάμιαι, or θαλαμίδαι : those of the middle banks were termed ζύγαι : those of the uppermost, θρανητικαί and θρανήτιδες, and were the longest, being at the greatest distance from the water ; wherefore, that the rowers might be the

^x Matthæi Evangel. cap. 19.

^y Metam. lib. xv. y. 695.

^z Odyss. i. v. 156. Vide Annotationes nostras in Lycophronis Cassandr. v. 20.

better able to wield and manage them, it was customary to put lead upon their handles ^a, lest the bottom should outpoise the top.

Σκαλμοί, were round pieces of wood, whereon the rowers hung their oars when they rested from their labours : hence, ναῦς τρεῖσκαλμος, i. e. a ship with three rows of *scalmi*, or a trireme.

Τρόποι, τροποτήρες, *strophæ*, or *struppi*, were leathern thongs ^b, wherewith the oars were hung upon the *scalmi* ; those also with which the rudder was bound. Leather, and skins of beasts were applied also to several other uses, as to cover the *scalmi*, and the holes through which the oars were put forth, to preserve them from being worn ^c. There were skins under the rowers, called ἐπηρέσια, and sometimes ὑπαγκάνια, or ὑποπύγια τῶν ἐρετῶν, from saving the elbows or breeches of the rowers.

Εδώλια, σέλματα, ζυγά, in Latin, *transtra* and *juga*, were the seats of the rowers.

The instruments used in sailing were as follow :

Ίσία, φώσσανες, ἄρμενα, *vela*, sails, which are by some thought to have been first invented by Dedalus, and to have given original to the fable of his using wings : others refer this invention to Icarus, making Dedalus the contriver of masts and sail-yards ^d. At first there was only one sail in a ship, but afterwards a greater number was found convenient, the names of which were these :

Αετίμων, by some taken for *supparum*, or the top-sail, which hung on the top of the mast.

Ακάτια, the great sails ^e.

Δόλων, the *trinket*, or small sail in the fore-deck ^f : others make ἀκάτιον and δόλων the same.

Επίδρομος, the *mizzen-sail*, which was larger than the former, and hung in the hind-deck ^g.

Sails were commonly of linen, sometimes of any other materials fit for receiving and repelling the winds. In Dio ^h, we have mention of leathern sails ; it was likewise usual, for want of other sails, to hang up their garments ; whence came the fable of Hercules, who is feigned to have sailed with the back of a lion, because he used no other sail but his garment, which was a lion's skin ⁱ.

Κεραῖαι, κέρατα, *antennæ*, the sail-yards, pieces of wood fixed upon

^a Athenæus, lib. v.

^b Etymologici Auctor. Homeri Scholiast. Odyss. δ.

^c Suidas, v. Διφθέρα.

^d Plin. lib. vii. cap. 56.

^e Hesychius.

^f Suidas, v. Δόλων. Isidorus,

^g Hesychius, Isidorus.

^h Lib. xxxix.

ⁱ Servius, Æn. viii.

the mast, to which the sails were tied^j: the name signifies an horn; whence its extremities are called ἀκροέραια, its arms inclining to an orbicular figure, are termed ἀγκύλαι. The Latin poet hath used *cornua* in the same sense^k:

——— *Veloque superba capaci*
Cum rapidum hauriret boream, et cornibus omnis
Colligerit flatus.—————

When the proud ship receives the northern blast
In its spread sails, which, hanging from the mast,
Collect the gathering storm.

c. s.

Other parts it had, close to the mast, called ἄμβολα, and σύμβολα, being those by which it was moved.

Ἰσθός, *maius*, the mast. Every ship had several masts; but we are told by Aristotle, that at first there was only one mast, which being fixed in the middle of the ship, the hole into which the foot of it was inserted, was named μετόδμη^l, in Latin *modius*. When they landed, the mast was taken down, as appears every where in Homer, and placed on a thing called ἱσοδόκη, which, according to Suidas, was a case wherein the mast was reposit; but Eustathius will have it to be nothing but a piece of wood, against which it was reared. The parts of the masts were these: Πέργα, or the foot. Λινός, or, according to Athenæus, λινός, or πράχηνλος, to which the sail was fixed. Καρχήσιον, the pully, by which the ropes were turned round. Θωράκιον, built in the manner of a turret, for soldiers to stand upon and cast darts: above this was a piece of wood, called ἱκρίον, the extremity of which was termed ἡλακία, on which hung a riband, called, from its continual motion, ἐπισείων, turning round with the wind.

The names of the ropes required to the use of the above-mentioned parts, were these that follow, as enumerated by Scheffer:

Ἐπίτονοι were the ropes called in Latin *anquina*, wherewith the sail-yards were bound to the mainmast^m: others will have them to be the same with the Latin *rudentes*, which were those that governed the sail-yards, so as one part of the sails might be hoisted, the other loweredⁿ, according to the pleasure of the pilot. Others will have the cords wherewith the sail-yards were tied to the mast, to be termed κάλων, *ceruchus*, *anchonis*, and *rudens*; that whereby they were contracted or dilated, ὑπέρα^o, in Latin, *opifera* p.

Πόδες, in Latin, *pedes*, were cords at the corners of the sails^q,

^j Homeri Scholiastes, Iliad σ'.

^k Silius Italicus, lib. xiv.

^l Homeri Scholiastes, Odys. β'.

^m Suidas.

ⁿ Phavor.

^o Suidas.

^p Isidor.

^q Aristoph. Schol. Equit. act. i. scen.

ⁱ Apollonii Schol. Vide meum. et Meursii Comment. in Lycoph. Casandr. v. 105.

whereby they were managed as occasion required. *Πρόποδες* were small cords below the *pedes*, which were so contrived as to be loosened and contracted by them : the use of both these was in taking the winds, for by them the sails were contracted, dilated, or changed from one side to another, as there was occasion.

Μισσέρια were those whereby the mast was erected or let down^r : others will have them to belong to the sails.

Πρότονι were cords, which passing through a pully at the top of the mast, were tied on one side to the prow, on the other to the stern, to keep the mast fixed and immoveable.

The materials of which these and other cords were composed, were at first seldom any thing but leathern thongs ; afterwards they used hemp, flax, broom, palm-leaves, philyry, the bark of trees, as the cherry, teil-tree, vine, maple, carpine, &c.

CHAP. XVII.

Of the Instruments of War in Ships.

WHAT I have hitherto delivered concerning the parts and construction of ships has been spoken in general, without respect to any particular sort of them ; it remains, therefore, that, in the next place, I give you a brief account of what was farther necessary to equip a man of war.

Ἐμβολον, *rostrum*, was a beak of wood, fortified with brass, whence it is called *χάλκωμα νεῶν* in Diodorus^r, and ships have sometimes the epithet of *χαλκίμβολοι* : one or more of these was always fastened to the prow, to annoy the enemy's ships, and the whole prow was sometimes covered with brass, to guard it from rocks and assaults. The person that first used these beaks is said to have been one Pisæus, an Italian^t ; for it will not be allowed that the primitive Greeks had any knowledge of them, since no such thing is mentioned in Homer, which could scarce have happened, had they been invented at the time of the Trojan war : yet Æschylus^u gives Nestor's ship the epithet of *δαιρέμβολος*, or armed with ten beaks ; and Iphigenia in Euripides speaks of brazen beaks :

^r Apollonii Schol.

^s Lib. xx.

^t Plin. lib. vii. cap. 56.

^u *Μυρμιδόνιν*.

Μή μοι χαλκιμοβόλων
Πρύμνας ἄδ' Αὐλὶς δίζασθαι
Τῶσδ', ἵς ὄρμης. —————

O! that these ships with brazen beaks
Had never enter'd Aulis ports.

But it may justly be questioned, whether these beaks do not take their description from the practice of their own times; a thing frequent enough with men of that profession. These beaks were at first long and high, but afterwards it was found more convenient to have them short and firm, and placed so low as to pierce the enemy's ships under water; this was the invention of one Aristo, a Corinthian, who communicated it to the Syracusans, in their wars with the Athenians, against whom it proved a considerable advantage, for, by these new beaks, several of the Athenian men of war were overturned, or torn in pieces at the first shock ^v. Above the beak was another instrument, called *προεμβολίς*: and it appears from ancient medals, that the beaks themselves were usually adorned with various figures of animals, &c.

Επωτίδες were pieces of wood, placed on each side of the prow ^w, to guard it from the enemy's beaks, because prows are usually compared to faces, these were thought to resemble ears, whence their name seems to have been derived, for those are mistaken that would have them to belong to the hind-deck ^x.

Κατασράματα, σανιδώματα, or hatches, sometimes called *καταφράγματα*, whence we meet with *νῆες πεφραγμέναι, κατάφρακτοι*, and *tectæ*, covered ships, or men of war: which are frequently opposed to ships of passage or burden, which were *ἄφρακτοι*, and *apertæ*, uncovered, or without hatches: this covering was of wood, and erected on purpose for soldiers, that they, standing as it were upon an eminence, might level their missive weapons with greater force and certainty against their enemies. In the primitive ages, particularly about the time of the Trojan war, we are told by Thucydides, that the soldiers used to fight upon the foremost and hindermost decks ^y; and therefore, whenever we find Homer speak of *ἐκρία νηὸς*, which his scholiasts interpret *hatches*, we are only to understand him of these parts which alone used to be covered in those days. Thus he tells us of Ajax defending the Grecian ships against the attack of the Trojans ^z:

————— νηὼν ἐκρί' ἐπ' ὤχετο μακρὰ βιβάζων.

He march'd upon the hatches with long strides.

^v Diod. Sic. lib. xiii.

^w Thucyd. Schol. lib. vii.

^x Etymolog. Auctor.

^y Lib. i.

^z Iliad. 4.

And of Ulysses preparing himself for the encounter with Scylla, he speaks thus ^a :

—ἐῖς ἰκρία νηὶς ἔβαιε

Πρώτης. —

Upon the hatches of the foremost deck

He went. —

The other parts of the ship are said to have been first covered by the Thasians ^b.

Beside the coverings of ships already mentioned and called *καταφράγματα*, there were other coverings to guard the soldiers from their enemies, called *παραφράγματα*, *περιφράγματα*, *παραπετάσματα*, *παραβλήματα*, *προκαλύματα*, in Latin, *plutei*, and sometimes *propugnacula*. These were commonly hides, or such like materials, hung on both sides of the ship, as well to hinder the waves from falling into it, as to receive the darts cast from the adverse ships, that under these, as walls on both sides, the soldiers might, without danger, annoy their enemies.

Δελφίον, a certain machine, which, being usually a part of these ships, cannot be omitted in this place. It was a vast and massy piece of lead or iron cast in the form of a dolphin, and hung with cords and pulleys to the sail-yards or mast, which being thrown with great violence into the adverse ships, either penetrated them, and so opened a passage for the rising floods, or by its weight and force sunk them to the bottom of the sea ^c.

Another difference betwixt men of war and other ships was, that the former commonly had an helmet engraven on the top of their masts ^d.

CHAP. XVIII.

Of the Mariners and Soldiers.

WE are told by Thucydides, that among the ancients there were no different ranks of seamen, but the same persons were employed in those duties, which were in later ages executed by divers, to whom they gave the several names of rowers, mariners, and soldiers; whereas, at first, all these were the same men, who laid down their arms to labour at the oar, and perform what

^a Odyss. μ'.

^b Plin. lib. vii. cap. 57.

^c Aristophanis Scholiastes, Suidas.

^d Gyraldus de Navigat.

was farther necessary to the government of their ships, but, as often as occasion required, resumed them to assault their enemies: this appears every where in Homer, out of whom I shall observe this one instance:

————— ἱρίται δ' ἑν' ἐκάσῃ πεντήκοντα
Εμβίβασαν τόξων εὖ εἰδότες—————

Each ship had fifty rowers that were skill'd
Well in the shooting art—————

These were termed *αὐτερίται* ^c, This was the practice of those times, wherein no great care was taken, no extraordinary preparations made for equipping men of war, but the same vessels were thought sufficient for transportation and fight: afterwards, when the art of naval war began to be improved, it was presently understood that any one of the fore-mentioned occupations was enough to require the whole time and application of the persons employed therein; whence it became customary to furnish their ships of war with the three following sorts of men:

Ερίται καπηλάται, called by Polybius ^f *οἱ ὑπάρχοντες*, and by the same author ^g, with Xenophon ^h, *τὰ πληρώματα*, though we are told by the scholiast upon Thucydides, that this is a name of very large extent, comprehending not only those that rowed, but all other persons in the ship, and sometimes applied to any thing else contained therein. When ships had several banks of oars, the uppermost rowers were called *θρανίται*, and their bank, *θράνος* ⁱ: the lowest, *θαλάμιοι*, *θαλαμίται* and *θαλάμακες*, and their bank, *θάλαμος*: those in the middle, *ζυγίται*, and *μεσοζύγιοι*, and all their banks, how many soever in number, *ζυγά*. Every one had a distinct oar, for, except in cases of necessity, one oar was never managed by above one person, as Scheffer hath proved at large; yet their labour and pay were not the same; for such as were placed in the uppermost banks by reason of their distance from the water, and the length of their oars, underwent more toil and labour than those in the inferior banks, and therefore were rewarded with greater wages. The rowers in ships of burden were called *εργολοναῦται* ^j: those in triremes, *τριηρείται* and the rest seem to have had different appellations from the names of the ships they laboured in. Those that were foremost in the respective banks, and sat nearest the prow, were called *πρόκωποι* and on the other side, those who were placed

^c Suidas, Pollux, lib. i. cap. 9. Thucydides.

^f Histor. lib. x.

^g Lib. i.

^h Histor. lib. i.

ⁱ Pollux, Aristophanis Scholiastes, Suidas, Etymologici Auctor.

^j Pollux, lib. vii.

next the stern were termed ἐπίωποι, as being *behind* their fellows. Their work was esteemed one of the worst and most wretched drudgeries, and therefore the most notorious malefactors were frequently condemned to it; for, beside their incessant toil in rowing, their very rest was uneasy, there being no place to repose their wearied bodies besides the seats whereon they had laboured all the day: therefore, whenever the poets speak of their ceasing from labour, there is mention of their lying down upon them: thus Seneca^k:

————— *creditâ est vento ratis;*
Fususque transtris miles. —————
 Unto the wind the ship was left,
 The soldiers lay along their seats.

To the same purpose Virgil^l:

————— *placida laxarant membra quiete*
Sub remis fusi per dura sedilia nautæ.

————— The crew
 On the hard benches stretch'd beneath their oars,
 Relax'd their weary limbs with pleasing rest.

TRAPP

The rest of the ship's crew usually took their rest in the same manner, only the masters^m, or persons of quality, were permitted to have clothes spread under them; so we read of Ulysses in Homerⁿ:

Καὶ δ' ἄρ' Ὀδυσσεὺς ἑώρασαν ῥῆγός τε, λινὸν τε,
 ἦνος ἐπ' ἐκρίοφιν γλαφυρῆς, (ἵνα νήγετον εὐδῇ)
 Πρύμνης, ἃν δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς ἐβήσατο, κατέλειπτο
 Σιγῇ.

Upon the deck soft painted robes they spread
 With linen cover'd for the hero's bed:
 He climb'd the lofty stern, then gently prest,
 The swelling couch, and lay compos'd to rest.

POPE.

Such as would not be contented with this provision were looked upon as soft and delicate, and unfit to endure the toil and hardships of war; which censure the Athenians passed upon Alcibiades, because he had a bed hung on cords, as we read in Plutarch^o.

Ναῦται, mariners were exempt from drudging at the oar, but performed all other duties in the ship; to which end, that all things might be carried on without tumult and confusion, every one had his proper office, as appears from Apollonius and Flaccus's Argonautics, where one is employed in rearing the mast, another in fitting the sail-yards, a third in hoisting the sails, and the rest are bestowed up and down the ship, every one in his proper place: hence they had different titles, as from ἄρμενα, *sails*, the

^k Agamemnon, v. 457.

^l Æneid. v. 856.

^m Theophrastus περὶ ἀνελυθειρίας.

ⁿ Odyss. γ'. v. 74.

^o Alcibiade.

persons appointed to govern them were called ἀρμυνισαί: those who climbed up the ropes to descry distant countries or ships, were termed σχοινοβάται, and the rest in like manner. There were a sort of men inferior to the former, and called μεσοναῦται, who were not confined to any certain place or duty, but were ready on all occasions to attend on the rest of the seamen, and supply them with whatever they wanted. The whole ship's crew were usually wicked and profligate fellows, without any sense of religion or humanity, and therefore reckoned by Juvenal^a amongst the vilest rogues:

*Invenies aliquo cum percussore jacentem,
Permixtum nautis, aut furibus, aut fugitivis.*

————— There you're sure to find,
The bully match'd with rascals of his kind,
Quacks, coffin-makers, fugitives and sailors.

DRYDEN.

The soldiers who served at sea were, in Latin, termed *classarii*; in Greek, ἐπίβαται, either because they did ἐπιβαίνειν τὰς νῆας, ascend into ships; or ἀπὸ τῆ ἐπιβαίνειν τὰ καταστρώματα, from ascending the hatches where they fought. They were armed after the same manner with those designed for land service, only there seems always to have been a greater number of heavy-armed men than was thought necessary by land; for we find in Plutarch^r, that of eighteen men employed to fight upon the hatches, in every one of Themistocles's ships, only four were light-armed: indeed it highly imported them to fortify themselves in the best manner they could, since there was no possibility of retiring or changing places, but every man was obliged to fight hand to hand, and maintain his ground till the battle was ended; wherefore their whole armour, though in form usually the same with that employed in land service, yet exceeded it in strength and firmness. Beside this we find also some few instruments of war never used on land, the principal of which are these that follow:

Δόρατα ναύμαχα^s, spears of an unusual length, sometimes exceeding twenty cubits, whence they are called in Livy^t *hasta longæ*, and by Homer ξυστὰ ναύμαχα, and μακρὰ^u:

Οἷδ' ἀπὸ νηῶν ὑψιμελαινάων ἐπιβάντες
Μακροῖσι ξυστοῖσι, τὰ ῥά σφ' ἐπὶ νησὶν ἔκειτο
Ναύμαχα, κολλήεντα. —————

With spears that in the vessels ready lay,
These strove to make the enemy give way;
Long spears, for sea-fights only made, compos'd
Of several pieces. —————

Again, in another place^v:

^p Cœlius Rhodiginus, lib. xxv. cap. 40.

^q Satir. viii.

^r Themistocle.

^s Herodotus.

^t Histor. lib. xxviii. cap. 45.

^u Iliad. 6. v. 387.

^v Iliad. 6. v. 677.

Νῶμα δὲ ξυστὸν μέγα ναύμαχον ἐν παλάμῃσι
Κολλητὸν βλήτροισι, δυωκαεικοσίοπηχυ.

A spear, with nails compacted and made strong,
That was full two-and-twenty cubits long,
He brandish'd. —————

Δρέπανον ^w, called by Appian *δορυδρέπανον*, by Diodorus^x *δρεπανηφόρος κεραία*, was an engine of iron, crooked like a sickle ^y, and fixed to the top of a long pole, wherewith they cut in sunder the cords of the sail-yards, and thereby letting the sails fall down, disabled the light ships. Not unlike this was another instrument, armed at the end with a broad iron head, edged on both sides, wherewith they used to cut the cords that tied the rudder to the ship.

Κεραῖαι ^z were engines to cast stones into the enemy's ships.

We find another engine mentioned by Vegetius, which hung upon the main-mast, and resembled a battering-ram; for it consisted of a long beam and a head of iron, and was with great violence pushed against the sides of adverse ships.

Χεῖρ σιδηρά, in Latin, *manus ferrea*, was a grappling iron, which they cast out of an engine into the enemy's ship: it is said to have been first used in Greece by Pericles the Athenian ^a, at Rome by Duilius ^b. Different from these were the *ἄρπαγες*, *harpagines*, said to be invented by Anacharsis ^c the Scythian philosopher; which, as Scheffer collects out of Athenæus, were hooks of iron hanging on the top of a pole, which being secured with chains to the mast, or some other lofty part of the ship, and then cast with great force into the enemy's vessel, caught it up into the air. The means used to defeat these engines, was to cover their ships with hides, which cast off, or blunted, the stroke of the iron ^d.

The dominion of the seas was not confined to any one of the Grecian states; they were continually contending for empire, and, by various turns of fortune, sometimes possessed, and again, in a few months or years, were dispossessed of it: the persons that enjoyed it longest, and maintained it with the greatest fleet after Greece had arrived to the height of its glory, were the Athenians, who first began seriously to apply themselves to naval affairs about the time of Xerxes's invasion: the first that engaged them in this enterprise was Themistocles, who, considering their inability to oppose the Persians by land, and the commodiousness of their si-

^w Pollux. x Lib. xxii.

^y Vegetius, lib. iv. cap. ult.

^z Diodorus Sicul. lib. xii. Athenæus.

^a Plin. lib. vii. cap. 91.

^b Julius Frontinus, lib. ii. cap. 3.

^c Plin. lib. vii. cap. 56.

^d Thucydides, lib. viii. Pollux.

tuation for naval affairs, interpreted the oracle that advised to defend themselves within walls of wood to this purpose, and prevailed upon them to convert their whole time and treasure to the building and fitting out a fleet. The money employed on this design, was a revenue of the silver mines at Laureotis, which had formerly been distributed among the people, who, by Themistocles's persuasion, were induced to part with their income, that provision might be made for the public security. With this an hundred triremes were rigged out against Xerxes's numerous fleet, over which, by the assistance of their allies, they obtained an entire victory. Afterwards the number of their ships was increased, by the management of Lycurgus, the orator, to four hundred^e; and we are told by Isocrates^f, that the Athenian navy consisted of twice as many ships as all the rest of the Grecians were masters of: it was made up of two parts, one being furnished out by the Athenians themselves, the other by the confederates.

The fleet equipped at Athens was maintained after the manner prescribed by Themistocles, till the time of Demosthenes, who, to ingratiate himself with the commonalty, restored to them their ancient revenues, and devised a new method, to procure money for the payment of seamen, and the construction of new men of war; this he effected by dividing the richer sort of citizens into *συμμορίαι*, or *companies*, which were obliged, according to their several abilities, to contribute largely out of their own substance; and in times of necessity, it was frequent for men of estates to rig out ships at their own expence, over and above what was required of them, there being a generous contention between the leading men in that commonwealth, which should outdo the rest in serving his country.

The remaining part of the fleet was composed of allies; for the Athenians understanding how necessary it was to their affairs to maintain their dominion of the seas, would enter into no leagues or confederacies, with any of their neighbours, but such as engaged themselves to augment their navy with a proportion of ships; which became a double advantage to the Athenians, whose fleet was strengthened by such accessions, whilst their allies were held in obedience, as it were, by so many hostages, all which, upon any revolt, must needs fall into the hands of the Athenians. Those states that were remote from sea, or unable to fit out vessels of

^e Plutarchus.^f Panegyrica.

war, were obliged to send their proportion in money ^g. These customs were first brought up after the second Persian war, when it was agreed, by the common consent of all the Grecians, that they should retaliate the injuries received from the barbarians, by carrying the war into their own country, and invading them with the whole strength of Greece, under the conduct of the Athenians, who had at that time raised themselves a very high reputation, by their mighty naval preparations, and the singular courage, wisdom, and humanity, of their two generals, Themistocles and Aristides. Afterwards, being grown great in power, and aiming at nothing less than the sovereignty of all Greece, they won some by favours and specious pretences, others by force of arms, to comply with their desires; for their manner of treating the cities they conquered, was to oblige them either to furnish money, paying what tribute they exacted, or to supply them with vessels of war, as Thucydides reports of the Chians, when subdued by the Athenians ^h; Xenophon also ⁱ, and Diodorus ^j mention the same custom: thus, by one means or other, the greatest part of the Grecian cities were drawn in to augment the Athenian greatness.

CHAP. XIX.

Of Naval Officers.

THERE were two sorts of officers in all fleets; one governed the ships and mariners, the other were intrusted with the command of the soldiers, but had likewise power over the shipmasters and their crew; these were,

Στόλαρχος, ναύαρχος, or στρατηγός, *præfectus classis*, the admiral, whose commission was different, according to the exigency of times and circumstances, being sometimes to be executed by one alone, sometimes in conjunction with other persons, as happened to Alcibiades, Nicias, and Lamachus, who were sent, with equal power, to command the Athenian fleet in Sicily; their time of continuance in command was likewise limited by the people, and, as they pleased, prolonged or shortened. We read of Epaminondas ^k, that finding his country like to be brought into great danger

^g Xenophon, *Histor. Græc. lib. vi.*

^h *Lib. vii.*

ⁱ *Histor. lib. i.*

^j *Lib. xiii. et aliis in locis.*

^k Cornelius Nepos in *Epaminonda.*

upon the resignation of his office, he held it four months longer than he was commissioned to do ; in which time he put a new face upon the Theban affairs, and by his wise management, dispelled the fears they lay under : which done, he voluntarily laid down his power, but was no sooner divested thereof, than he was called to account for holding it so long, and narrowly escaped being condemned to death ; for it was feared that such a precedent might, some time or other, be a pretence to ambitious spirits, having so great power intrusted in their hands, to enslave the commonwealth. The same reason seems to have been the cause of the Lacedæmonian law, whereby it was forbidden, that any person should be admiral above once^l, which nevertheless stood them in no good stead, it thereby often happening that they were forced to commit their fleet to raw and unexperienced commanders.

Επιστολεύς^m, sometimes called ἐπιστολιαφόρος, was vice-admiral, or commander in chief under the admiral.

Τριήραρχος, captain of a trireme, who commanded all the other soldiers therein. The captains of other men of war were dignified with titles taken from the vessels they commanded, as πεντηκόντορος, &c.

The officers that had care of the ships, were the following :

Αρχικυβερνήται, those who were intrusted with the care and management of all marine affairs, to provide commodious harbours, to direct the course of the fleet, and order all other things concerning it, except those which related to war.

Κυβερνήτης, the *master*, or *pilot*, had the care of the ship, and government of the seamen therein, and sat at the stern to steer : all things were managed according to his direction : it was therefore necessary that he should have obtained an exact knowledge of the art of navigation, which was called κυβερνητική τέχνη, and chiefly consisted in these three things : 1. In the right management of the rudder, sails, and all the engines used in navigation : 2. In the knowledge of the winds and celestial bodies, their motions and influences : 3. In the knowledge of commodious harbours, of rocks, quick-sands, and other occurrences on the sea : all these Acœtes in Ovid tells us he furnished himself with, in order to become an accomplished pilotⁿ :

^l Plutarchus Lysandro. Xenophon.

^m Xenophon. Histor. lib. ii. et v. Pollux, lib. i. cap. 9.

ⁿ Metamorphos. lib. iii. v. 592.

*Mox ego, ne scopulis hærerem semper in iisdem,
Addidici regimen, dextra moderante carinam
Flectere; et Oleniæ sidus pluviale capellæ,
Taygetemque, Hyadasque oculis, Arctumque notavi,
Ventorumque domos, et portus puppibus aptos.*

Long did I live on this poor legacy,
Till tir'd with rocks and my old native sky,
To arts of navigation I inclin'd,
Observ'd the turns and changes of the wind,
Learnt the fit havens, and began to note
The stormy Hyades, the rainy goat,
The bright Taygete, and the shining bears,
With all the sailors' catalogue of stars.

As to the heavenly bodies, they were observed by sailors upon a two-fold account, being of use to them in prognosticating the seasons, and guides which way to shape their course. The principal of those used in foretelling, were Arcturus, the Dog-star, Aræ, Orion, Hyades, Hædi, Castor and Pollux, Helena, &c. It was likewise customary to take notice of various omens offered by sea-fowls, fishes, and divers other things, as the murmuring of the floods, the shaking and buzzing noise of trees in the neighbouring woods, the dashing of the billows against the shore, and many more, in all which good pilots were nicely skilled. As to the direction in their voyage, the first practitioners in the art of navigation, being unacquainted with the rest of the celestial motions, steered all the day by the course of the sun, at night betaking themselves to some safe harbour, or resting on the shore, and not daring to adventure to sea till their guide was risen to discover their way: that this was their constant custom, may be observed from the ancient descriptions of those times, whereof I shall only observe this instance ° :

*Sol ruit interea, et montes umbrantur opaci,
Sternimur optatæ gremio telluris ad undam,
Sortiti remos, passimque in littore sicco
Corpora curamus, fessos sapor irrigat artus.*
Now the descending sun roll'd down the light,
The hills lie cover'd in the shades of night;
When some by lot attend and ply the oars,
Some worn with toil lie stretch'd along the shores;
There by the murmurs of the heaving deep,
Rock'd to repose, they sunk in pleasing sleep,

PITT.

Afterwards the Phœnicians, whom some will have to be the first inventors of navigation, discovered the motions of some other stars, as may be observed in Pliny ^p, and Propertius ^q :

*Quæritis et cælo Phœnicum inventa sereno,
Quæ sit stella homini commoda, quæque mala.*

° Virgil. *Æneid.* iii. v. 508.^p Lib. vii.^q Lib. ii. v. 990.

———led by the art,
Which the Phœnicians found, and did impart,
You mind what stars are signs of good or harm.

The Phœnicians we find to have been directed by Cynosura, or the lesser bear-star ^r, which was first observed (as some are of opinion) by Thales the Milesian, who was originally a Phœnician ^s; whereas the mariners of Greece, as well as other nations, steered by the greater bear, called Helice: whence Aratus;

———'Ελίκη γὰρ μὲν ἄνδρες Ἀχαιοὶ
Εἰν' ἄλλ' ἐπικμαίρονται ἵνα χερὴ νῆας ἀγινῶν.
Helice always is the Grecians guide,
Whene'er they take a voyage.———

For the first observation of this they were obliged to Nauplius, if we may believe Theon, or, according to the report of Flaccus ^t, to Tiphys, the pilot of the famous ship Argo. But of these two, we are told by Theon, the former was the securer guide, and therefore was followed by the Phœnicians, who, for skill in marine affairs, outstript not only all the rest of the world, but even the Grecians themselves.

Πρωρεὺς, or πρωράτης, was next under the master, and had his place in the head of the ship, as his name imports. To his care was committed the tackling of the ship ^u, and the rowers, who had their places assigned by him, as appears of Phæx, who performed this office in Theseus's ships ^v. We find him every where assisting the master at consultations concerning the seasons, places, and other things ^w.

Κελευστής, *portisculus, agitator, or hortator remigum*, is by some interpreted the boatswain: his office was to signify the word of command to the rowers ^x, and to distribute to all the crew their daily portion of food ^y.

Τετραύλης was a musician, who, by the harmony of his voice and instrument, raised the spirits of the rowers, when weary with labour ^z, and ready to faint, as we read in Statius ^a:

*Acclinis malo mediis intersonat Orpheus
Remigiis, tantosque jubet nescire labores.*

Against the mast the tuneful Orpheus stands,
Plays to the wearied rowers, and commands
The thought of toil away.———

^r Eustathius, Iliad. ζ. Arianus, Exped. lib. vi.

^s Hyginus, lib. ii. Poet. Astron. Eustathius, Il. σ'. Theon. in Aratum.

^t Argon. i.

^u Xenophon. Administ. Dom. lib. v.

^v Athenæus, lib. xv.

^w Suidas, Plutarchus, Agide, Xenophon. Administ. Dom. lib. v. Pollux.

^x Arrianus, Exped. Alex. lib. vi.

^y Suidas.

^z Censorinus, cap. 12.

^a Thebaid. v. v. 545.

Another, it may be the chief, use of music, was to direct the rowers, that they, *keeping time* therewith, might proceed in a regular and constant motion, lest, by an uncertain impulse of their oars, the course of the ship should be retarded ^b: hence Flaccus in his Argonautics:

————— *carminē tonsas*

Ire docet, summe passim ne gurgite pugnent.

His notes direct how every oar should strike,
How they should order keep.—————

Silius also speaks to the same purpose ^c;

————— *mediæ stat margine puppis,*

Qui voce alternos nautarum temperet ictus,

Et remis dictet sonitum, pariterque relatis

Ad numerum plaudat resonantia cœrula tonsis,

One ready stands to sing a marine song

To the brisk seamen as they row along,

Whose lively strains a constant movement keep,

To show when ev'ry oar should brush the deep,

And as each stroke falls on the sounding main,

He cheers their labours with an answering strain,

This music was called *νίγλαρος* ^d, or *τὸ τριηρικὸν μέλος*.

Δίοπτοι, ναυφύλακες, custodes navis, were obliged to take care that the ship received no damage, by bulging upon rocks or otherwise ^e; whence, in the night especially, we find them employed in sounding and directing the ship with long poles:

Ὅς ναυφύλακες νηκτέρῃ ναυκληρίᾳ

Πλήκτροις ἀπευθύνουσιν ἑρίαν τρύπιν ^f.

As those who sail, with caution in the dark

Guide and direct with poles the wandering bark.

Τοίχαρχοι, were either those who had the charge of the *τοῖχοι τῆς νηὸς*, or sides of the ship, according to Turnebus ^g; or of the *τοῖχοι*, or *σοῖχοι τῶν ἐρετῶν*, i. e. *the banks of rowers*.

Several other names of officers occur in authors, as *ταμίαι*, who distributed to every man his share of victuals, being usually the same with the *κελευστής*, but sometimes it may be distinct from him. Homer mentions this officer ^h:

Καὶ ταμίαι παρὰ νηυσὶν ἔσαν σίταιο δοτῆρες,

And officers embark'd, on whom the care

Devolved, to give each man his stated fare.

Εσχαρεὺς ⁱ, was a person whose business lay *περὶ τὴν ἐσχάραν*, *about the fire*, and therefore is by some thought to have been the cook; by others, the priest who offered sacrifices.

^b Maximus Tyrius, Dissert. xxiii.

^c Lib. vi. v. 361.

^d Aristoph. ejusque Scholia Ran. act.

ii. sc. 5. Pollux.

^h Iliad. τ'.

^e Ulpian. lib. liii. cap. 7. et 8. Pollux,

lib. vii. cap. 31. Eustathius, Iliad. β'.

^f Sophocles, *Λχαιῶν συλλόγῳ*.

^g Advers. lib. xxviii. cap. 43.

ⁱ Pollux.

Λογιστής, or γραμματεὺς, was the bursar, who kept the accounts, and registered all the receipts and expences of the ship.

CHAP. XX.

Of their Voyages, Harbours, &c.

WHEN it was designed the fleet should put to sea, the signal being given by the admiral, the mariners hauled the ship into the water; for it was customary, when they came into the harbour to draw the sterns to dry land, to prevent their being tossed and dissipated by the waves: hence Virgil;

———*stant littore puppes.*

The sterns stand on the shore.

It was frequent also for seamen, underpropping their ships with their shoulders, to thrust them forwards into the sea; so we read of the Argonauts in Valerius Flaccus^j:

*At ducis imperiis Minyæ monitugue frequentes
Puppem humeris subeunt, et tento poplite proni
Decurrunt.*—————

The prince commands that they no longer stay,
His orders straight the Minyæ obey;
And kneeling down, their shoulders heave the ship
Into the main.—————

This was sometimes performed by levers and spars of wood, over which ships were rolled into the deep; these were called φάλαγγες, φαλάγγια^k, and according to Homer, μοχλοὶ^l:

Μοχλοῖσιν δ' ἄρα τήνγῃ κατέρυσιν εἰς ἄλα δῖαν.
The heavy ship into the sea they thrust
With levers.—————

But to remedy the great trouble and difficulty of these methods, Archimedes the Syracusan obliged his countrymen with the ingenious contrivance of an engine called *helix*, whereby the ships were with great facility removed from the shore^m. To do this, they called τὴν πρύμναν κινεῖν, or νῆας κατερύειν εἰς ἄλα.

Before they embarked, the ships were adorned with flowers and garlands, which were tokens of joy and mirthⁿ, and omens of future prosperity: hence Virgil;

———*vocat jam carbasus auras,
Puppibus et lacti nautæ imposuere coronas.*

^j Argon. i.
^k Hesych. Pollux.
^l Odys. 6.

^m Plutarchus Marcello, Athenæus.
ⁿ Aristophanis Scholiastes Achara.
act ii. sc. 5.

Now's a fair wind, and all the seamen crown
The ship with garlands.—

Because no success could be expected in any enterprize without the divine blessing and assistance, they invoked the protection of their gods by solemn prayers and sacrifices, which, as they offered to other deities, so more especially to those who had any concern or command in the sea, to the winds and tempests, to the whole train of marine gods and goddesses, but, above all, to Neptune the great emperor of the sea: thus, °Anchises in Virgil °, dares not adventure himself to sea, till he has first addressed himself to Neptune and Apollo:

——meritos aris nactavit honores,
Taurum Neptuno, taurum tibi, pulcher Apollo,
A bull to Neptune, and a bull to you
He sacrific'd, Apollo, as your due.

A great number of instances to the same purpose may be met with in ancient writers. Nor was it enough for themselves alone to petition the gods for safety and success, but all the multitudes that thronged on such occasions to the shore, earnestly recommended them to the divine protection, and joined their fervent prayers for their deliverance from all the dangers they were going to encounter ^P.

This done, we are told by the Scholiast upon Apollonius, that it was usual to let fly a dove; which, no doubt, was looked on as an omen of safe return, because that bird is not easily forced to relinquish its habitation, but when driven away, delights to return. Then they put to sea, the signal being given by a shout, by sound of trumpet, and several other ways; in the night it was usually given by torches lighted in the admiral-galley; an instance whereof we have in Seneca's Agamemnon ^Q:

*Signum recursus regia ut fulsit rate,
Et clara lentum remigem emovit tuba,
Aurata primas prora secavit vias.*

The torches being lighted, which, to guide
Us home more safely, in the king's ship blaz'd,
And summon'd by the trumpet's noisy sound,
When ev'ry man his proper oar had seiz'd,
The admiral went first, and cut the waves.

E. D.

The ships were usually ranged in this order: in the front went the lighter vessels, after these followed the men of war, led on by the admiral, which was commonly distinguished from the rest by the richness of her ornaments: thus we find Agamemnon's ship in the fore-mentioned place of Seneca going before the rest:

° Æncid. iii. v. 118.

P Diodorus Siculus, lib. xiii.

Q v. 427.

*Aurata primas prora secavit vias,
Aperitque cursus, mille quos puppes secant.*
The admiral went first and cut the waves,
Prepar'd the yielding deep, which afterwards
A thousand vessels cleav'd.——

Last of all the vessels of burden came up. If the winds were high, or seas dangerous, they were extended out at length, sailing one by one; but at other times they went three or more in a breast.

When they arrived at any port where they designed to land, the first thing they did was to run their ships backwards upon their hind-decks, in order to tack about; this they called ἐπὶ πρύμναν, or πρύμναν κρούεσθαι^r, which phrase is by Thucydides elegantly applied to those that retreat fighting, and still facing their enemies. Then they tacked about, which they termed ἐπιστρέφειν^s, turning the heads of their ships to the sea, according to Virgil:

Obvertunt pelago proras.——

To the sea they turn'd their prows.

Now the rowers ceased from their labours, and rested their oars; which the Greeks called ἐπέχειν τὴν ναῦν, the Latins, *inhibere remos*: these they hung upon pins, as we find in Statius^t:

*Quinquaginta illi trabibus de more revinctis
Eminus abrupto quatunt nova littora saltu.*

Their fifty oars hung up, they rudely leap'd
Upon the new-found shore.——

For fear their oars should be in danger of being broken by the floods, they hung them not so as to reach the water, but upon the sides of their ships: whence Ovid^u:

Obvertit lateri pendentes navita remos.

To the ships sides the seamen hung their oars.

Being safely landed, they discharged whatever vows they had made to the gods; beside which they usually offered a sacrifice, called ἀποδατήριον, to Jupiter, surnamed ἀποδατήριος, for enabling them ἀποδανείναι ἀπὸ τῶν νηῶν, *to quit their ships, and recover the land*. Their devotions were sometimes paid to Nereus, Glaucus, Ino, and Melicertes, the Cabiri, and other gods of the sea, but more especially to Neptune, who was thought to have a peculiar care of all that travelled within the compass of his dominions. Thus the heroes in Homer^v:

Οἱ δὲ Πύλον, Νηλῆος ὑκτιμένον πολίεθρον,
Ἰξον, τοὶ δ' ἐπὶ θινὶ θαλάσσης ἱερὰ ῥίζον
Ταύρους παμμέλανας Εὐοσίχρονι κυανοχαίτῃ.

When in their bark at Pylus they arrived,
City of Neleus, on the shore they found
The people sacrificing; bulls they slew
Black without spot, to Neptune azure-hair'd.

COWPER.

^r Aristoph. Schol. Vesp. p. 457.

^t Thebaid, v. 544,

^s Grotius Arateis.

^u Metamorph, xi. 25.

^v Odyss. γ'. γ. 4.

They who had escaped a shipwreck, or any other danger at sea, were more particularly obliged to offer a present to the gods, as a testimony of their gratitude. To this they sometimes added the garment in which they had escaped, and a tablet, containing an account of their deliverance; to which there is the following allusion in Horace ^w:

— *Me tabulâ sacer*
Votivâ paries indicat uvida
Suspendisse potenti
Vestimenta maris Deo.

As for me this wall declares,
 Which my votive tablet bears,
 That my drench'd weeds hang on high
 To the sea's great deity.

If nothing else remained, they did at least shave their hair, and consecrate it to their protectors. Thus Lucilius affirms of himself in the epigram ^x:

Γλαύκῳ ἔ Νηρηΐ, ἔ Ινοΐ, ἔ Μελικέρτῃ,
 Καὶ βυβίῳ Κρονίδῃ, ἔ Σαμόθρεϊ θεοῖς,
 Σωθεὶς ἐκ πελάγους Λευκίλλιος, ᾧδε κίκαρμαι
 Τὰς τρέχας ἐκ κεφαλῆς, ἄλλο γὰρ ἔδεν ἔχω.

Hence Petronius Arbiter calls shaving their hair, *naufragorum ultimum votum*, the last vow of men in shipwreck ^y. It was also customary for those who had escaped any other danger, particularly ἐκ μεγάλης σωθέντες νόσος, for such as *had recovered from any dangerous sickness*, to shave off their hair ^z. The Egyptians used to shave their own hair when they paid their acknowledgments to the gods for the recovery of their children ^a.

Harbours were places rendered, either by nature or art, commodious for the entertainment of ships, and to defend them against the insults of winds and waves: the former sort were usually at the mouth of a river, or in a creek of the sea, under the covert of some lofty promontory: the latter were vast piles, or heaps of earth and other materials, cast up in the form of a semicircle, with arms of a vast length extended into the sea; these were called *χηλαί* ^b, from their resemblance to crabs' claws, or *ἄκραι τῆ λιμένος* ^c; or *ἀκται*, as in Homer, who speaks thus of the Phorcynian harbour ^d:

— δύο δὲ προβλήτες ἐν αὐτῷ
 Ἀκταὶ ἀπορρώγεις, λιμένος ποτε πεπτηνῆαι.

— There two great piles stood out,
 Which made a haven.—

^w Lib. i. Od. 5.

^x Anthol. lib. vi. cap. 21. epigr. 1.

^y Cap. 63.

^z Conf. Artemidorus Onirocrit. lib. i. cap. 23.

^a Diod. Sic. Biblioth. Hist. lib. i.

^b Diod. Sic. lib. xii. Thucydides Scholiast.

^c Polyænus Strateg. lib. v.

^d Odyss. v.

Cicero terms them *cornua* ^c. For the security of the ships inclosed therein, we find it usual to fix to the two ends vast chains or booms, as appears of the Syracusan harbour, mentioned in Frontinus ^e: nor was it unfrequent to guard them with great pales, fortified against the water with pitch: hence havens are sometimes termed in Latin *claustra*, in Greek *κλείσεις* ^g. On both sides of the mole were strong towers ^h, which were defended in the night, and all times of danger, by garrisons of soldiersⁱ. Not far distant from hence was a watch-tower, with lights to direct mariners; this was called *pharos*, which name originally belonged to a little island in the mouth of the river Nile, where the first of these towers was built, but afterwards was naturalized both in Greece and at Rome.

The second part of the harbour was termed *στόμα*, in Latin *ostium* and *fauces*, being the mouth or entry between the arms of the semicircle.

Μυχός was the inmost part of the harbour, nearest to the shore, and most secure from the waves, insomuch that their ships were often suffered to lie loose; whereas, in other parts of the harbour, they were usually either chained to the land, or lay at anchor. It was distinguished into several partitions by walls, erected for the most part of stone, under the covert of which the vessels had protection; these places were called *ὄρμοι* ^j; whence Homer ^k:

ἔντοσθε δ' ἀνὺ δισμοῖσιν μένεσι
 Νῆες ἐϋσσελμοι, ὅταν ὄρμος μέτρον ἵκωνται.

The ships that far within the harbour lodge,
 Without a chain are safe.——

They were also termed *ναύλοχοι*, and altogether composed what was called *ναυσταθμός*. Here were likewise the docks, in which ships were built, or careened and dragged to land; these were named *νεώσοικοι* ^l, *ἐπίστια* ^m, *νεώρια* ⁿ, &c.

The adjacent places were usually filled with inns and stews ^o, well stocked with females that prostituted themselves to the mariners, merchants, and artificers of all sorts, who flocked thither in great numbers. Most harbours were adorned with temples, or altars, where sacrifices were offered to the tutelar deities of the place, and presidents of the sea; mention of which we find, as in

^c Epist. ad Attic. lib. ix. ep. 19.

^f Strateg. lib. i.

^g Thucyd. lib. ii.

^h Vegetius, lib. v. cap. 2.

ⁱ Thucydides, Curtius, Polyænus.

^j Eustathius, Odyss. 6. Iliad. 4.

^k Odyss. 4.

^l Diodorus Siculus, lib. xiv. Suidas.

^m Homer. Odyss. 6.

ⁿ Demosth. Schol. Orat. de Corona, Suidas, Homeri Schol.

^o Pollux, lib. ix. cap. 5.

other places, so particularly in Homer^p, who speaks of a cave in the haven of Ithaca dedicated to the Naiades.

Scheffer will have *stationes navium* to differ from the former in this, that here ships were not laid up for any considerable time, but remained only till they were supplied with water or other necessities, or on some other short occasions. They had several names, being called ὅρμοι^q, ὑφορμοι^r, ἐνορμίσματα^s, σάλοι^t, κατάρσεις^u; and frequently at some distance from the shore; whence ὀρμῶν, in Plutarch^v, is termed ἀποσαλεύειν, which imports their being among the waves; and by Thucydides, ἄγειν ἐπ' ἀγκυρῶν, which answers in some measure to the Latin phrase in Livy, *in anchoris stare*, to ride at anchor.

In times of war they defended themselves with fortifications on both sides, but made after a different manner: towards the land they fortified themselves with a ditch and parapet, or wall built in the form of a semicircle, and extended from one point of the sea to another. This was sometimes defended by towers, and beautified with gates, through which they issued forth to attack their enemies. Homer hath left us a remarkable description of the Grecian fortifications in the Trojan war^w:

ποτὶ δ' αὐτὸν τείχος ἔδεμαν,
Πύργους δ' ὑψηλὰς, εἴλαρ νηῶντι, ἔ' αὐτῶν.
Ἐν δ' αὐτοῖσι πύλας ἐνέποιον εὖ ἀραρυίας,
Ὀφρα δὲ αὐτῶν ἰππηλασίη ὁδὸς εἴη.
Ἐκποσθεν δὲ βαθεῖαν ἐπ' αὐτῷ τάφρον ὄρυξαν,
Εὐρεῖαν, μεγάλην, ἐν δὲ σκόλοπας κατέστηξαν.

Then to secure the camp and naval powers,
They rais'd embattled walls with lofty towers:
From space to space were ample gates around,
For passing chariots, and a trench profound;
Of large extent: and, deep in earth, below
Strong piles infix'd stood adverse to the foe.

POPE.

Toward the sea, or within it, they fixed great pales of wood, like those in harbours; before these the vessels of burden were placed in such order as they might be instead of a wall, and give protection to those within; in which manner Nicias is reported by Thucydides to have encamped himself: but this seems only to have been practised when the enemy was thought superior in strength, and raised in them great apprehensions of danger. At other times all they used to do was to appoint a few of their ships

^p Odyss. v. v. 103.

^q Hesychius.

^r Strabo, lib. viii.

^s Appianus, lib. v.

^t Polyb. lib. i.

^u Thucydides, lib. iv. ejusd. Scholiast.

^v Pompeio.

^w Iliad. ii. v. 436.

to observe their enemy's motions ; these were termed *προφυλακίδες* ^x, and the soldiers *πύρραροι*, or *πυρραρίδαι*, from *πυρρός*, a torch, where-with they signified the approach of their enemies ^y. When their fortifications were thought strong enough to secure them from the assault of their enemies, it was frequent to drag their ships to shore, which the Grecians called *ἐνωλεῖν*, the Romans *subducere* ^z. Around the ships the soldiers placed their tents, as appears everywhere in Homer, Thucydides ^a, and others : but this seems only to have been practised in winter, when their enemy's fleet was laid up, and could not assault them ; or in long sieges, and when they lay in no danger from their enemies by sea, as in the Trojan war, where the defenders of Troy never once attempted to encounter the Grecians in a sea-fight : at other times the ships only lay at anchor, or were tied to the shore, that upon any alarm they might be ready to receive the enemy.

CHAP. XXI.

Of the Engagements, &c. by Sea.

IN preparing for an engagement at sea, the first business was to disburden their ships of war of all provisions, and other lumber, not necessary in the action, lest by too heavy a load they should be rendered unweildy, and unfit for service, being neither able with force and vigour to assail their enemies, nor by lightly tackling about to avoid their onsets. This done, when the enemy appeared in view, they took down their sails, lowered their masts, and secured whatever might expose them to the winds, choosing rather to be governed by oars, which they could manage at their pleasure. On this account we read that Hanno the Carthaginian, being pursued by a fleet of Dionysius the Sicilian, to which he was much inferior in strength and number, and having no way to make his escape, took down his sails as preparing to fight ; where-by, decoying the Sicilians to do the like, whilst they were busy and observed him not, he unexpectedly hoisted again his sails, and made away ^b.

^x Thucyd. lib. i.^y Polyænus, lib. iii.^a Lib. vi.^b Polyænus, lib. v.^z Livius, lib. xxii cap. 28. Cicero de Offic. lib. iii.

As to their order of battle, that was varied as time, place, and other circumstances required; being sometimes formed like a half-moon, and called *στόλος μηνόειδής*, the horns jutting out towards the enemy, and containing the ablest men and ships; sometimes, on the contrary, having its belly nearest the enemy, and its horns turned backwards, whence it was termed *κυρτή παράταξις*; nor was it unusual to range them in the form of a circle, which they called *κύκλον τάττειν*; or (to mention no more) in the figure of the letter V,^c with the horns extended in a direct line, and meeting at the end; which order was named *ἐπικαμπής παράταξις*, in Latin, *forceps*; and was usually encountered by the enemies ranged in the same order inverted, whereby they resembled the figure of a wedge or beak, whence it was called *cuneus* or *rostrum*; this enabled him to penetrate into the body of the adverse battle.

Before they joined battle, both parties invoked the gods to their assistance, by prayers and sacrifices; and the admirals going from ship to ship in some of the lighter vessels, exhorted their soldiers in a set oration to behave themselves like men: then all things being in readiness, the signal was given by hanging out of the admiral's galley a gilded shield, as we read in Plutarch, or a red garment or banner^d; which was termed *αἶψιν σημεία*. During the elevation of this, the fight continued, and by its depression, or inclination towards the right or left, the rest of the ships were directed in what manner to attack their enemies, or retreat from them^e. To this was added the sound of trumpets, which was begun in the admiral's galley^f, and continued round the whole navy^g; it was likewise usual for the soldiers, before the fight, to sing a *pæan*, or hymn, to Mars^h, and after the fight another to Apollo.

The fight was usually begun by the admiral-galley, as we find done at the battle of Salamisⁱ, and another time by Attalus's ship^j: it was carried on in two different manners; for not only the ships engaged one another, and by their beaks and prows, and sometimes their sterns, endeavoured to dash in pieces, or overset and sink their opposers; but the soldiers also annoyed their enemies with darts and slings, and upon their nearer approach, with swords and spears. Thus Lucan^k;

^c Vegetius.

^d Diodorus Siculus, lib. xiii. Polyænus, lib. i.

^e Leo Tact.

^f Plutarchus Lysandro.

^g Diodorus, lib. xiii.

^h Suidas.

ⁱ Diodorus, lib. iii.

^j Polybius, lib. xvi.

^k Lib. iii.

*Ut primum rostris crepuerunt obvia rostra,
In puppin reliere rates, emissaque tela
Æquora texerunt, vacuumque cadentia pontum.*

With clashing beaks the launching vessels meet,
And from the mutual shock alike retreat,
Thick clouds of flying shafts the welkin hide,
Then fall, and floating strow the ocean wide.

ROWE.

Afterwards he goes on in this manner :

*Jam non excussis torquentur tela lacertis,
Nec longinqu cadunt jaculato vulnera ferro ;
Miscenturque manus, navali plurima bello
Esis agit ; stat quisque suæ de robore puppis
Pronus in adversos ictus.*————

The seas are hid beneath the closing war,
Nor need they cast the javelin now from far.
With hardy strokes the combatants engage,
And with keen falchions deal their deadly rage,
Man against man, and board by board they lie,
And, on those decks their arms defended, die.

ROWE.

Nor can it be wondered how they approached so near one another, when we find it usual to link their vessels together with chains or grappling-irons, of which I have spoken in one of the foregoing chapters ; whence Silius¹ :

———— *Injecta ligant hinc vincula ferri
Atque illinc naves, steteruntque ad prælia nexæ :
Nec jaculo, aut longè certetur arundine fusa,
Cominus et gladio terrestria prælia miscent.*

Chain'd fast with irons both the navies close,
No blood from darts or missile weapons flows ;
But like land soldiers with their swords they fight.

Sometimes for want of irons, they so fixed their oars as thereby to hinder their enemies from retreating : so we read in Lucan^m :

*Seque tenent remis, toto stetit æquore bellum.
Some hung upon the oars with weighty force,
To intercept the hostile vessel's course.*

ROWE.

This sort of combat was not unlike a siege, where the stronger party prevailing over their enemies, entered their vessels by laying bridges between them, and having killed, or taken prisoners all they found in arms, seized and dragged away their ships.

When a town was besieged by sea, they used to environ its walls and harbour with ships ranged in order from one side of the shore to the other, and so closely joined together with chains and bridges on which armed men were placed, that without breaking their order, there could be no passage from the town to the sea ; this league Diodorus calls ζεύγμαⁿ. The better to prevent any attempts of the besieged, Demetrius is said to have invented a sort of boom armed with spikes of iron, which swam upon the waters ;

¹ Lib. xiv.

^m Lib. iii.

ⁿ Lib. xiii.

this he placed at the mouth of the harbour of Rhodes, when he besieged that city^o. Sometimes they blocked up the harbour, or made a passage to the town by raising a vast mole before it, as we read of Alexander, in the siege of Tyre^p; or by sinking ships filled with stones and sand, as we find practised by the Romans.

The attacks were usually carried on by men standing upon bridges between the ships, and thence with darts and stones forcing the besieged from their walls. Thus Alexander in the siege of Tyre so ordered his galleys, that two of them being joined at the head, and the sterns somewhat distant, boards and planks were laid over in the fashion of bridges, for soldiers to stand upon, who were in this manner rowed close to the wall, where, without any danger, they threw darts at their enemies, being sheltered behind the fore-decks of their own gallies^q. Here also, that they might throw their missive weapons with greater advantage, and batter the walls with their rams and other engines, they erected towers so high as to command the city walls, from which having repelled the defenders, they, by this means, had opportunity to descend by ladders.

The besieged were not at a loss for ways of defeating these stratagems; the ships linked together they pulled asunder with iron hooks; the passage to the town they blocked up in the same manner the enemies had done that of the harbour, or otherwise^r: if they could not hinder their approach, they failed not to gall them with darts, stones, fire-balls, melted pitch or metals, and many other things; and lastly, to trouble you no farther, it was frequent for those in the town to destroy the vessels and works of the besiegers by fire-ships, as we find done by the Tyrians^s, who, taking a large vessel, put a great quantity of ballast into the stern, covered the head with pitch, tar, and brimstone, then by the help of sails and oars, brought her close to the Macedonian fortress, where having set the combustible matter on fire, they retreated into boats prepared for that purpose: the fire immediately seized the towers of the fortification, and by the help of torches and fire-brands cast by those in the boats, the work itself took fire, and that vast pile on which so much time and labour had been bestowed, was in a few moments quite demolished. The use of fire

^o Diodorus, lib. xx.

^p Curtius, lib. iv.

^q Idem ibidem.

^r Thucydides, lib. iv.

^s Curtius, lib. iv.

ships we likewise meet amongst the Rhodians in Diodorus the Sicilian ^c.

CHAP. XXII.

Of the Spoils, Military Rewards, Punishments, &c.

VICTORY being obtained, the conquerors rode home triumphant, laden with the spoils of their enemies, and dragging after them the captive ships, as appears from the instances of Alcibiades in Plutarch, and Lysander in Xenophon ^u: the latter of these had crowns or garlands presented him by all the confederate cities of Sparta, as he passed by them; which custom was constantly practised by the Grecians, from whom it seems to have been derived to Rome: nor was the admiral or the soldiers and mariners ^v only adorned with garlands, but their ships were likewise bedecked with them ^w; whereby the Rhodians were once reduced to extreme danger; for their enemies, having made themselves masters of their ships, crowned them with laurel, and entering them, were received with great joy into Rhodes ^x; which stratagem was frequently practised in Greece ^y. Nor were they beautified with garlands only, but hung likewise about with wrecks and broken pieces of the ships destroyed in battle; especially the ἄφλασα, ἀκροστόλια, κόρυμβοι, and other ornamental parts, which the conquerors were industrious in procuring to grace their triumphs: whence of Hector threatening the Grecian fleet with destruction, Homer says,

Στεῦται γὰρ νηῶν ἀποκόψειν ἄκρα κόρυμβοι.

These they called ἀκρωτήρια, and to deprive a ship of them ἀκρωτηριάζειν ^z. In this manner the victors returned home, filling the sea with their shouts, acclamations, and hymns; which were sweetened by the harmony of musical instruments, as appears from the example of Lysander in Plutarch.

Being received into the city, they went straightway into the temples of the gods, where they dedicated the choicest of their spoils. Thus we read, that the Syracusans having defeated the

^c Lib. xx.

^u Hist. lib. ii.

^x Vitruv. lib. ii. cap. 8.

^v Polyænus, lib. iv.

^y Polyænus.

^w Diodorus, lib. xiii.

^z Xenophon. Hist. lib. iv.

Athenians and the Rhodians after a victory over Demetrius, filled the temples of their gods with wrecks of ships. Nor was it unusual to present entire vessels to them; for we find that Phormio, having overcome the Lacedæmonians, consecrated a ship to Neptune^a; and the Grecians, after their great victory over the Persians at Salamis, are reported to have dedicated three Phœnician triremes^b.

Having paid their compliment to the gods, the remainder of their spoils they bestowed in the Porticoes, and other public places of their city, to preserve the memory of their victory: to which end they were likewise honoured with statues, inscriptions, and trophies, the last of which were sometimes erected in their own country, but more frequently near the place where they had overthrown their enemies, and were adorned with arms, and broken wrecks of ships, which, for that reason, were looked on as a sign and testimony of the victory. Thus we are told by Thucydides^c, that in a fight between the Athenians and Corinthians, where both parties made pretensions to victory, the former were by most esteemed to have the justest title to it, as having possessed themselves of their enemy's wrecks; and king Philip, though worsted by Attalus, yet because he made a shift to keep his fleet amongst the adverse party's wrecks, would have persuaded the world that the day was his own^d.

These were the principal of the rewards peculiar to those who had served their country by sea; others they seem also to have been frequently honoured with, which being common to those who had been useful in other stations, may be more properly referred to other places, where I have already treated of them. The chief of their punishments was whipping with cords, which was sometimes inflicted on criminals, having their lower parts within the ship, and their heads thrust out of port holes, and hanging into the sea. Thus one Scylax, master of a Myndian vessel, was treated by Megabates for not being careful to keep watch and ward^e.

There seems to have been a punishment by which offenders were tied with cords to a ship, and dragged in the waters till they were drowned; in which manner Scylla was treated by Minos, after she had betrayed to him her father and kingdom.

^a Diodorus, lib. xii.

^b Herodotus, lib. viii.

^c Lib. vii.

^d Polybius, Hist. lib. xvi. cap. iii.

^e Herodotus Terpsichoro.

Others were thrown alive into the sea, as we read of Jonas the prophet.

Αναμάρχοι, or such as refused to serve at sea after a lawful summons, were, at Athens, themselves and their posterity, condemned to ἀτιμία, ignominy or disfranchisement ^f; of which punishment I have spoken in one of the former books.

Λιποναῦται, deserters, were not only bound with cords and whipped, as Demosthenes reports, but had their hands likewise cut off, as we are informed by Suidas.

^f Suidas.

BOOK IV.

CHAP. I.

Of the Care the Grecians had of Funerals, and of Persons destitute thereof.

PLUTO was the first who instructed the Grecians^s in the manner of performing their last offices to the deceased ; which gave occasion to the inventors of fables to assign him a vast and unbounded empire in the shades below, and constitute him supreme monarch of all the dead. And since there is scarce any useful art, the inventor whereof was not reckoned amongst the gods, and believed to patronize and preside over those artificers he had first instructed, no wonder if he who taught the rude and uncivilized ages what respect, what ceremonies, were due to the dead, had the honour to be numbered amongst the deities of the first quality, since the duties belonging to the dead were thought of far greater importance, and the neglect of them a crime of a blacker character, than those required by the living : for the dead were ever held sacred and inviolable even amongst the most barbarous nations ; to defraud them of any due respect, was a greater and more unpardonable sacrilege than to spoil the temples of the gods ; their memories were preserved with a religious care and reverence, and all their remains honoured with worship and adoration ; hatred and envy themselves were put to silence, for it was thought a sign of a cruel and inhuman disposition to speak evil of the dead, and prosecute revenge beyond the grave : no provocation was thought sufficient to warrant so foul an action ; the highest affronts from themselves whilst alive, or afterwards from their children, were esteemed weak pretences for disturbing their peace. Offenders of

^s Diodorus Siculus, lib. v. cap. 15.

this kind were not only disbanded with disgrace and infamy, but by Solon's laws, incurred a severe penalty ^h.

But of all the honours paid to the dead, the care of their funeral rites was the greatest and most necessary; for these were looked upon as a debt so sacred, that such as neglected to discharge it were thought accursed; hence the Romans called them *justa*, the Grecians *δίκαια*, *νόμιμα*, *νομιζόμενα*, *ἔθιμα*, *ῥήσια*, &c. all which words imply the inviolable obligations which nature has laid upon the living to take care of the obsequies of the dead. And no wonder if they were thus solicitous about the interment of the dead, since they were strongly possessed with an opinion, that their souls could not be admitted into the Elysian shades, but were forced to wander desolate and without company, till their bodies were committed to the earth ⁱ; and if they never had the good fortune to obtain human burial, the time of their exclusion from the common receptacle of the ghosts, was no less than an hundred years; whence in most of the poets, we meet with passionate requests of dying men or their ghosts, after death, for this favour. I will only give you one out of Homer ^j; who introduces the soul of Elpenor earnestly beseeching Ulysses to perform his funeral rites:

Νῦν δέ σε τῶν ὀπίθεν γενάζομαι, ἔ παρῆνταν,
Πρὸς τ' ἀλόχευ ἔ πατρὸς, ὃς ἔτρεφε τυτθὸν ἰόντα,
Τηλεμάχῃς δ', ὃν μῦνον ἐνὶ μεγάροισιν ἔλειπες·
Μὴ μ' ἄκλαυτον, ἄθαπτον ἰὼν ὀπίθεν καταλείπεν
Νοσφισθεῖς, μή τοί τι θεῶν μῆνιμα γένομαι.

But lend me aid, I now conjure thee, lend,
By the soft tie and sacred name of friend!
By thy fond consort! by thy father's cares!
By lov'd Telemachus's blooming years!—
There pious on my cold remains attend,
There call to mind my poor departed friend!
The tribute of a tear is all I crave,
And the possession of a peaceful grave.

POPE.

This was the reason why, of all imprecations, the greatest was to wish that a person might *ἄταφος ἐκπίπτειν χθονὸς*, i. e. die destitute of burial; and of all forms of death the most terrible was that by shipwreck, as wherein the body was swallowed up by the deep: whence Ovid, though willing to resign his miserable life, yet prays against this death:

Demite naufragium, mors mihi munus erit.

Death would my soul from anxious troubles ease,
But that I fear to *perish* by the seas.

^h Demosthen. Orat. in Leptin. Plutarchus Solone.

ⁱ Homer. Iliad. ψ'.
Odys. λ'. v. 66, 72.

Wherefore when they were in danger of being cast away, it was customary to fasten to some part of their body the most precious of all their stores, with a direction to the first that found their dead corpses, if the waves chanced to roll them to the shore, entreating of him the favour of an human burial, and proffering what they carried about them as a reward, or desiring him to expend some part of it upon their funeral ^k rites, and accept the rest himself. But though the carcase brought no reward along with it, yet was it not therefore lawful to pass it by neglected, and deny it, what was looked on as a debt to all mankind; for not only the Athenian laws forbade so great an act of inhumanity ^l, but in all parts of Greece it was looked upon as a great provocation to the infernal gods, and a crime that would call up certain vengeance from the regions below ^m: nor could the guilty person be freed from the punishment of his offence, or admitted to converse with men, or worship the gods, but was looked upon as profane and polluted, till he had undergone the accustomed purifications, and appeased the incensed deities. Yet it was not always required that all the funeral solemnities should be nicely performed, which the haste of travellers that should light upon the carcase might oftentimes not permit, but it was sufficient to cast dust or soft earth upon it three times together, according to Horace ⁿ;

*Quanquam festinas, non est mora longa, licebit
Injecto ter pulvere, curras.*

Whate'er thy haste, oh, let my prayer prevail,
Thrice strow the sand, then hoist the flying sail.

FRANCIS.

Of these three handfuls, one at least was thrown upon the head.

This, in cases of necessity, was looked upon as enough to gain the ghost's admission into Pluto's dominions, and to free such as happened upon their bodies from the fear of being haunted, yet was far from affording them entire satisfaction; wherefore, such as had been interred clandestinely, or in haste, and without the customary solemnities, if afterwards good fortune discovered them to any of their friends, were honoured with a second funeral, as appears from the story of Polydorus in Virgil, who being murdered and interred by Polymnestor, does yet make his complaint to Æneas at his arrival in Thrace, that his soul could not rest till his obsequies were celebrated according to custom; wherefore the pious hero,

^k Synesius, Epist. Interpret. Historiæ Apollonii Tyrii, Meursius in Lycophronis Cassandram, v. 567.

^l Ælianus, Var. Hist. v. cap. 14.

^m Sophoclis Scholiastes Antigone.

ⁿ Lib. i. Od. 28. v. 36. Quinctilianus Declam. v. vi. Cælius Rhodiginus, lib. xvii. cap. 20.

Instaurat funus, animamque sepulchro

Condit^o. —————

Attends the rites and gives the soul repose

Within a wish'd-for tomb. —————

Nor was it sufficient to be honoured with the solemn performance of their funeral rites, except their bodies were prepared for burial by their relations, and interred in the sepulchres of their fathers; the want of which was looked upon by themselves and their surviving friends as a very great misfortune, and not much inferior to death itself, as appears from innumerable testimonies, of which I shall only trouble you with the following; the first taken from the epitaph of Leonidas the Tarentine, which runs thus ^P:

Πολλὸν ἀπ' Ἰταλίας κῆμαι χθονός, ἔκ τε Τάραντος
Πάτρης, τῷτο δέ μοι πικρότερον θανάτου.

From my dear native land remote I lie,
O worse than death, the thought is misery.

The second from Electra in Sophocles, who having preserved Orestes from Clytemnestra, by sending him into a foreign country, and many years after hearing he had ended his days there, wishes he had rather perished at first, than after so many years continuance of life, having died from home, and been destitute of the last offices of his friends. Her words are these ^q:

Δόμων δὲ σ', ὦ παῖ, λαμπρὸν ἐξέπεμψ' ἐγὼ,
Ὡς ὠφελον πάροιθεν ἐκλιπεῖν βίον,
Πρὶν ἐς ξένην σε γαῖαν ἐκπέμψαι χερσὶν
Κλέψασα ταῖνδε, κἀνασώσασθαι φόνε'
Ὅπως θανὼν ἐκείσο τῇ τόβ' ἡμέρᾳ,
Τύμβῃ πατρὸς κοινὸν εἰληχῶς μέρος.
Νῦν δ' ἐκπὸς οἴκων, ἀπὲρ γῆς ἄλλης φυγὰς
Κακῶς ἀπώλεσ' ὅς τις κασιγνήτης δίχα, &c.

O hadst thou died ere by these hands preserv'd,
And snatch'd from slaughter to a foreign land
I sent thee! Hadst thou died in that sad day,
Some little portion of thy father's tomb
Thou wouldst't have shar'd; but thou hast perish'd now
Far from thy house, and from thy country far;
A wand'ring exile, from thy sister far.
Nor in the cleansing lavers did I bathe
With these fond hands thy corse, nor, as became
A sister, bear from the consuming flames
The mournful burden. By a stranger's hands
These duties paid, thou comest a little dust
Closed in a little urn.

POTTER.

For this reason, such as died in foreign countries had usually their ashes brought home and interred in the sepulchres of their ancestors, or at least in some part of their native country; it being thought that the same mother which gave them life and birth, was only fit to receive their remains, and afford them a peaceful habitation after death. Whence ancient authors afford us innumer-

^o Æn. iii. v. 62 et 67. ^P Anthol. Epigr. lib. iii. cap. 25. ep. 75. ^q v. 1154.

able instances of bodies conveyed sometimes by the command of oracles, sometimes by the good will of their friends, from foreign countries to the sepulchres of their fathers, and with great solemnity deposited there. Thus Theseus was removed from Scyrus to Athens, Orestes from Tegea, and his son Tisames from Helice to Sparta, and Aristomes (to mention no more) from Rhodes to Messene. How far this custom extended to soldiers, and by whom it was first introduced into Greece, has been related in the preceding book.

Nor was this pious care limited to persons of free condition, but slaves also had some share therein; for we find the Athenian law-giver commanding the magistrates called *demarchi*, under a severe penalty, to solemnize the funerals not so much of citizens, whose friends seldom failed of paying the last honours, as of slaves, who frequently were destitute of decent burial^r.

But if any person was backward in paying his dead friends due respect, or but sparing in his expences upon their obsequies and monuments, the government looked upon him as void of humanity and natural affection, and thereupon excluded him from bearing any office of trust and honour; for one special inquiry concerning the lives and behaviour of such as appeared candidates for the magistracy at Athens, was whither they had taken due care in celebrating the funerals, and adorning the monuments of their relations^s. Farther, to appear gay and pleasant before the ordinary time of mourning expired, was matter of no small scandal; for we find it objected by Æschines to Demosthenes, as a crime of a very heinous nature, that after the death of his only daughter, he sacrificed to the gods in white apparel, and adorned with garlands, before due respect was paid to the memory of such a relation.

The great concern they had about funerals, may further appear from the respect made to persons officiating therein: for we find the Cretan *κατακλῦται*, who had the care of funerals, to have been revered equally with their priests; and when their laws permitted to steal from others, as was likewise customary at Sparta, those men were exempted from the common calamity, to convey away any part of their goods, being looked on as a kind of sacrilege^t.

^r Demost. Orat. in Macart.

^s Xenophon. de Dict. Socratis, lib. ii.

^t Plutarchus Græc. Quæst. 21.

Notwithstanding all this, there were some so unhappy, as by their actions whilst alive, or the aggravating circumstances of their death, to be unworthy of all title to the common funeral rites, and some to any funeral at all. Such were these that follow :

1. Public or private enemies ; for though it was looked upon as inhuman to deny an enemy the common privilege of nature, yet upon some extraordinary provocation, we find it practised by the ancient Grecians. Homer has introduced Ulysses threatening Socrus therewith ^u ; Hector likewise promising the same treatment to Patroclus ^v ; and Achilles revenging his cruelty by the like usage of him ^w. The same poet has furnished us with several instances of heroes made *κυσὶ μέλπηθρα* and *κύνεσσιν ὀϊωνοῖσι τε ἐλώεσσι*, a prey to birds and beasts. No better treatment had the bones of Pyrrhus, Achilles's son, treacherously murdered by Orestes ^x :

Sparsa per Ambracias quæ jacuere vias.

Which lay dispers'd about th' Ambracian roads.

And however this may be thought the practice of those primitive and uncivilized mortals, yet there want not instances hereof in more refined ages ; for Lysander the Spartan admiral having routed the Athenian fleet, caused Philocles, one of their commanders, and to the number of four thousand Athenian prisoners, to be put to death, and refused to give them human burial ^y.

2. Such as betrayed, or conspired against their country ^z. On which account, Aristocrates being convicted of treason against the Arcadians, was stoned to death, and cast out of the bounds of their country unburied ^a ; for it was thought but reasonable, that villains conspiring the ruin of their country, should be deprived of all privilege in it. Pausanias likewise, after he had delivered Greece from the Persians, being found, upon some discontent, to maintain a correspondence with them, was pined to death, and denied burial ^b ; and the famous Phocion being unjustly condemned by the Athenians, as conspiring to deliver the Piræus into their enemy's hands, had his body cast out of Attica, and a severe penalty was decreed against any that should honour it with interment ^c. So exact they were in the observation of this custom, that when the pestilence raged at Athens, and the oracle gave out, that

^u Iliad. ῥ. ^v Iliad. π'. ^w Iliad. χ'.

^x Ovid. in Ibin. v. 304.

^y Pausanias Bæoticis, p. 591. edit. Hanov.

^z Diodorus Siculus, lib. xvi. cap. 6.

^a Pausanias Messenicis.

^b Plutarchus Pausania.

^c Plutarchus, Cornelius Nepos Phocione, Valerius Maximus, lib. vii. cap. 3.

the only remedy was to fetch Themistocles's bones from Magnesia, they refused to do it publicly, but conveying them privately, and as it were by stealth, hid them in the ground. Amongst the betrayers of their country, we may reckon those who were not active in defending it; for they were likewise frequently denied human burial. Hence Hector is introduced by the poet, threatening this punishment to all who would not help him in destroying the Grecian fleet ^d:

Ὅν δὲ ἄν' ἐγὼν ἀπάνευθε νεῶν ἐτέρωθι νοήσω,
 Αὐτῷ οἱ θάνατον μητίσσομαι· ἔδ' εἰ νῦν τὸν γε
 Γνωτοί τε γνωταί τε πυρὸς λελάχῃσι θανόντα,
 Ἀλλὰ κύνες ἐρύσει πρὸ ἄετος ἡμετέρῃο.

Then Hector with a voice
 Of loud command bade every Trojan cease
 From spoil, and rush impetuous on the fleet,
 And whom I find far ling'ring from the ships,
 Wherever, there he dies; no fun'ral fires
 Brother on him, or sister, shall bestow,
 But dogs shall rend him in the sight of Troy.

COWPER.

Some scholiasts would have this the first example of the practice I am speaking of, but Homer sufficiently refutes this opinion, by making Agamemnon threaten the same punishment to the Grecians in the second Iliad ^e:

Ὅν δὲ κ' ἐγὼν ἀπάνευθε μάχης ἐθέλοντα νοήσω
 Μιμνάζειν παρὰ νηυσὶ κορωνίσιν, οὗ οἱ ἔπειτα
 Ἀρκιον ἰσσεῖται φυγέειν κύνας, ἢ δ' οἰωνές.

Who dares inglorious in his ships to stay,
 Who dares to tremble on this signal day;
 That wretch, too mean to fall by martial power
 The birds shall mangle, and the dogs devour.

POPE.

Before this instance, Palamedes, being condemned as a traitor by the treachery of Ulysses, had wanted burial, had not Achilles and Ajax adventured to pay him that office, in opposition to Agamemnon's commands. Nor was the custom begun here; for in the former age we find Antigone buried alive by Creon for interring her brother Polynices, by whose means the famous war against Thebes was carried on, which is the subject of Sophocles's Antigone.

3. To these we may subjoin tyrants, who were always looked on as enemies of their country, and used in the same manner with those that endeavoured to betray it to foreign powers, there being no difference between a domestic and foreign slavery. So the Phæreans having slain Alexander, who had cruelly oppressed them, threw his carcase to the dogs; and Plutarch observes, that this was not a late or modern custom, but practised in the most early

^d Iliad. 6. v. 348.^e Ver. 591.

ages; speaking of the passage of Homer^f, where Nestor tells Telemachus, that had Menelaus found Ægisthus alive after his murder of Agamemnon, and tyranny over the Myceneans, he would not have vouchsafed him burial^g:

Εἰ ζῶντ' Ἀγίσθον ἐνὶ μιγάρουσιν ἔτιτμεν
 Ἀπρὸδης Τροίηθεν ἰὼν ξανθὸς Μενέλαος,
 Τῶ κί οἱ ἔδῃ θανόντι χυτὴν ἐπὶ γαῖαν ἔχουσιν,
 Ἀλλ' ἄρα τὸν γε κύνας τε καὶ οἰωνοὶ κατέδαψαν
 Κείμενον ἐν πιδίῳ ἐκὰς ἄετος, ἔδῃ κὲ τίς μιν
 Κλαύσατ' Ἀχαιῶδων.

For had the martial Menelaus found
 The ruffian breathing yet on Argive ground;
 Nor earth had hid his carcase from the skies,
 Nor Grecian virgins shriek'd his obsequies;
 But fowls obscene dismember'd his remains,
 And dogs had torn him on the naked plains.

HOPE.

The Myceneans were not insensible of the wrongs they had suffered by him; and thinking him unworthy of an honourable funeral, cast him, with the adulteress Clytemnestra, out of the city, and there interred them^h.

4. On the same account, such as were guilty of self-murder forfeited their right to decent burial, and were clancularly deposited in the ground, without the accustomed solemnities: for they were looked on as enemies to their country, whose service they desertedⁱ. For which reason Ajax, the son of Telamon, was not reduced to ashes, as the custom was, but privately interred: it being declared by Calchas to be a profanation of the holy element, to consume in it the bodies of such as had occasioned their own death^j. After the battle of Plataea, when the bodies of the slain were honoured with the accustomed solemnities, Aristodemus alone, who was generally confessed to have acquitted himself in the fight with the greatest valour of any man in the army, lay unregarded, because he seemed resolved to sacrifice his life, as an atonement for the disgrace he had contracted by surviving his fellow-soldiers at Thermopylae^k. Yet, to put a period to their lives on just occasions, seems rather to have been reputed the effect of a necessary and laudable courage, than any way criminal or blame-worthy. Demosthenes and Hannibal are said to have been constantly provided of an effectual poison to dispatch themselves with, before

^f Lib. de Homero.

^g Odyss. γ'. v. 256.

^h Pausanias Corinthiacis.

ⁱ Aristoteles Ethic. Nicomac. lib. v. cap. 2.

^j Philostratus Heroicis.

^k Herodotus Calliop. cap. 70.

they should fall into their enemy's hands. Cato, Cleopatra, Brutus, Otho, and several others, have not at all lessened their esteem and character in the heathen world by becoming their own executioners. Plato himself, when he commands those only, who out of cowardice and unmanly fear, butchered themselves, to be interred in lonesome and desolate places, without the ordinary solemnities, seems to excuse others, whom he thought compelled to it by a great disgrace, or any unavoidable and incurable misfortune¹; and it is no wonder if epicureans, who expected no future state, and stoics, who thought all things to lie under an irresistible necessity, pursuant to their principles, abandoned themselves over to such fatal courses. Many other instances may be produced, not only from the Grecians and Romans, but the Indian philosophers, and almost the whole heathen world.

5. To these we may add villains guilty of sacrilege^m, to inter whom was an affront to the deities they had robbed. The gods were sometimes thought to inflict this punishment on such malefactors; wherefore Archidamus, the Spartan king, being slain in Italy, and deprived of burial, Pausaniasⁿ concludes it was a judgment upon him for assisting the Phocians in pillaging the city and temple of the Delphians.

6. Persons killed with lightning, who being thought hateful to the gods, were buried apart by themselves, lest the ashes of other men should receive pollution from them. Whence Adrastus in Euripides, speaking of Capaneus, saith,

Ἦ χωρὶς, ἰερόν ὡς νεκρόν, θάψαι θέλεις;
Shall he apart be bury'd as accurs'd?

Some will have them to be interred in the place where they died^o; others collect out of Plutarch's Symposiacs, that they had no interment, but were suffered to rot in the place where they fell, to which it was unlawful for any man to approach: whence Persius^p:

Triste jaces lucis, evitandumque bidental.
A direful instance of Jove's wrath you lie,
And whom, being thunderstruck, none dare come nigh.

For this reason the ground was hedged in, lest any person should unawares contract pollution from it. It may be observed in general, that all places struck with thunder were avoided^q, and

¹ De legibus, lib. ix.

^m Diodorus Siculus Biblioth. lib. xvi.
cap. 6.

ⁿ Laconicis, p. 178. edit. Han.

^o Artemidorus, lib. ii. cap. 8.

^p Satir. ii. v. 27.

^q Plutarchus Pyrrho.

fenced round, out of a fancy, that Jupiter having taken some offence, fixed upon them that mark of his displeasure.

7. Those who wasted their patrimony, forfeited their right of being buried in the sepulchres of their fathers; whence we find Democritus to have been in danger of wanting a burial-place, for spending his paternal inheritance in travel to foreign countries, and searching after the mysteries of nature^r.

8. To these we may subjoin such as died in debt, whose bodies belonged at Athens to their creditors, and could not claim any right to human burial, till satisfaction was made. Whence it is reported, that Cimon had no other method to redeem his father Miltiades's body, but by taking his debt and fetters upon himself.

9. Some offenders who suffered capital punishment, were likewise deprived of burial; those especially who died upon the cross, or were impaled, whom they frequently permitted to be devoured by beasts and birds of prey. To which custom there is an allusion in Horace^s:

Non hominem occidi; non pasces in cruce corvos.

"Sure," says a slave, "no human blood I shed"—

Well, on the cross the crows you have not fed.

Juvenal also mentioneth the same custom^t:

*Vultur jumento, et canibus, crucibusque relictis,
Ad fœtus properat, partemque cadaveris affert.*

Where crosses and contagious murrain are,
Vultures in flocks most greedily repair,
And to their craving young the fetid carcase bear.

The interpreters of fables will have Prometheus's punishment to be an emblem of this. If the carcase was spared by the beasts, it commonly remained upon the cross or pale till the weather consumed and putrified it. Thus Silius reports of the Scythians^u:

*At gente in Scythicâ suffixa cadavera truncis
Lenta dies sepelit, putri liquentia tabo.*

Delinquents' carcasses in Scythia were
Impal'd, until corrupted by the air,
The putrid flesh soon dropt and shrunk away,
And the bones moulder'd by a long decay.

Nor was this inhuman custom practised in that barbarous nation only, but by those who made greater pretensions to civility and good manners, as may appear from the dream of Polycrates's daughter, who fancied she saw her father's face washed by Jupiter, and anointed by the sun; which was accomplished not long after, when he was hung upon the cross, and exposed to the rain

^r Diogenes Laërtius Democrito.

^s Lib. I. epist. 16.

^t Sat. xvi. v. 77.

^u Lib. xiii.

and sun-beams ^v. Hither also may be referred the answer of Theodorus the philosopher, who being threatened with crucifixion by king Lysimachus, replied, that it was all one to him to be above beneath the ground ^w.

10. In some places it was customary to inter the bodies of infants who had no teeth, without consuming them to ashes ^x; to which custom Juvenal hath this allusion ^y:

*Naturæ imperio geminus, cum funus adultæ
Virginis occurrit, vel terra clauditur infans,
Et minor igne rogi. ———*

The tears drop from our eyes when in the street,
With some betrothed virgin's hearse we meet;
Or infant's fun'ral, from the cheated womb
Convey'd to earth and cradled in a tomb.

DRYDEN.

If persons who had incurred public hatred, had the good fortune to obtain human burial, it was customary to leap upon their tombs, and cast stones at them, in token of detestation and abhorrence: which practice is mentioned by Euripides ^z:

——— ἐκθρώσκει τὰ φέροι,
Πίετροις τε λείπει μνήμα λάϊνον πατρός.

——— He leaps upon his parent's tomb,
And in derision batters it with stones.

Nor was it unfrequent to punish notorious offenders, by dragging their remains out of their retirement, and depriving them of the graves to which they had no just pretension, as may appear from several instances.

Sacrilegious persons were commonly thus treated. A remarkable instance whereof we find at Athens, where Cylo, an ambitious nobleman, having seized the citadel, and being there straitly besieged, found means to escape with his brother, leaving his accomplices to the mercy of the besiegers; they fled therefore, for protection to the altars, whence there was no method to draw them, but by promising them pardon: but no sooner had they left their sanctuaries, when the magistrates, contrary to their covenant, put them to death; upon which facts, themselves were afterwards arraigned and banished, the deities so commanding: nor was this alone satisfactory to divine vengeance, till their graves were rifled, and their remains, which had been conveyed into Attica, cast out of the country ^a.

Traitors were condemned to the same punishment; which appears, as from several instances, so from Phrynichus the Athenian,

^v Herodot. Thalia.

^w Cicero Tusc. Quæst. lib. i.

^x Plinius Nat. Hist. lib. vii.

^y Satir. xv. v. 159.

^z Electra.

^a Plutarch, de serâ Numinis vindictâ.

who being arraigned and condemned for treason, some time after his funeral, his tomb was opened, and his reliques thrown out of Attica ^b.

The same was sometimes practised upon enemies, when their malice and fury were extended beyond the ordinary bounds of martial law, and hurried them on to despoil the sacred temples, and commit unsufferable villanies ; otherwise, thus to treat a lawful and honourable enemy, was always censured as barbarous and inhuman.

But, above all, it seems to have been the fate of tyrants, who were esteemed of all other savage beasts the most hurtful and pernicious to mankind : wherefore we are told by Plutarch ^c, that Dion was extremely censured for hindering the Syracusans from breaking up the tomb of the elder Dionysius, and scattering his bones : Periander the Corinthian tyrant (by some reckoned amongst the seven wise men), to prevent his incensed subjects from venting their fury upon his reliques, contrived this method : he commanded two young men to walk in the depth of the night in a certain path, and killing the first man they met, to bury him privately ; to dispatch and inter these, he commissioned four, after whom he sent others ; and after these a greater force, to treat the former in the same manner ; whereby it came to pass, that the tyrant himself, meeting the first pair, was interred in a place unknown to any man ^d.

Other methods were likewise used to secure peace to their ashes, the disturbance whereof was looked on as the highest affront, and the greatest misfortune in the world : to instance, we find Medea in Euripides resolving to bury her sons in Juno Acræa's temple, hoping that the holiness of the place would protect them from the malice of her enemies ^e :

———— ἐπεὶ σφᾶς τῇδ' ἐγὼ θάψω χεῖρ',
Φέροσ' ἐς "Ἥρας τίμινος Αἰρεΐας θισῖ·
'Ὡς μὴ τις αὐτὰς πολέμιων καθυβρίσῃ,
Τύμβους ἀνασπῶν. —————

———— On the height where Juno's shrine
Hallows the ground, this hand shall bury them,
That hostile rage may not insult their ashes,
And rend them from the tomb.

POTTER.

^b Lycurgus Orat. in Leocratem.

^c Dione.

^d Diogenes Laërtius Periandro.

^e Medea, v. 1378.

CHAP. II.

Of the Ceremonies in Sickness, and Death.

WHEN any person was seized with a dangerous distemper, it was usual to fix over his door a branch of rhamn and laurel trees : which custom is mentioned by Laërtius, in his life of Bion the Boristhenite :

Ράμνον τε, ἔ κλάδον δάφνης
 'Τπὲρ θύρην ἔθηκεν
 Ἀπαντα μάλλον, ἢ θανεῖν,
 Ἐτοιμος ὢν ὑπεργεῖν.

The door of Bion's house is seen
 With rhamnus and with laurel green ;
 That should death come to break his rest,
 These may deter th' intruding guest.

C. S.

The former of these plants seems designed to keep off evil spirits : against which it was reputed a sovereign amulet ; and on that account sometimes joined with the epithet ἀλεξίκακος, as in this fragment of Euphorio :

——— Αλεξίκακον φύε ράμνον.

Produced the rhamn, against mischievous ills
 An antidote. ———

The laurel was joined to it, to render the god of physic propitious, who, they thought, could design no harm to any place where he found the monument of his beloved Daphne. These boughs they termed ἀντήνες ^f.

It may not be improper to observe in this place, that all sudden deaths of men were imputed to Apollo ; whence Hector, having lain unburied twelve days, and being, by the special favour of heaven, preserved fresh and free from corruption, Hecuba resembles him to one dead, not of a lingering and wearing distemper, but by a sudden death ; the former being thin and consumed away, the latter fat and fleshy ^g :

Νῦν δὲ μοι ἐρσῆεις ἔ πρόσφατος ἐν μεγάροισι
 Κεῖσαι, τῷ ἥκελος, ὃν τ' ἀργυρότοξος Ἀπόλλων
 Οἷς ἀγανοῖς βελέεσσιν ἐποιοχόμενος κατέπεφνεν.

Yet glow'st thou fresh with every living grace,
 No mark of pain, or violence of face,
 Rosy and fair as Phœbus' silver bow
 Dismiss'd thee gently to the shades below.

POPE.

The sudden death of women was attributed to Diana ; whence Glaucus, in the same poet, speaking of Hippodamia ^h :

Τὴν δὲ χολασαμένη χρυσήνιος Ἀρτιμὶς ἔκτα.
 Incens'd Diana her depriv'd of life.

^f Etymologici Auctor.^g Iliad. ω. γ. 757.^h Iliad. ζ'. ν. 205.

Again, Achilles wishes that Briseis had been snatched away by a sudden death, rather than have been the occasion of dissention between him and Agamemnon ⁱ :

Τὴν ὄφελ' ἐν νῆεσσι κατακτάμιν Ἀρτεμις ἰῶν,
Ἥματι τῷ, ὅτ' ἐγὼν ἐλόμην Λυρνησσὸν ὀλίσσας.
I would that Dian's shaft had in the fleet
Slain her, that self-same day when I destroy'd
Lyrnesus, and by conquest made her mine.

COWPER.

The poet has explained his own meaning in another place ^j, where Eumenes reports, that in the isle of Syria, the inhabitants never die of lingering distempers, but, being arrived at a good old age, drop into their graves without any previous torment :

Πένη δ' οὐ ποτε δῆμον ἰσχύεται, ὅδε τις ἄλλη
Νῆσος ἵπαι συγερῇ πίλινται δειλοῖσι βροτοῖσιν.
Ἀλλ' ὅτι γηράσκουσιν πόλιν κατὰ φύλ' ἀνθρώπων,
Ελθὼν ἀργυρότοξος Ἀπόλλων Ἀρτίμιδι ξύν,
Οἷς ἀγανοῖς βελέισσιν ἱποχόμενος κατέπεφιν.
No want, no famine, the glad natives know,
Nor sink by sickness to the shades below :
But when a length of years unnerves the strong,
Apollo comes, and Cynthia comes along ;
They bend the silver bow with tender skill,
And, void of pain, the silent arrows kill. :

POPE.

Again, Ulysses inquires of his mother in the regions below, whether she resigned her life under a tedious disease, or Diana's hand ^k :

Ἀλλ' ἄγε, μοι τόδε εἰπὲ, καὶ ἀτρεκέως κατὰλέξον,
Τίς νύ σε κῆρ ἰδάμασσε πανηλιγίος θανάτοιο,
ἢ δολιχὴ νῆσος ; ἢ Ἀρτεμις ἰοχίαιρα
Οἷς ἀγανοῖς βελέισσιν ἱποχομένη κατέπεφεν.
But speak, my mother, and the truth alone ;
What stroke of fate slew thee ? Fell'st thou a prey
To some slow malady ? or by the shafts
Of gentle Dian suddenly subdued ?

COWPER.

Other instances may be produced to the same purpose: the ground of this opinion was Apollo's being usually taken for the sun, and Diana for the moon: which planets were believed to have a great influence on human life ^l.

All dead persons were thought to be under the jurisdiction of the infernal deities; and therefore no man could resign his life till some of his hairs were cut, to consecrate him to them: hence Euripides introduces death with a sword, going to cut off some of

ⁱ Iliad. τ'. v. 59.
^j Odyss. ζ. v. 406.
Ibid. λ'. v. 169.

^l Heracles (vel potius Heraclitus) Ponticus de Allegor. Homer. Eustathius, Iliad. ζ' v. 205. et Iliad. τ'. 59. &c.

the hair of Alcestis, whom the Fates had adjudged to die instead of her husband Admetus ^m :

Ἡ δ' ἔν γυνὴ κάτεισιν εἰς ἄδης δόμας;
 Στείχω δ' ἐπ' αὐτήν, ὡς κατάρξωμαι ξίφει.
 Ἰερὸς γὰρ ἔτος τῶν κατὰ χθονὸς θεῶν,
 Ὅτε τὸδ' ἔγχος κρατὸς ἀγνίσει τρίχα.

—This woman goes,
 Be sure of that, to Pluto's dark domain.
 I go, and with this sword assert my claim;
 For sacred to th' infernal gods that head,
 Whose hair is hallow'd by this charmed blade.

POTTER.

Which passage is imitated by Virgil ⁿ, where he tells us, that Didō, ridding herself out of the world before her time, had not her hair cut off by Proserpina, and therefore struggled some time, as unable to resign her life, till Iris was commissioned by Juno to do her that kind office ^o :

*Tum Juno omnipotens, longum miserata dolorem,
 Difficilesque obitus, Irim dimisit Olympo,
 Quæ luctantem animam, nexosque resolveret artus;
 Nam, quia nec fato, merita nec morte peribat,
 Sed misera ante diem, subitoque accensa furore :
 Nondum illi flavum Proserpina vertice crinem
 Abstulerat, Stygioque caput damnaverat Orco :
 Ergo Iris croceis per cælum roscida pennis,
 Mille trahens varios adverso sole colores,
 Devolat, et supra caput astilit ; ' Hunc ego Diû
 ' Sacrum iussa fero, teque isto corpore solvo.'
 Sic ait, et dextra crinem secat : omnis et unâ
 Dilapsus calor, atque in vento vita recessit.*

Then Juno, grieving that she should sustain
 A death so ling'ring, and so full of pain,
 Sent Iris down to free her from the strife
 Of lab'ring nature, and dissolve her life;
 For since she died, not doom'd by Heaven's decree,
 Or her own crime, but human casualty,
 And rage of love, that plung'd her in despair,
 The sisters had not cut the topmost hair,
 (Which Proserpine and they can only know),
 Nor made her sacred to the shades below ;
 Downward the various goddess took her flight,
 And drew a thousand colours from the light ;
 Then stood above the dying lover's head,
 And said, ' I thus devote thee to the dead ;
 ' This off'ring to the infernal gods I bear.'
 Thus while she spoke, she cut the fatal hair,
 The struggling soul was loos'd and life dissolv'd in air.

DRYDEN.

What was the ground of this opinion, cannot be certainly defined ; but it seems not improbable that it proceeded from a ceremony at sacrifices, wherein they cut some of the hairs from the victim's forehead, and offered them to the gods as first fruits of

^m Alcestid. v. 74.^o Æneid. iv. v. 695.ⁿ Macrobius Saturnal. lib. v. cap. 19.

the sacrifice; whence some imagine the same was thought to be done by death upon men sent as victims to the infernal gods.

When they perceived the pangs of death coming upon them, they made supplications to Mercury, whose office it was to convey the ghosts to the regions below. An instance hereof we have in a Cean matron, who being about to rid herself of life by a draught of poison, first called upon Mercury to grant her a pleasant journey, and convey her to a commodious habitation in Pluto's dominions ^P. These prayers, whether offered to Mercury, or to any other god, were termed *ἐξιτήριοι εὐχαί*, which is a general name for all prayers before any man's departure, whether by death, or only to take a journey.

Their friends and relations perceiving them at the point of resigning their lives, came close to the bed where they lay, to bid them farewell, and catch their dying words, which they never repeated without reverence. The want of opportunity to pay this compliment to Hector, furnishes Andromache with matter of lamentation, which she thus expresses ^r:

Οὐ γὰρ μοι θνήσκων λειχέων ἐκ χεῖρας ὀρέζας,
Οὐδέ τι μοι εἶπες πυκινὸν ἔπος, οὐ τέ κεν αἰεὶ
Μιμνήμην, νύκτας τε ἔηματα δακρυχέεσσα.

I saw him not when in the pangs of death,
Nor did my lips receive his latest breath,
Why held he not to me his dying hand?
And why receiv'd I not his last command?
Something he would have said had I been there,
Which I shou'd still in sad remembrance bear;
For I could never, never words forget,
Which night and day I would with tears repeat.

CONGREVE.

They kissed and embraced the dying person, so taking their last farewell; which custom was very ancient, being derived from the eastern nations; for we find in the holy writings, that Joseph ^e fell upon his father Jacob's neck, when he lay upon his death-bed, and kissed him ^s. They endeavoured likewise to receive in their mouth his last breath, as fancying his soul to expire with it, and enter into their bodies: and at the time of its departure it was customary to beat brazen kettles, which was thought an excellent method to drive away evil spirits and phantasms, whose airy forms were not able to endure so harsh a noise ^t: thus they imagined the dead man's ghost secured from furies, and quietly conveyed to a peaceful habitation in the Elysian fields. For it was an old opi-

^P Valerius Maximus, lib. ii. cap. 6.

^q Etymologici Auctor.

^r Iliad. *ω*. v. 743.

^s Genes. cap. 50.

^t Theocriti Scholiastes.

nion, that there being two mansions in the infernal regions, one on the right hand, pleasant and delightful, the other on the left, appointed for the souls of wicked wretches, the furies were always ready to hurry departed souls to the place of torment. Virgil has an allusion to this fancy ^u :

*Hic locus est, partes ubi se via findit in ambas,
Dextra, quæ Ditis magni sub mœnia tendit.
Hac iter Elysium nobis ; at læva malorum
Exercet pœnas, et ad impia Tartara mittit.
'Tis here in diff'rent paths the way divides,
The right to Pluto's golden palace guides,
The left to that unhappy region tends,
Which to the depth of Tartarus descends,
The seat of night profound, and punish'd fiends.* DRYDEN.

Death, and all things concerning it, were ominous and ill-boding, and are therefore frequently expressed in softening terms : to *die*, is commonly termed ἀπογίνεσθαι, to which the Latin *denasci* answers : sometimes it is called δίχισθαι, to depart ; and the dead, οἰχόμενοι : so also Chio, in an epistle to Plato, saith, ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἀπελεύσομαι, *I will depart out of the world*. In the same sense we find the Latin word *abitio*, which is a synonymous term for death ^v ; and *abiit* ; as when Pliny writes, that *Virginus Rufus plenus annis abiit, plenus honoribus* ^w, departed full of years and honours : thus also the Greeks use βεβίωκε, i. e. *he once lived* ; and the Romans, *vixit* and *fuit* ; thus Virgil :

————— *Fuit Ilium, et ingens
Gloria Teucrorum.* —————
Glory did once attend the Dardan state,
Its spires then glitter'd, and its chiefs were great.

Tibullus, with several others, hath used the same expression ^x :

*Vivite felices, memores et vivite nostri,
Sive erimus, seu nos fata fuisse velint.*
In a bless'd series may your lives glide on,
If while I live, or when I'm dead and gone,
In pensive musing on my tomb you lean,
And in soft accents say, " Our friend has been."

Sometimes they used κέκμηκε and καμόντες. Thus Homer ^y :

————— *Οἱ δ' ἀνιέρβει καμόντας
Ἀνθρώπους τίνυσσεν, ὃ, τις κ' ἐπίορκον ὁμόσση.*
Ye dire avengers of all perjur'd slaves,
When once they're dead, and cover'd in their graves.

Again ^z,

————— *βροτῶν εἶδ' ἀλα καμόντων,*
————— The ghosts o' th' dead.

But the most frequent are names taken from sleep, to which death

^u Æneid, vi. v. 540.

^v Festus.

^w Lib. ii. epist. 1.

Lib. iii. eleg. 5.

^y Iliad, γ'.

^z Odys. λ'.

bears a near resemblance ; whence the poets feign them to be brothers, and κοιμᾶσθαι or εὐδῆν are commonly used for dying : thus Callimachus ^a :

Τῇδ' Ἀκάνθιος, ὁ Δίκωνος, ἱερὸν ὕπνον
Κοιμᾶται —————
Saon th' Acanthian, Dicon's son, hard by,
In everlasting sleep wrapt up doth lie.

In another place ^b :

————— Ἡ δ' ἀποθνήσκει
Εὐνάδ' ἐπὶ τὸν πάσαις ὕπνον ὀφειλόμενον.
The common debt of all mankind, she sleeps.

Orpheus hath used the same metaphor in his Argonautics :

Εὐδεις, Ἀγνιάδῃ, γλυκερῷ βεβωλημένος ὕπνῳ.
Agniades, thou art in soft repose
Lock'd up. —————

Many other like passages occur both in profane and inspired writers ; and so common was this way of speaking with the primitive christians, that their burying-places were called κοιμητήρια, which is a term of the same sense with Lycophron's εὐναστήρια ^c :

Σίθωνος εἰς θυγατρὸς εὐναστήριον.
To th' sleeping place of Sithon's daughter.

CHAP. III.

Of the Ceremonies before the Funeral.

As soon as any person had expired, they closed his eyes ; to do which, they termed καθαιρεῖν, συναρμόττειν, συγκλείειν τὰς ὀφθαλμούς, or τὰ βλέφαρα, &c. : which custom was so universally practised, that no person who has the least acquaintance with ancient writers can be ignorant of it. Hence καταμύειν came to be used for θνήσκειν. The design of this custom seems to have been, not only to prevent that horror, which the eyes of dead men, when uncovered, are apt to strike into the living ; but also for the satisfaction of dying persons, who are usually desirous to die in a decent posture. Thus Polyxena, in Euripides, is said to have ordered herself in such a manner, that nothing unfit to be seen should appear in her fall ^d :

^a Epigram. xv.

^b Epigram. xxii.

^c Cassandr. v. 585.

^d Euripid. Hecubæ, v. 563.

ἡ δὲ ἐκ θνήσκουσ' ὁμῶς
Πολλὴν πρόνοιαν εἶχεν εὐσχήμως πεισῆν
Κρύπτειν δ' ἃ κρύπτειν ὁμματα' ἀρσένων χρεῶν.

And Augustus Cæsar, upon the approach of his death, called for a looking-glass, and caused his hair to be combed, and his fallen cheeks decently composed ^c. For the same reasons, the mouth of the dead person was closed. Hence the ghost of Agamemnon, in Homer, complains that his wife Clytemnestra had neglected to perform this ceremony ^f :

ἄδ' ἐμοὶ ἔτλη ἰόντι περ εἰς Ἀΐδαο
Χερσὶ κατ' ὀφθαλμὸς ἐλίσιν, σύντε στόμ' ἐρεῖσαι.
Nor did my trait'ress wife these eye-lids close,
Or decently in death my limbs compose.

POPE.

This done, his face was covered ; whence Hippolytus in Euripides, being at the point to expire, calls upon his father Theseus to do him that office ^g :

Κρύψον δέ με πρόσωπον ὡς τάχος πέπλοις.
Veil my face over quickly with a sheet.

Indeed, almost all the offices about the dead were performed by their nearest relations ; nor could a greater misfortune befall any person, than to want these last respects : Electra in Sophocles seems to prefer death itself before it. Infinite numbers of instances might be produced to the same purpose, were it not too commonly known to need any farther confirmation. All the charges expended on funerals, and the whole care and management of them, belonged also to relations, saving that persons of extraordinary worth were frequently honoured with public funerals, the expences whereof were defrayed out of the exchequer. Thus we find Democritus at Abdera, Zeno and Aristides at Athens, Epaminondas at Thebes, Gryllus, Xenophon's son, at Mantinea, with many others, to have had their funerals celebrated at the public expence.

To return : before the body was cold, they composed all the members, stretching them out to their due length ; this they termed *εκτείνειν*, or *ὀρθοῦν* : whence the maid in Euripides's Hippolytus, as soon as Phædra had expired her last, cries out to some of her own sex to perform the office ^h :

Ορθώσατ' ἐκτείνοντες ἄθλιον νέκυν,
Πικρὸν τόδ' οἰκέρημα δισπότης ἡμοῖς.
Tho' 'tis a service that will bitter prove,
And grieve the souls of my most wretched masters,
Yet lay the corpse of the dead lady out.

Not long after, the chorus saith,

Ἦδη γὰρ ὡς νεκρὸν νιν ἐκτείνουσι δῆ.
As it is usual, they lay her out.

^c Suetonius in Augusto, xcix.

^g Euripid. Hippolyto. v. 1458.

^f Odyss. λ'. v. 419.

^h V. 786.

After this the dead body was washed ; hence Alcestis in Euripides ^l, upon the approach of the fatal day wherein she was to lay down her life for her husband Admetus, washed herself in the river :

Ἐπεὶ γὰρ ἤσθιδ' ἡμίραν τὴν κυρίαν
Ἦκυσαν, ὕδασι ποταμίσις λευκὸν χροῖα
Ελύσατ'.

When she knew
The destin'd day was come, in fountain water
She bath'd her lily-tinctur'd limbs.

POTTER.

Plato tells us, that Socrates washed himself before his execution, to save the woman a trouble ^j; for this office was commonly performed by women related to the party deceased ; only in cases of necessity others were employed therein ; so we find that poor Theagenes, having neither wife nor child, nor any near relation of his own, was washed by the Cynics ^k. At some places there were vessels in the temples designed for this use ; these were called in Latin, *labra*, whence some derive the word *delubrum* ^l.

This done, the body was anointed. Pliny reports, that the Grecians never used ointment, till the time of Alexander the Great, when they had it conveyed out of Persia ^m ; and Homer, though frequently mentioning the custom of anointing the dead, yet useth no other materials beside oil : thus they anointed Patroclus ⁿ :

Καὶ τότε δὴ λέσαντο, καὶ ἤλειψαν λίπ' ἐλαίῳ.

As soon as wash'd, they 'nointed him with oil.

But Athenæus will by no means allow Homer's oil to have been distinguished from *μύρον*, or ointment properly so called ^o ; and we find that Solon allowed his citizens the use of ointments, forbidding only slaves to perfume themselves therewith ^p. Whence it seems probable, that however the Grecians might not have any knowledge of these costly ointments the Persians furnished them with, yet they were not unacquainted with the use of another sort.

After the body was washed and anointed, they wrapped it in a garment, which seems to have been no other than the common *pallium* or cloak they wore at other times ^q, as we find the Romans made use of their *toga*. Thus Misenus in Virgil, being first washed and anointed, then (as the custom was) laid upon a bed, was wrapped in the garments he had usually worn ^r.

ⁱ V. 156. ^j Phædone.

^k Galenus de Methodo medendi, lib. xiii. cap. 13.

^l Asconius de Divinatione.

^m Nat. Hist. lib. xiii. cap. 1.

ⁿ Iliad, *δ*, v. 350.

^o Δειπνοσοφ. lib. xv.

^p Plutarchus Solone.

^q Apuleius Florid. i.

^r Æneid, vi. v. 218.

*Pars calidos latices, et athena undantia flammis
Expediunt, corpusque lavant frigentis, et unguent :
Fit gemitus : tum membra toro deflecta reponunt,
Purpureasque super vestes, velamina nota,
Conjiciunt.*————

Some being mov'd with pity tow'rd's their friend,
Water to boil in cauldrons do attend,
Then wash his cold and stiffen'd limbs all o'er,
To try if quick'ning heat they can restore;
With essences and oils they scent the dead,
And then repose him on his fun'ral bed ;
Their glowing passion in deep sighs they vent,
And full of sorrow, dolefully lament ;
On him the robes they cast he us'd to wear,
Which having done, they heave him on the bier.

J. A.

After this, the body was adorned with a rich and splendid garment ; hence we find, that before Socrates took the fatal draught ^s Apollodorus brought him a cloak, with a garment of great value, it being the philosopher's desire to prepare himself for his funeral before he died. It is reported also, that Philocles the Athenian admiral being overcome, and sentenced to death by Lysander the Spartan, washed himself, and put on his best apparel, before he was executed ^t. The same we read of Alcestis in Euripides :

*Ἐπεὶ γὰρ ἦσθεθ' ἡμέραν τὴν κυρίαν
Ἦκυσαν, ὕδασι ποταμίοις λευκὸν χροῖα
Ἐλέσας, ἐκ δ' ἑλῶσα κεδρίνων δόμων
Ἐσθῆτα, κόσμον τ' εὐπρεπῶς ἡσκήσατο.*

—————When she knew
The destin'd day was come, in fountain water
She bath'd her lily-tinctur'd limbs, then took
From her rich chests, of odorous cedar form'd,
A splendid robe, and her most radiant dress.

POTTER.

The whole body was covered with this garment. Its colour was commonly white, as we find in Homer speaking of Patroclus ^u :

*Ἐν λεχίσσι δὲ θείσι, ἱανῶ λιτὶ κάλυψαν
Ἐς πῶδας ἐκ κεφαλῆς, καλύπτει δὲ φάρεϊ λευκῶ.
High on a bed of state the corpse was laid,
And wholly cover'd with a linen shade.*

Whence Artemidorus reckons it an unlucky omen, and presaging death, for a sick person to have white apparel ^v. This colour seems to have been used to denote the simplicity and harmlessness of the dead ^w. So concerned were they about this garment, that, as some think, they frequently prepared it for themselves and friends during life. Thus Penelope is introduced by Homer speaking to her courtiers ^x :

^s Laërtius Socrate, Ælianus Var.
Hist. lib. i. cap. 16.

^t Plutarchus Lysandro.

^u Iliad. ó. v. 552.

^v Oneirocrit. lib. ii. cap. 3.

^w Plutarchus Quest. Rom.

^x Odyss. β'. v. 94.

Κῦροι, ἰμοὶ μνηστῆρες, ἱπᾶν Δάνι δῖος Οδυσσεύς,
 Μίμνιτ' ἱπαιγόμενοι τὸν ἱμεν γάμον, εἰτόκει φῶρος
 Επτιλίω (μή μοι μεταμώλια νήματ' ὀληται)
 Λαίρτη ἥρωϊ παφῆϊον, εἰς ὃ τι κύν μιν
 Μοῖρ' ὅλοη καβίλῃσι πανηγυρίῳ θανάτοιο.

Princes, my suitors! since the noble chief
 Ulysses is no more, press not as yet
 My nuptials, wait till I shall finish, first,
 A fun'ral robe (lest all my threads decay)
 Which for the ancient hero I prepare,
 Laërtes, looking for the mournful hour
 When fate shall snatch him to eternal rest.

COWPEE.

Thus likewise Euryalus being slain, his mother is brought in complaining^y :

— *Nec te tua funera mater
 Produxi, pressive oculos, aut vulnera lavi,
 Veste tegens, tibi quam noctes festina diesque
 Urgebam, et tela curas solabar aniles.*

Nor did thy mother close thy eyes in death,
 Compose thy limbs, nor catch thy parting breath ;
 Nor bathe thy gaping wounds, nor cleanse the gore,
 Nor throw the rich embroider'd mantle o'er ;
 The work that charm'd the cares of age away,
 My task all night, my labour all the day ;
 The robe I wove, thy absence to sustain,
 For thee, my child ; but wove, alas ! in vain.

PITT.

But it may be disputed, whether these were made on purpose for funeral garments, or only designed to be worn, and applied to the former use, in case the person should die, it being usual (as hath been already observed) to wrap dead bodies in the garments they had used when alive. The latter opinion seems more probable, from the words which Penelope adds :

Μήτις μοι κατὰ δῆμον Αχαιϊάδων νεμεσῆση,
 Αἴκειν ἄτερ σπέρει κῆται, πολλὰ κτεατίσσας.
 Lest when the Fates his royal ashes claim,
 The Grecian matrons taint my spotless fame ;
 When he, whom living mighty realms obey'd,
 Shall want in death, a shroud to grace his shade.

POPE.

And it bears no great shew of reason, that a mother should comfort herself by weaving a winding-sheet for her young son, who at that time was likely to have lived many years. However that be, it is observable, that the Lacedæmonians, as in most other things, so here also ran counter to the rest of the Grecians ; for, whereas, in other places, the dead were clothed with costly apparel, which none except the poorer sort ever wanted, the Spartan lawgiver ordered, that persons of the greatest valour and merit should be buried in nothing but a red coat, which was the com-

^y Virgil Æncid. ix. v. 486.

mon habit of soldiers ; to the rest even this was denied ^z ; for he thought it wholly absurd and unreasonable, that those who, through the whole course of their lives, had been accustomed to contemn riches and superfluous ornament, should be decked therewith when dead. Nor were any ointments or costly perfumes used there, being looked on as conducing nothing to the felicity of the dead, and unworthy of the Lacedæmonian gravity.

The next ceremony was the bedecking the dead body with chaplets of flowers and green boughs. Thus Talthybius puts on Hecuba to adorn her grandson Astyanax ^p :

Πίπλοισιν ὡς περιτέλλης νεκρὸν,
Στεφάνοις δ' ὅση σοι δύναμις, ὡς ἔχει τὰ σά.
That you adorn the corpse with costly robes,
With chaplets, and what other pomp you can.

When persons of worth and character died in foreign countries, their remains being brought home in urns, were honoured with the ceremonies customary at other funerals, but more especially with this I am speaking of. Plutarch reports, that all the cities through which Demetrius's ashes were conveyed, sent mourners to meet the sacred urn, with others to perform the rites usual on such occasions, or at least they crowned it with garlands ^b. The same author reports, that Philopœmen's relics were attended by captives in chains, and his urn so covered with ribands and chaplets, that scarce any part of it was to be seen ^c. This ceremony was either taken from the games, wherein the conquerors were rewarded with crowns of leaves, as signifying that the dead had finished their course ^d, or was designed to express the unmixed and never-fading pleasures the dead were to enjoy, upon their removal out of this painful and troublesome world ^e ; for garlands were an emblem of mirth and joyfulness, and therefore usually worn at banquets and festivals. The same may be observed of ointments and perfumes, the constant attendants of gaiety and pleasantness. To both these ceremonies we have an ingenious allusion of an old poet in Stobæus :

Οὐ μὲν γὰρ ἔτιως ἂν ποτ' ἐσιφαναίμιναι
Πρὸ κείμιν' ἀνθ' ὃδε κατακεχρίσμενοι,
Εἰ μὴ καταθάψας εὐθὺς πίνειν ἴδι.
Διὰ ταῦτα γὰρ τοι καλῶνται μακάριοι,
Πᾶς γὰρ λίγει τις, ὃ μακαρίτης οἷχεται.

^z Ælianus, Var. Hist. lib. v. cap. 11.

^a Euripid. Troad. v. 1143.

^b Demetrio.

^c Philopœmene.

^d Suidas.

^e Clemens Alexandrin. Στρομ. lib. ii. cap. 8.

Not that we less compassionate are grown,
 Do we at funerals our temples crown,
 Or with sweet essences adorn our hair,
 And all the marks of pleasing transport wear;
 But 'cause we're sure of that more happy state,
 To which kind death doth every soul translate,
 Which here by drinking we anticipate:
 For soon as death his fatal shaft has hurl'd,
 And us transmitted to the other world,
 We drinking sign th' immortal beverage,
 And in sweet joys eternity engage;
 Hence they by every one are only said
 To be right happy that are truly dead.

H. H.

This done, they proceeded *προτίθεσθαι*, *collocare*, to lay out the dead body; sometimes they placed it upon the ground, sometimes upon a bier, called *λέκτρον*, *φέρετρον*, or *φέρετρον*, which they bedecked with various sorts of flowers. Some are of opinion the corpse was first laid out upon the ground, afterwards lifted upon a bier. This office, as most of the former, was performed by the nearest relations; whence Lysias ^f, amongst other aggravating circumstances which attended the death of Eratosthenes, who was condemned by the thirty tyrants of Athens, reckons this as none of the least, that they laid him out, assuming thereby an office belonging of right only to the nearest and most tender relations. Tiberius Cæsar is likewise censured by Dio, not only as *neglecting to visit Livia when sick*, but because *he laid her not out with his own hands when she was dead*^g. The place where the bodies were laid out, was near the entrance of the house, which being sometimes termed *προνώπιον*, it came to pass that dead men were called *προνωπέϊς*. Hence Euripides ^h:

"Ἡ δὲ προνοπὴς ἐστὶ καὶ ψυχὸρραγεί.

The reason of this ceremony was, that all persons might have opportunity to search whether the party deceased had any wounds, or other marks of an untimely and violent death ⁱ. It may be further observed, that the feet was always turned toward the gate. Hence Persius ^j:

—— Tandemque beatulus alto
 Compositus lecto, crassique lutatus amomis,
 In portam rigidos calces extendit.——

Our dear departed brother lies in state,
 His heels stretch'd out, and pointing to the gate.

Achilles in Homer, speaks of Patroclus as laid out in the same manner ^k:

^f Orat. de Cæde Eratosthenis.

^g Lib. lviii.

^h Alcesteide,

ⁱ Pollux, lib. viii. cap. 7.

^j Sat. iii. v. 103.

^k Iliad. τ'. v. 211.

———— ἐνὶ κλισίῃ διδαιγμένος ὅξει χαλκῷ
 Κῆται ἀνὰ πρόθυρον τετραμμένος.

Slain, at the entrance of the tent he lies.

Where we are told by the scholiast, that by this ceremony they signified that they were never to return after their being carried out. Whilst the body lay in this place, it was customary to give it constant attendance, to defend it from any violence or affront that might be offered ; whence Achilles adds in the fore-cited place :

———— ἀμφὶ δ' ἑταῖροι
 Μύρονται.

Round the dead corpse his sad companions mourn.

And a little before, we find him so passionately concerned lest flies and vermin should pollute the corpse, that he could not be drawn from it to the battle, till Thetis had promised to guard it¹. When any person died in debt at Athens, there was something more to be feared ; for the laws of that city gave leave to creditors to seize the dead body, and deprive it of burial till payment was made ; whence the corpse of Miltiades, who deceased in prison, being like to want the honour of burial, his son Cimon had no other means to release it, but by taking upon himself his father's debt and fetters.

Some time before interment, a piece of money was put into the corpse's mouth, which was thought to be Charon's fare for wafting the departed soul over the infernal river. This was by some termed *παρκήδοντα*^m, by others, *δανάη*ⁿ, *δανάκη* or *δανάκης*, from *δάνος*, a price ; or because it was given *τοῖς δανοῖς*, to *dead men*, so called from *δανὰ*, or *dry sticks*^o. It was only a single *ὀβολός* ; Aristophanes, indeed, introduces Hercules telling Bacchus he must pay two oboli^p :

Ἐν πλοιαρίῳ τυνηστῶι σ' ἀνὴρ γέγων
 Ναύτης διάξει, δὴ ὀβολῶ μισθὸν λαβών.

Th' old ferryman of hell will waft you o'er
 In his small skiff for poor two oboli.

But the comedian seems to speak this only by way of jeer to the judges in some of the Athenian courts, who were presented with two oboli at the end of their session ; whence Bacchus presently subjoins :

Φεῦ, ὡς μίγα δύνασθον πανταχῷ δὴ ὀβολῶ.
 I find two oboli can much prevail
 In either world. —————

¹ Ibid. v. 25.

^m Suidas.

ⁿ Hesychius.

^o Etymologici Auctor.

^p Ranis, p. 217. edit. Aurel. Allob.

Meursius, therefore, interpreting this place of the common custom towards the dead, and adding out of the scholiast, that the price was afterwards raised to three oboli, seems not to have reached the author's meaning; for nothing can be more plain than that the scholiast is to be understood of the *δικασικὸς μισθός*, or reward allowed the judges, which was two oboli, and afterwards increased to three. The ceremony was not used in those places which they fancied situated in the vicinity of the infernal regions, and to lead thither by a ready and direct road^q. Strabo particularly mentions that the Hermionians pleaded exemption^r.

Besides this, the corpse's mouth was furnished with a certain cake, composed of flour, honey, &c. and therefore called *μελιτ-ῖστα*^s. This was designed to appease the fury of Cerberus, the infernal door-keeper, and to procure of him a safe and quiet entrance. We have an allusion to this in the comedian^t:

————— σορὸν ὠνήσει,
Μιλιττῆσαν ἐγὼ ἔ δὴ μᾶζω. ———
A coffin he shall buy, and I'll prepare
A cake for Cerberus. ———

Virgil has obliged us with a larger account of this custom, when he describes the Sibyl and Æneas's journey to the infernal shades^u:

*Cerberus hæc ingens latratu regna trifauci
Personat, adverso recumbans inmanis in antro :
Cui vates, horrore videns jam colla colubris,
Melle soporata et medicatis frugibus offam
Objicit ; ille, fame rabida tria guttura pandens,
Corripit objectam, atque immania terga resolvit
Fusus humi, totoque ingens extenditur antro :
Occupat Æneas aditum, custode sepulto,
Evaditque celer ripam irremcabilis undæ.*

————— In his den they found
The triple porter of the Stygian sound,
Grim Cerberus, who soon began to rear
His crested snakes, and arm'd his bristling hair ;
The prudent sibyl had before prepar'd
A sop in honey steep'd to charm the guard,
Which, mix'd with pow'ful drugs, she cast before
His greedy grinning jaws, just op'd to roar ;
With three enormous mouths he gapes, and strait
With hunger press'd, devours the pleasing bait ;
Long draughts of sleep his monstrous limbs enslave,
He reels, and falling, fills the spacious cave.
The keeper charm'd, the chief without delay
Pass'd on, and took th' irremearable way.

DRYDEN.

Before we conclude this chapter, it may be observed, that the whole ceremony of laying out, and clothing the dead, and some-

^q Etymologici Auctor. v. *δανάκης*.
^r Geogr. lib. viii.

^s Suidas, &c.

^t Lysistratæ.

^u Æneid, vi. v. 417.

times the interment itself was called *συγκομιδή* ^v. In the same sense ancient writers use *συγκομίζειν*, with its derivatives: thus Sophocles ^w:

Οὐτός σε φωνῶ τόνδε τὸν νεκρὸν χερσίν
Μὴ συγκομίζειν, ἀλλ' ἔῤῃ ὅπως ἔχει.

Do not presume th' accursed corpse t' inter,
But let it lie expos'd to open view.

It may farther be observed, that, during this time, the hair of the deceased person was hung upon the door to signify the family was in mourning. And, till the house was delivered of the corpse, there stood before the door a vessel of water, called *ἄρδάνιον* ^x, *ἄρδανία*, *γάστρα* ^y: and from the matter it was frequently made of, *ἔσρακον*, as in Aristophanes ^z;

Ἵδατος τε καθύπε τῆσρακον πρὸ τῆς θύρας.

An earthen vessel full of water place
Before the door.

Part of a chorus in Euripides, seeing neither of these signs, could scarce be induced to believe Alcestis dead ^a:

Πυλῶν πάροισεν δ' ἔχ' ὄρῳ
Πηγαῖον, ὡς νομίζεταιί
Γε, χέριν' ἐπὶ φθιτῶν πύλαις.
Χαίτ' αὖ τ' ἔστι, ἐπὶ πρόθυρα τομαῖ-
ος, αὖ δὲ νεκρῶν πίνθεσι τίτνεϊ.

Nor vase of fountain water do I see
Before the door, as custom claims, to bathe
The corpse; and none hath on the portal placed
His locks, in solemn mourning for the dead
Usually shorn.

POTTER.

The design of this was, that such as had been concerned about the corpse might purify themselves by washing, which was called *λέεσθαι ἀπὸ νεκρῶ*. For not the Jews only ^b, but the greatest part of the heathen world, thought themselves polluted by the contact of a dead body; death being contrary to nature, and therefore abhorred by every thing endued with life. Hence the celestial gods, those especially who were thought to give or preserve light or life, would not endure the sight of a corpse. Diana, in Euripides, professes it unlawful for her to see Hippolytus, her favourite, when dead;

Καὶ χαῖρ', ἐμοὶ γὰρ ἔ δίμις φθιτὸς ὄρεῖν,
Οὐδ' ὄμμα χερσίνιν θανάσιμοισιν ἐκπνοαῖς.

Farewel, for 'twere in me a sinful act
To view the dead, or to defile mine eyes
With the sad sight of an expiring soul.

^v Æschyli Scholiastes.

^w Ajac. v. 1067.

^x Suidas, Pollux lib. viii. cap. 7.

^y Hesychius.

^z Εκκλησιαζέσαις.

^a Alcestid. 99.

^b Numer. cap. xix. 11. Eccles. cap. xxxiv. 25.

Nor was the house where the corpse lay free from pollution, as appears from the words of Helena in Euripides c :

Καθαρὰ γὰρ ἡμῖν δόματ', ὃ γὰρ ἐνθάδε
Ψυχὴν ἀφῆκε Μενέλαος. —————

For sacred are our houses, not defil'd
By Menelaus' death. —————

The air proceeding from the dead body was thought to pollute all things into which it entered ; whence all uncovered vessels which stood in the same room with the corpse, were accounted unclean by the Jews. Hence it was customary to have the whole house purified as soon as the funeral solemnities were over ; of which ceremony I shall have occasion to discourse in one of the following chapters.

CHAP. IV.

Of their Funeral Processions.

THE next thing to be observed is their carrying the corpse *forth*, which is in Greek termed *ἐκκομιδὴ*, and *ἐκφορὰ*, in Latin *elatio*, or *exportatio* ; whence the Latin *efferre*, *exportare*, and the Greek *ἐκφέρειν*, and *ἐκκομίζειν*, are words appropriated to funerals. Kirckman would have *παρακομίζειν* to be used in the same sense ; but the place he produces out of Eunapius ^d to that purpose, seems rather to denote the *prætervection* of the body by some place, than its *elation* from the house wherein it was prepared for burial ; for *παρακομίζειν* is usually spoken with respect to a place in the middle way of any motion ; *εἰσκομίζειν* belongs to the end, or place where the motion ceases ; but *ἐκκομίζειν*, or *ἐκφέρειν*, are only proper when we speak of the place whence the motion begins, being the same with *ἔξω φέρειν*, *carrying forth* ; which words are taken by Theocritus in the sense I am speaking of ^e :

Ἀῶθεν δ' ἄμμες νιν ἅμα δρόσῳ ἀρόσι ἔξω
Οἰσεῦμες ποτὶ κύματ' ἐπ' αἰὶνι πτόντα.

When morn with pearly dew has overspread
The bending grass, we will bring forth our dead
Down to the river's side. —————

Plautus likewise for *efferre*, hath *foras ferre* ^f :

Quæ cras veniat perendie foras feratur soror.

To-morrow's sun shall see my sister carry'd forth.

^c Helena, v. 1446
^d Iamblichus.

^e Idyll. xv. 132.
^f Aulularia.

The time of burial seems not to have been limited. The author of the *Genialis Dies* ^s tells us, that bodies were usually kept seventeen days and seventeen nights before they were interred; which he seems to have out of Homer, who reports, that Achilles's body, after seventeen days and as many nights of mourning, was committed to the flames ^h:

Ἑπτακαίδεκα μὲν σε ἡμῶς νύκτας τε καὶ ἡμέρας
Κλαίμεν ἀθάνατοί τε θεοὶ, θνητοὶ τ' ἀνθρώποι,
Οκτωκαίδεκάτῃ δ' ἔδομεν πυρὶ———

Seventeen long days were in sad mourning spent
As many nights did gods and men lament,
On the eighteenth we laid you on the pile.

Servius was of opinion, that the time of burning bodies was the eighth day after death, the time of burying the ninth ⁱ: but this must only be understood of the funerals of great persons, which could not be duly solemnized without extraordinary preparations; men of inferior rank were committed to the ground without so much noise and pomp. The ancient burials seem to have been upon the third or fourth day after death; thus the author of the *Argonautics* ^j:

*At vero ornantes supremo funus honore,
Tres totos condunt lugubri murmure soles,
Magnifice tumulant quarto.*

With three days mourning they the fun'ral grac'd,
(The last good office due to the deceas'd),
But on the fourth they o'er his body rear'd
A stately tomb.———

H. H.

Nor was it unusual to perform the solemnities, especially of poor persons, upon the day after their death; which appears from an epigram of Callimachus:

Δαίμονα τίς δ' εὖ οἶδε τὸν αὔριον; ἡνίκα καὶ σε,
Χάρμι, τὸν ὀφθαλμοῖς χθίζῶν ἐν ἡμετέροις,
Τῇ ἐτέρῃ κλαύσαντες ἰθάπτομεν———

Who knows what fortunes on to-morrow wait,
Since Charmis one day well to us appear'd,
And on the next was mournfully interr'd?

Pherecydes alludes to this custom in his epistle to Thales, preserved by Laërtius ^k, telling him he expected every minute to breathe his last, and had invited his friends to his funeral the day following.

The ceremony was performed in the day; for night was looked on as a very improper time; because then furies and evil spirits, which could not endure the light, ventured abroad. Hence Cassandra, in a quarrel with Talthybius, foretels, as one of the greatest

^s Lib. iii. cap. 7.^h Odyss. ω. v. 63.ⁱ Æneid. v.^j Lib. ii.^k Vita Pherecydis sub fin.

mischiefs that could befall him, that it should be his fortune to be buried in the night ¹ :

Ἡ κακὸς κακῶς ταφῆσθαι νοκτὸς, ὅτε ἐν ἡμέρᾳ.

An evil fate attends thy obsequies,
Thy fun'ral rites shall be perform'd at night.

Young men only, that died in the flower of their age, were buried in the morning twilight; for so dreadful a calamity was this accounted, that they thought it indecent, and almost impious, to reveal it in the face of the sun. Whence (as the expounders of fables tell us,) came the stories of youths stolen into Aurora's embraces; for when beauteous and hopeful young men suffered an untimely death, it was customary to alleviate the disaster, by giving it a more pleasant and agreeable name; whence, instead of calling their departure death, they term it *Ἡμέρας ἀρπαγὴν* ^m; because these funerals were celebrated by torch light, it became customary to carry torches at all other burials, though performed in the day; whence came that proverbial speech, whereby old men are said to approach *ἐπὶ τὴν δῶδα τῆς βίης*, *to the torch of their life* ⁿ. The Athenians went counter to the rest of the Grecians; for their laws enjoined them to celebrate their funerals before sunrise: which command Cicero ^o will have to be no ancients than Demetrius the Phalerian: but Demosthenes makes Solon the author thereof ^p. It is not improbable that it might be first instituted by Solon, and afterwards revived by Demetrius. The design seems to have been, to moderate the expensive extravagance in funerals, which a more open and public celebration seemed to require.

The bearers usually mounted the corpse upon their shoulders, which Euripides calls *ἄρδην φέρειν*, speaking of Alcestis ^q :

———προσπόγοι

Φέρουσιν ἄρδην πρὸς τάφοντι, & πυρᾶν.

The servants to the grave the corpse do bear
Upon their shoulders.———

The body was sometimes placed upon a bier, instead of which the Lacedæmonians commonly used their bucklers; whence that remarkable command of one of their matrons to her son, *ἢ τὰν, ἢ ἐπὶ τῇδε*, i. e. *either bring this* (pointing to his buckler) *back, or be brought upon it*. Nor was this custom unknown in other places. Virgil hath mentioned it in his tenth Æneid ^r :

¹ Euripid. Troad. v. 446.

^m Heraclides Ponticus de Allegor.

Homerie. sub fin. Eustathius.

ⁿ Plutarchus, lib. An seni capess. fit -

Resp.

^o De Leg. lib. ii.

^p Orat. in Macartatum.

^q Alcest. v. 607.

^r V. 506.

—*Spicii multo gemitu lacrymisque
Impositum acuto referunt Pallanta frequentes.*

In doleful plaints his dear companions mourn
Their dead friend Pallas on his target borne.

But the most ancient Grecians seem to have conveyed their dead bodies to their funerals without any support; whence (as Eustathius observes,) Patroclus being carried forth by the Myrmidones, Achilles went behind to support his head^s:

—*ὅπιθεν δὲ πᾶρθε ἔχε δῖος Ἀχιλλεύς.*

Achilles next, opprest with mighty woe,
Supporting with his hands, the hero's head.

POPE.

This seems to be the meaning of Euripides's *φοράδην πέμπειν*, when, speaking of Rhesus's funeral, he introduces the chorus uttering these words^t:

*Τίς ὑπὲρ κεφαλῆς θεός, ὦ βασιλεῦ,
Τὸν νεόδμητον ἐν χερσὶν
Φοράδην πέμπει;*

What god, O king, mov'd with becoming care,
Shall with his hand behind support thy head?

The persons present at funerals were the dead man's friends and relations, who thought themselves under an obligation to pay this last respect to their deceased friend. Beside these, others were frequently invited to increase the solemnity, where the laws restrained them not from it; which they did at some places, either to prevent the disorders which often happened at such promiscuous meetings, or to mitigate the excessive charges of funerals. Thus we find that Pittacus established a law at Mitylene, that none but the relations of the deceased should appear at funerals: Solon also laid some restraint upon his Athenians, wholly excluding all women under threescore years of age from these solemnities; yet relations were admitted whilst under that age, as appears from Lysias's oration in defence of Eratosthenes, who had murdered his wife's gallant, whose first acquaintance with her, he tells us, proceeded from seeing her at a funeral. Yet they seem not to have gone promiscuously among the men, but in a body by themselves, as may be collected from these words in Terence's *Andria*:

*Effertur, imus: interea inter mulieres,
Quæ ibi aderant, forte unam adspicio adolescentulam.*

————— The corpse
Born forth, we follow: when among the women
Attending these, I chanc'd to cast my eyes
On one young girl. —————

COLMAN.

The habit of these persons was not always the same; for though they sometimes put on mourning, and in common funerals as frequently retained their ordinary apparel; yet the exequies of great

^s *Iliad.* ψ.^t *Rheso*, v. 886.

men were commonly celebrated with expressions of joy for their reception into heaven. Thus Timoleon's hearse was followed by many thousands of men and women in white garments, and bedecked with garlands, as in festival solemnities ^u; Aratus's funeral was likewise celebrated with pæans, or songs of triumph and dances ^v.

When the body was conveyed out of the house, they took their last farewell, saluting it in a certain form of words, as appears from Admetus's speech to the Pheræans present at the funeral of his wife ^w:

ῥμεις δὲ τὴν θανῦσαν, ὡς νομίζεται,
Προσείπατ' ἔξιῦσαν ὑσάτην ὁδόν.

Do you, since ancient custom so requires,
Salute the corpse, and take your last farewell.

The procession was commonly made on horseback or in coaches; but at the funerals of persons to whom a more than ordinary reverence was thought due, all went on foot: which respect the Athenians paid to the memory of Theophrastus, as an acknowledgment of his excellent virtues ^x. The relations went next the corpse, the rest walked some distance off: sometimes the men went before it, with their heads uncovered, the women following it. Patroclus was carried to his funeral, surrounded by the Grecian soldiers:

Πρόσθε μὲν ἰππῆες, μετὰ δὲ νέφος ἔπειτο πεζῶν
Μυρίοι, ἐν δὲ μέσσοις φέρον Πάτροκλον ἑταῖροι γ.

The chariots first proceed, a shining train,
The clouds of foot that smoke along the plain.
Next these a melancholy band appear,
Amidst, lay dead Patroclus on the bier.

POPE.

But the ordinary way was for the body to go first, and the rest to follow: which appears, as from many other instances, so from that of Terence ^z:

—————*Funus interim*

Procedit, sequimur.—————

Meanwhile the funeral proceeds; we follow,

Whereby the survivors were put in mind of their mortality, and bid to remember they were all following in the way the dead person was gone before ^a. At the funerals of soldiers, their fellow-soldiers attended with their spears pointed towards the ground, and the uppermost part of their bucklers turned downwards, as has been formerly observed ^b. This was not done so much (as some fancy) because the gods were carved upon their bucklers,

^u Plutarchus Timoleonte.

^v Homer. *Iliad* ψ'.

^w Idem Arato.

^z Andria.

^x Euripid. *Alcest.* v. 608.

^a Donatus in loc. Terentii, Alexand.

^x Diogenes Laërtius Theophrasto.

ab Alex. lib. iii. cap. 8.

^b Lib. iii. cap. 11.

whose faces would have been polluted by the sight of a dead body, as that they might recede from their common custom; the method of mourning being to act contrary to what was usual at other times; and therefore not only their bucklers, but their spears, and the rest of their weapons, were inverted. Nor was this only a martial custom, but practised likewise in peace; for at the funerals of magistrates, their ensigns of honour were inverted, as appears from the poet ^c:

*Quos primum vidi fasces, in funere vidi,
Et vidi versos, indiciumque mali.*

The fasces first I at a funeral saw,
With heads turn'd downwards, the sad badge of woe.

To perform this ceremony, they termed ἐκπέμπειν, παραπέμπειν, and προπέμπειν; the first with respect to the house, out of which the body was carried forth; the second with respect to the places by which it passed; and the last, to the place whither it was conveyed.

CHAP. V.

Of their Mourning for the Dead.

THE ceremonies by which they used to express their sorrow upon the death of friends, and on other occasions, were various and uncertain: but it seems to have been a constant rule amongst them to recede as much as possible, in habit and all their behaviour, from their ordinary customs; by which change they thought it would appear, that some extraordinary calamity had befallen them. Hence it was, that mourners in some cities demeaned themselves in the very same manner with persons who in other places designed to express joy: for the customs of one city being contrary to those of another, it sometimes happened that what in one place passed for an expression of mirth, was in others a token of sorrow. The most ordinary ways of expressing sorrow were these that follow:

1. They abstained from banquets and entertainments, and banished from their houses all musical instruments, and whatever was proper to excite pleasure, or bore an air of mirth and gaiety: thus Admetus in Euripides, upon the death of Alcestis ^d:

^c Pedo Albinovan. Eleg. ad Liviam.

^d Alcest. v. 545.

Παύσω δὲ κώμους, συμποτῶν θ' ὁμιλίαις,
Στεφάνους τι, μῦθάν θ' ἢ κατῆχαι πρὶν δόμους.

No more to pleasing banquets will I run,
All conversation with my friends I'll shun;
No more my brow shall fragrant chaplets wear,
But all the marks of joy shall disappear;
No more I'll music hear, too weak to save
My dear Alcestis from the conq'ring grave.

II. H.

They frequented no public solemnities, nor appeared in places of concourse, but sequestered themselves from company, and refrained even from the comforts and conveniencies of life. Wine was too great a friend to cheerfulness to gain admission into so melancholy a society; the light itself was odious, and nothing courted but dark shades and lonesome retirements, which they thought bore some resemblance to their misfortunes^e. Whence Artemidorus lays it down as a certain fore-runner of death, for any one to dream of a fire's being extinguished during the sickness of any in the same family^f.

2. They divested themselves of all ornaments, and laid aside their jewels, gold, and whatever was rich and precious in their apparel: thus Lycophron describes the women that mourned for Achilles's death^g:

Γυναῖξί δ' ἔσαι τεθμὸς ἐγχώροισι ἀεὶ
Πενθεῖν τὸν εἰνάπηχυν, Αἰακὺ τρίτον,
Καὶ Δωρίδος, πρηνῆρα δαίς μάχης·
Καὶ μ' ἔτε χρυσῶ φαιδρὰ καλλύνειν ῥέθῃ,
Μήθ' ἀεροπῆνυς ἀμφιβάλλεσθαι πέπλους
Κάλχη φορυκῶς.

For this to women shall a custom be,
To mourn Achilles, third from Æacus,
Grandchild to Doris, and of stature tall;
To mourn Achilles, frightful in the war,
Not cloth'd with rich attire of gems and gold,
With glitt'ring silks or purple.——

The custom is frequently mentioned in the poets, but was not peculiar to mourners for the dead; being likewise, with several other ceremonies noted in this chapter, practised by all that lamented for any great calamity. Whence Hecuba had no sooner heard the fortune assigned to herself and Cassandra, but she cried out,

——ρίπτε, τέκνον, ζαθίως
Κληῖδας, κατὰ χροὺς ἐν-
δύτων σεβίων ἱερῶς σολμῶς^h.

Cast from thee, O my daughter, cast away
Thy sacred wand, rend off the honour'd wreaths,
The splendid ornaments that grace thy brows.

POTTER.

^e Gloss. vet. Plutarchus Consolat. ad Uxorem.

^f Lib. ii. cap. 9.

^g Cassandr. v. 859. nostrumque ibi Commentarium consule.

^h Euripid. Troad. v. 256.

Their mourning garments were always black, whence Progne, having notice of Philomela's death, is thus described by Ovid ⁱ:

— *velamina Progne*
Diripit ex humeris auro fulgentia lato,
Induiturque atras vestes.—
 From off her back th' embroider'd robe she tears,
 And Progne now in mournful blacks appears.

Thus likewise Althæa, when her brethren were slain by Meleager ^j:

— *plangore dato mæstis ululatibus urbem*
Implet, et auratas mutavit vestibus atris.
 She fills with piteous plaints the spacious town,
 And 'stead of glitt'ring robes, puts sable on.

To which custom Pericles had respect when he boasted, 'that he had never given cause to any citizen to put on black ^k.' Hence Artemidorus will have it to be a presage of recovery, for a sick person to dream of black clothes, since not those that die, but those who survive to mourn, were apparelled in black ^l. The Egyptians are reported by Servius to have introduced this custom, when they mourned for the death of Liber, otherwise called Osiris, who was treacherously circumvented and murdered by his brother Typho. Farther, mourning garments differed not from their ordinary apparel in colour only, but likewise in value, as being of cheap and coarse stuff; which may be observed from this example of Terence ^m, beside many others:

Texentem telam studiose ipsam offendimus,
Mediocriter vestitam veste lugubri,
Ejus anis causa, opinor, quæ erat mortua.
 We found her busy at the loom, attir'd
 In a cheap mourning habit, which she wore
 For the old woman's death, as I suppose.

3. They tore, cut off, and sometimes shaved their hair; nor was it sufficient to deprive themselves of a small part only, for we find Electra in Euripides finding fault with Helena for sparing her locks, and thereby defrauding the dead ⁿ. This custom is too well known to need any confirmation by examples. They had several ways of disposing of their hair: it was sometimes thrown upon the dead body, as we learn from Patroclus's funeral, where the Grecians, to shew their affection and respect to him, covered his body with their hair ^o:

Οριζι δὲ πάντα νέκυν κατακείνου, ὡς ἐπιβαλλον
 Κτερόμενοι.—

ⁱ Metam. vi. fab. 8.

^j Metam. viii. fab. 4.

^k Plutarchus περί τῆ αὐτὸν ἱπαντεῖν
 ἀνεπιφθόνως.

^l Lib. iii. cap. iii.

^m Heautontimor. act. ii. sc. 3.

ⁿ Orest. 128.

^o Iliad. ψ. v. 155.

They shav'd their heads, and cover'd with their hair
The body.——

Statius hath likewise observed the same practice ^P :

———*tergoque et pectore fusam
Cesariem ferro minuit, sectisque jacentis
Obnubit tenuia ora comis.*———

He cut off all the hair that from the head
Down to the back and breast was comely spread,
And cover'd with it the dead face.———

It was likewise frequent to cast it into the funeral pile, to be consumed with the body of their friend ; as Achilles appears to have done at Patroclus's funeral ^Q :

Στὰς ἀπάνυθι πυρῆς ξανθὴν ἀπικείριτο χαίτην,
τὴν ῥὰ Σπέρχϊϊ ποταμῷ τρέφει τηλιθύωσαν.
Standing hard by the pile, the comely hair,
Which for Sperchius was before preserv'd,
He now cut off, and cast into the flames.

Sometimes it was laid upon the grave, as we find in Æschylus ^r :

Ὅρῳ τομαῖον τάνδε βόσρευχον τάφῳ.
I see this hair upon the grave.

Canace in Ovid bewails her misfortune, because she was debarred from performing this ceremony to her beloved Macareus :

*Non mihi te licuit lacrymis perfundere justis,
In tua non tonsas ferre sepulchra comas.*

Thy unoffending life I could not save,
Nor weeping could I follow to the grave !
Nor on thy tomb could offer my shorn hair.

DRYDEN.

Some restrain this practice to sons, or very near relations ; but it appears by many instances to have been common to all that thought themselves obliged to express their respect or love to the dead ; insomuch that, upon the death of great men, whole cities and countries were commonly shaved.

This practice may be accounted for two ways ; for the scholiast upon Sophocles observes, that it was used partly to render the ghost of the deceased person propitious ; which seems to be the reason why they threw hair into the fire to burn with him, or laid it on his body ; partly that they might appear disfigured, and careless of their beauty ; for long hair was looked on as very becoming, and the Greeks prided themselves in it ; whence they are so frequently honoured by Homer with the epithet of *καρηκομόωσις*.

It may be farther observed, that in solemn and public mournings, it was common to extend this practice to their beasts, that all things might appear as deformed and ugly as might be. Thus

^P Thebaid. vii.

^Q Iliad. ψ'.

^r Χρηφόροις.

Admetus, upon the death of Alcestis, commands his chariot-horses to be shorn ^s :

Τίθριππά τε ζεύγυσθε, ἔ μονάμπυκας
Πῶλεις σιδήρεϊ τίμνετ' αὐχένων φόβην.

My chariot-horses, too, shall share my pain,
Let them be shorn, and lose their comely mane.

Thus likewise the Thessalians cut off their own hair and their horses manes at the death of Pelopidas ^t ; when Masistius was slain in a skirmish with the Athenians, the Persians shaved themselves, their horses, and their mules ^u ; but Alexander, as in the rest of his actions, so herein he went beyond the rest of mankind ; for at the death of Hephæstion, he did not only cut off the manes of his horses and mules, but took down the battlements from the city walls, that even towns might seem mourners ; and instead of their former beauteous appearance, look bald at the funeral ^v.

It may be objected, indeed, to what I have been speaking, that shaving was a sign of joy ; whereas, to let their hair grow long, was the practice of persons in affliction : hence Joseph is said to have been shaved when he was delivered out of prison ; and Mephibosheth, during the time king David was banished from Jerusalem, let his hair grow, but on his return shaved himself. Thus likewise mariners, upon their deliverance from shipwreck, used to shave themselves. To which practice Juvenal hath this allusion ^w :

——gaudent ibi vertice raso

Garrula securi narrare pericula nautæ.

The joyful crew, with shaven crowns relate.

Their timely rescue from the jaws of fate.

GIFFORD.

Whence Artemidorus will have mariners that dream of having their whole head shaved, to be forewarned by the gods, that they are to undergo very great hazards, but to escape with life ^x. Pliny also, in one of his epistles, interprets his dream of cutting off his hair, to be a token of his deliverance from some imminent danger ; and the poets furnish us with several examples to our purpose. Lycophron, for instance, thus describes a general lamentation ^y :

—— πᾶς δὲ λυγαίαν λειῶς
Εσθῆτα προσρόπαιον ἐγχλαινέμενος,
Λύχμῳ πινώδης λυπρὸν ἀμπρεύσει βίον.
Κρατὸν δ' ἄπερος νῶτα καλλυρεῖ φοβῇ
Μνήμην παλαιῶν τημιλῶσ' ἔδυρμάτων.

^s Euripides *Alcestide*, v. 428.

^t Plutarchus *Pelopida*.

^u Idem, *Aristide*.

^v Idem *Pelopida*.

^w Sat. xii. v. 82,

^x Lib. i. cap. 23.

^y Cassandr. v. 975.

In mournful black shall every soul appear,
Each shall with loathsome dirt his face besmear ;
Neglected hair shall now luxuriant grow,
And by its length their bitter passion show ;
They shall incessant of their loss complain,
And all their life be one sad mournful scene ;
Thus they the never-dying names shall save,
Of ancient patriots from the conquer'd grave.

H. M.

Plutarch, undertaking to resolve this difficulty, reports that the men let their hair grow, but the women were shaved ; it being the fashion for men to wear their hair short at other times, and for women to suffer theirs to grow ^z : but, on the contrary, it plainly appears from the instances already produced, and many others, that the men frequently wore long hair, which they cut off upon any great calamity ; nor can it be doubted that the women frequently wore long hair in sorrow, since it is remarked, as a badge of a woman in mourning, that she has her hair dishevelled, and carelessly flowing about : thus Ariadne bespeaks Theseus :

*Aspice demissos lugentis more capillos,
Et tunicas lacrymis sicut ab imbre graves.*

See, like a mourner's, my dishevell'd hair,
Wet, as with rain, with tears my robe appear.

Terence likewise, the scene of whose fable is laid in Greece, has thus described a woman in mourning ^a :

*Terentem telam studiosè ipsam offendimus,
Mediocriter vestitam veste lugubri,
Ejus anús causa, opinor, quæ erat mortua,
Sine auro tum ornatam, ita uti quæ ornantur sibi,
Nulla mala re esse expolitam muliebri,
Capillus passus, prolixus, circum caput
Rejectus negligenter. —*

Busily plying of the web we found her,
Decently clad in mourning—I suppose
For the deceas'd old woman—she had on
No gold or trinkets, but was plain and neat,
And drest like those who dress but for themselves.
No female varnish to set off her beauty ;
Her hair dishevell'd, long and flowing loose
About her shoulders.

COLMAN.

Wherefore two things may be observed for the solution of this difficulty :

First, The manner of being shaved : for though to be shaved, or trimmed by barbers, was a token of cheerfulness, yet those that cut off their own hair, and that in a negligent and careless manner, were looked on as mourners : whence, though Artemidorus reports, that no man under the pressure of misfortunes was ever shaved ^b, yet he adds, in the same chapter, that for a man to dream

^z Romanus Quæst.

^a Heautont. act. ii. sc. 3.

^b Lib. i. cap. 25.

of shaving himself, was a presage of some great calamity; because men in such circumstances were wont to shave themselves.

Secondly, The different fashions of several nations are to be considered: for where it was customary to wear short hair, there the length of hair was a token of mourning; but where long hair was in fashion, their mourners shaved themselves. It is reported by Herodotus^c and others^d, that the Argians having lost Thyrea to the Spartans, made a decree, that their whole city should cut their hair, and never permit it to grow again to its accustomed length, till they recovered that place. The Spartans, on the contrary, using to wear their hair short, put forth a decree, that from that time they should nourish their hair, in reproach to their enemies. Now, in these cities, when the fashion was to wear short hair, then mourners were distinguished by long hair; but long hair coming into fashion, mourners were shaved.

4. It was frequent for persons overwhelmed with grief, and unable to bear up under it, to throw themselves upon the earth, and roll in the dust; and the more dirty the ground was, the better it served to defile them, and to express their sorrow and dejection: thus Oeneus behaves himself upon the death of his son Meleager^e;

*Pulvere canitiem genitor, vultusque seniles
Fœdat humi fusos, spatiosumque increpat ævum.
His hoary head, and furrow'd cheeks besmears
With sordid dust, and chides his tedious years.*

Priam in Homer, represents his lamenting of Hector in the same posture^f:

*Οὐ γὰρ πα μύσαν ἔσσε ὑπὸ βλεφάρουσιν ἑμοῖσιν,
Ἐξ ἧ σῆς ὑπὸ χερσὶν ἑμὸς παῖς ὤλεσε θυμόν·
Ἀλλ' αἰεὶ σενάχω, ἢ κῆδεα μυρία πέσσω,
Ἀύλης ἐν χόρτοισι κυλινδόμενος κατὰ κόπρον.*

Now, godlike hero! to an early couch
Dismiss us both; for never have I closed
These eye-lids, since by thy victorious hand
My son expired; but sorrow have indulged,
Still ruminating on my countless woes,
And rolling in the ashes of my courts.

COWPER.

5. They covered their heads with ashes. Thus Achilles, upon the news of Patroclus's death^g,

*Ἀμφοτέρησι δὲ χερσὶν ἑλὼν κόνιν αἰθαλόεσσαν,
Χύσας το κακκιφαλῆς.*—————

Then taking ashes up with both his hands,
He threw them on his head.—————

These customs were likewise practised in the eastern countries;

^c Lib. i. cap. 82.

^d Plutarch. Lysandro. Alex. ab Alex.
Gen. Dier. lib. v. &c.

^e Ovid. Metamorph. lib. viii. v. 528.

^f Iliad. α. v. 637.

^g Iliad. σ. v. 25.

whence we find so frequent mention of penitents lying upon the ground, and putting on sackcloth and ashes.

6. When any occasion required their attendance abroad, their heads were muffled up, as appears from these verses in the epigram ^h:

—Φᾶρος γὰρ ἐπικριμὶς ἀμφὶ πρόσωπα
Πήματα ἔδεικνυσιν.—

Her face, wrapt in a veil, declar'd her woes.

Whence Orestes, persuading Electra to leave off mourning, bids her be unveiled:

—ἀνακαλυπτ', ὦ κασίγνητον κἄρα,
'Εκ δακρύων τ' ἄπιλθ'.—

Pull off your veil, dear sister, and forbear
This grief.—

Nor was this the fashion of women only; for Adrastus came to Theseus after his loss at Thebes, κατήξης γλανιδίοις, wherefore Theseus speaks thus to him ⁱ:

Λιγ', ἐκάλυψαι κεῖτα, πάρες γόν.

Speak out, unfold your head, refrain from tears.

Thus likewise Haman, upon the defeat of his plot against Mordecai, is said to have 'hasted to his house mourning, and having his head covered'; and the Jews are represented by Jeremy as being 'ashamed and confounded, and covering their heads,' in the time of a grievous famine ^k.

7. Another token of dejection was, to decline their heads upon their hands. Whence Helen speaks thus of the calamitous Trojans:

'Επὶ δὲ κρατὶ χεῖρας ἔθηκαν.

They with their hands support their drooping head.

8. They went softly, to express their faintness, and loss of strength and spirits. Thus Ahab king of Israel, being terrified by the judgment Elias denounced against him, 'fasted, and lay in sackcloth, and went softly ^m.' And Hezekiah, king of Judah, being told by the prophet, that he was never to recover of a distemper he then lay under, amongst other expressions of sorrow hath this, 'I shall go softly all my years, in the bitterness of my soul ⁿ.'

9. They beat their breasts and thighs, and tore their flesh, making furrows in their faces with their nails; which actions, though

^h Antholog. lib. v. cap. 53.

ⁱ Euripid. Supplic. 110.

^j Esther, cap. vi. 12.

^k Cap. xiv. 3. 4.

^l Euripid. Helen. 577.

^m 1 Reg. xxi. 27.

ⁿ Isaiah, cap. xxxviii. 15.

practised sometimes by men, were more frequent among women, whose passions are more violent and ungovernable: thus Nonnus represents them ^o:

———φίλοφρόνων δὲ γυναικῶν
 Στυγνὰς ἐρεβιδίωσαν ὄνυχ' ἄμυσσ' ἀπαρηγῶν
 Καὶ ῥοδείας ἐκέρυσσαν ἐκέσια δάκτυλα μαζοῖς.
 Women with nails their breasts and faces tear,
 And thus their boundless headstrong grief declare.

In the same manner, Anna bewails her sister Dido's unexpected death ^p:

*Audiit exanimis, trepidoque exterrita cursu,
 Unguibus ora soror fœdans et pectora palmis.*
 Her sister hearing, speeds with frightful haste,
 Tears her soft cheeks, and beats her panting breast.

Many instances of this nature occur in both languages, the custom being generally practised both in Greece and at Rome. Solon thought fit, amongst other extravagancies at funerals, to forbid this ^q. The Lacedæmonians bore the death of their private relations with great constancy and moderation; but, when their king died, had a barbarous custom of meeting in vast numbers, where men, women, and slaves, all mixed together, tore the flesh from their foreheads with pins and needles. The design of this was not only to testify their sorrow, but also to gratify the ghosts of the dead, who were thought to feed upon, and delight in nothing so much as blood, as Servius has proved from Varro ^r.

10. They accused and cursed their gods. Hence Statius ^s:

———*injustos rabidis pulsare querelis,
 Cœlicolas solamen erit.*———
 T' inveigh against the gods with justest rage,
 And call them envious, may our grief assuage.

Nor was this the effect of extravagant passion, or practised only by persons of weaker understandings, in the extremity of their sorrow, but frequently done by men of all qualities, and that in the most grave and solemn manner that could be, as appears from the same poet ^t:

———*primævique senes, et longo examine matres
 Invidiam planxere deis,*———
 The aged sires and dames, in num'rous crowds
 Bewail, and curse the envy of the gods.

For the gods being thought subject to human passions, it was very easy and natural for men under misfortunes to impeach them of cruelty or envy. Thus, when Hylas, Hercules's darling, perish-

^o Dionys. lib. ix. 18.

^p Virgil. *Æn.* iv. v. 672.

^q Plut. Solone. Cicero de Legibus.

^r *Æn.* lib. iii. Conf. idem in *Æn.*

lib. xii.

^s Sylv. lib. v.

^t Theb. iii.

ed in the waters, the deities residing there were said to have been enamoured of him, and to have stolen him : and when any great and public blessing was taken away, the immortal beings were said to envy mankind so great felicity. Many instances might be produced to this purpose, whereof I will only set down that remarkable one of Marcellus in Virgil ^u :

*Ostendent terris hunc tantum fata, neque ultra
Esse sinent : nimum vobis Romana propago
Visa potens, superi, propria hæc si dona fuissent.*

This youth, the blissful vision of a day,
Shall just be shewn on earth, and snatch'd away :
The gods too high had rais'd the Roman state,
Were but their gifts as permanent as great.

DRYDEN.

Sometimes their impious rage against the gods proceeded to their pulling down their altars, and sacking their temples ; an example whereof we have in Neoptolemus, who being informed that Apollo was accessory to his father's death, took up a resolution to demolish the Delphic temple, and perished in the attempt ^v.

11. Another custom they had, of drawing out their words, and with tears repeating the interjection $\epsilon\iota$, $\epsilon\iota$, $\epsilon\iota$, ξ . Hence (if we may credit the scholiast ^w upon Aristophanes) funeral lamentations were called $\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\gamma\omicron\iota$, *elegies*.

12. When public magistrates or persons of note died, or any public calamity happened, all public meetings were intermitted ; the schools of exercise, baths, shops, temples, and all places of concourse, were shut up, and the whole city put on a face of sorrow : thus we find the Athenians bewailing their loss of Socrates, not long after they had sentenced him to death ^x.

13. They had mourners and musicians to increase the solemnity, which custom seems to have been practised in most parts of the world. The Roman *præfica* are remarkable enough, and the eastern countries observed the same practice ; whence we find mention of ' mourners going about the streets,' and ' mourning women,' in several parts of the sacred scripture. Jeremiah having foretold the calamity of the Jews, advises to ' consider, and call for the mourning women, that they may make haste, and take up a wailing for us, that our eyes may run down with tears, and our eye-lids gush out with waters ^y.' These Homer calls $\theta\epsilon\lambda\omega\omega\upsilon\omicron\iota$ $\epsilon\zeta\acute{\alpha}\lambda\epsilon\chi\epsilon\varsigma$, because they endeavoured to excite sorrow in all the company, by beating their breasts, and counterfeiting all the

^u Æn. vi. 869.
^w Andromach.

^v Euripid. Andromach.
^w Avibus.

^x Diogenes Laërtius Socrate.
^y Cap. ix. 17.

actions of the most real and passionate grief. They are likewise termed ᾠοῖδοι, προσαδοί, &c. from the songs they sung at funerals; of these there seem to have been three, one in the procession, another at the funeral pile, a third at the grave: these were commonly termed ὀλοφυγεῖς, λῖνοι, αἰλῖνοι, though the two last seem not peculiar to funeral songs, but applicable to others. We find them sometimes called ἰάλεμοι, from Ialemus, one of Clio's sons, and the first author of these compositions; for the same reason, songs at marriages were termed ὑμέναιοι, from his brother Hymenæus. Funeral dirges were also called τάλεμοι, whence τηλεμίζειν is expounded in Hesychius by θρηνέειν, *to mourn*; and τηλεμίτριάι is another name for mourning women. Hence τὰ ταλεμῶδη signify *empty and worthless things*, and ταλέμα ψυχρότερος is proverbially applied to insipid and senseless compositions^z; for the songs used on these occasions were usually very mean and trifling; whence that saying of Plautus^a:

Hæ nœn sunt nugæ, non enim mortuaria.

These are no trifles, since they're not compos'd
For the hideous chanting of a funeral.

What the design of their musical instruments was, is not agreed; some will have them intended to affright the ghosts and furies from the soul of the deceased person; others, agreeably to Plato and Pythagoras's notions, would have them to signify the soul's departure into heaven, where they fancied the motion of the spheres made a divine and eternal harmony: others say, they were designed to divert the sorrow of the dead man's surviving relations. Lastly, the most probable opinion seems to be, that they were intended to excite sorrow, which was the reason that the *lyra* was never used at such solemnities, as being consecrated to Apollo, and fit only for pæans and cheerful songs. Admetus, indeed, commands the flute likewise to be banished out of his city upon the death of Alcestis^b:

Αὐλῶν δὲ μὴ κατ' ἄστυ, μὴ λύρας κτύπος
"Εἶπω, σιλήνας δῶδεκ' ἐκπληρωμένας,
Οὐ γὰρ τιν' ἄλλον φίλτερον θάψω νεκρὸν
Τῷδ'.

Let not the pleasing flute, nor sprightly lyre,
Till Phæbe twelve times has repair'd her horns,
Be in the mournful city heard, for I
A corse more dear than this shall ne'er inter.

Η. Η.

But hence we are only to collect, that the ancients had different sorts of flutes, some of which were proper in times of mirth, others

^z Suidas Zenodotus.

^a Asinaria.

^b Euripid. Alcest. v. 430.

in times of mourning; for it appears by many examples, that some of their αὐλὸι, or *tibiae*, were of all other instruments the most common at funerals. Hence Statius, in his description of young Archemorus's funeral ^c:

*Tum signum luctus cornu grave mugit adunco
Tibia, cui teneros suctum traducere manes
Iege Phrygum mæstâ: Pelopem monstrasse ferebant
Exequiale sacrum, carmenque minoribus umbris
Utile.*————

In doleful notes the Phrygian flute complains,
And moves our pity with its mournful strains;
The Phrygian flute of old us'd to convey
The infant souls on their unerring way;
This custom Pelops, as is said, first brought,
And first the use of fun'ral dirges taught;
Dirges, whose powerful sounds were thought to speed,
And smooth the passage of the early dead.

H. H.

Some indeed will have the Lydian flutes more suitable to funerals; the Phrygian, of which Statius speaks, to agree better with mirth and cheerfulness, and to be used only at funerals of infants or youths, which were ordinarily solemnized in a manner quite different from those of grown persons, which they think confirmed by Statius's words: but as these may bear a quite different sense, not the instrument, but the song, whereof he there speaks, being proper for the funerals of persons under age; so it appears farther, that the most common flutes used at these solemnities were of the Phrygian fashion; though perhaps neither the Lydian, nor some others might be wholly excluded: hence *nænia*, which is the Latin word for funeral dirges, seems to have been derived from the Greek νηνιάτον, which is used by Hipponax; and (however Scaliger deduces it from the Hebrew) affirmed by Pollux to be of Phrygian original; νηνηγίζεσθαι is of the same descent, and expounded by Σηληνίην. The Carian flute was likewise used on these occasions, whence the musicians and mourners were termed Καρίναι^d, and Καρικὴ μῦσα is a funeral song: now this was the very same with that used by the Phrygians, from whom Pollux tells us, it was first conveyed into Caria^e. I shall only mention two more; the first is the Mysian flute, an instrument likewise fit for sorrow: hence Æschylus^f:

Καὶ τίγ' ἀράσσει, καπτιοῦ τὸ Μύσιον.

He beats his breast, and sounds the Mysian flute.

The last is the Lydian flute, which, as Plutarch reports out of

^c Theb. lib. vi. v. 120.

^d Hesychius.

^e Lib. iii.

^f Persis, ejusque Scholiastes, ibid.

Aristoxenus, was first applied to this use by Olympus at Python's death §.

CHAP. VI.

Of their manner of Interring and Burning the Dead.

IT would be needless to prove that both interring and burning were practised by the Grecians ; yet which of these customs has the best claim to antiquity, may perhaps admit of a dispute. But it seems probable, that, however the latter Grecians were better affected to the way of burning, yet the custom of the most primitive ages was to inter their dead. It is plain the Athenians, however afterwards addicted to burning, used interment in Cecrops's reign, if any credit may be allowed to Cicero ^h ; and the scholiast upon Homer ⁱ positively affirms, that interring was more ancient than burning, which he reports to have been first introduced by Hercules. However, it appears that the custom of burning was received in the Trojan war, and both then and afterwards generally practised by the Grecians : insomuch that when Lucian enumerates the various methods used by different nations in disposing of their dead, he expressly assigns burning to Greece, and interment to the Persians ^j. But this is not so to be understood, as if the Grecians in the ages he speaks of never interred their dead, or thought it unlawful so to do ; but only that the other custom was more generally received by them. Socrates, in Plato's Phædon, speaks expressly of both customs ; and it appears that some of them looked on the custom of burning as cruel and inhuman ; whence a poet cited by Eustathius ^k, introduces a person exclaiming against it, and calling out upon Prometheus to haste to his assistance, and steal, if possible, from mortals, the fire he had given them. The philosophers were divided in their opinions about it ; those who thought human bodies were compounded of water, earth, or the four elements, inclined to have them committed to the earth. But Heraclitus, with his followers, imagining fire to be the first principle of all things, affected burning : for every one thought it the most reasonable method, and most agreeable to

§ De Musica.

h De Legib. lib. i.

i Iliad. 2.

j De Luctu.

k Iliad. 2. p. 32.

nature, so to dispose of bodies, as they might soonest be reduced to their first principles.

Eustathius¹ assigns two reasons why burning came to be of so general use in Greece: the first is, because bodies were thought to be unclean after the soul's departure, and therefore were purified by fire; whence Euripides speaks of Clytemnestra:

——— *πυρὶ καθήγνισαι δίμας.*

The body's purify'd by fire.—

The second reason is, that the soul, being separated from the gross and unactive matter, might be at liberty to take its flight to the heavenly mansions^m. Wherefore the Indian philosophers, out of impatience to expect the time appointed by nature, used to consume themselves in a pile erected for that purpose, and so loose their souls from their confinements. A remarkable example hereof we have in Calanus, who followed Alexander out of India, and finding himself indisposed, obtained that king's leave to prevent the growth of his distemper, by committing himself to the flamesⁿ. Hercules was purified from the dregs of earth by the same means, before his reception into heaven. And it seems to have been the common opinion, that fire was an admirable expedient to refine the celestial part of man, by separating from it all gross and corruptible matter, with the impure qualities which attend it. Thus Scylla, being slain by Hercules, was raised from the dead, and rendered immortal by her father Phorcys^o:

——— *ἦν αὖθις πατὴρ*

Σάρακας καταΐθων λοφίσσιν δομήσατο,

Λέπτυνιν ἔτρεψεν ἑταίραν Διάν.

———into whose stiffen'd limbs

Phorcys by quick'ning flames new life inspir'd,

And rais'd her high above the fears of death.

The piles whereon they burnt dead bodies were called *πυραί*. They seem not to have been erected in any constant form, or to have consisted of the same materials; these being varied as time and place, and other circumstances required.

The body was placed upon the top of the pile, but was rarely burned without company; for besides the various animals they threw upon the pile, we seldom find a man of quality consumed without a number of slaves or captives: besides these, all sorts of precious ointments and perfumes were poured into the flames. Many instances of this nature might be produced out of the an-

¹ Loco citato.

^m Quin tilianus Declam. x.

ⁿ Q. Curtius.

^o Lycophron. Cassandr. v. 44.

cient poets: but I shall only set down the following one out of Homer's description of Patroclus's funeral ^p:

Ποίησαν δὲ πυρὴν ἐκατόμπαδον ἔνθα ἔ'εθα,
 Ἐν δὲ πυρῇ ὑπάτη νεκρὸν θίσαν, ἀχνύμενοι κῆρ.
 Πολλὰ δὲ ἴφια μῆλα, ἔ' εἰλίπαδας ἑλικας βύες
 Πρέσθε πυρῆς ἔδερόν τε, ἔ' ἀμφοῖπον· ἐκ δ' ἄρα πάντων
 Δητὸν ἑλὼν ἐκάλυψε νέκυν μεγάρυμος Ἀχιλλεύς
 Ἐς πόδας ἐκ κεφαλῆς· περὶ δὲ δρατὰ σώματα νῆει.
 Ἐν δὲ τίθει μίλιτος ἔ' ἀλείφατος ἀμφιφοῖτας,
 Πρὸς λείχεα κλίνων· πίσυρας δ' ἰοιάχυνας ἵππους
 Εἰσσυμένους ἐνέβαλλε πυρῇ, μεγάλα σοναχίζων.
 Ἐνεία τῶγ' ἄνακτι τραπέζῃς κύνες ἦσαν,
 Καὶ μὲν τῶν ἐνέβαλλε πυρῇ δύο δειροτομήσας·
 Δώδεκα δὲ Τρώων μεγαθύμων υἱέας ἰσθλὺς
 Χαλκῶ δ' ἠϊόων.

Now those deputed to inter the slain,
 Heap with a rising pyramid the plain:
 A hundred foot in length, a hundred wide
 The growing structure spreads on every side;
 High on the top the manly corpse they lay,
 And well-fed sheep, and sable oxen slay:
 Achilles cover'd with their fat the dead
 And the pil'd victims round the body spread;
 Then jars of honey, and of fragrant oil,
 Suspends around, low-bending o'er the pile.
 Four sprightly coursers, with a deadly groan,
 Pour forth their lives, and on the pyre are thrown.
 Of nine large dogs, domestic at his board,
 Fall two, selected to attend their lord.
 Then last of all, and horrible to tell,
 Sad sacrifice! twelve Trojan captives fell.

POPE.

The reason why the body was covered with the fat of beasts was, that it might consume the sooner ^q; for it was looked on as a singular blessing to be quickly reduced to ashes; wherefore, in funerals where numbers of bodies were burnt on the same pile, they were so disposed, that those of moist constitutions, and easy to be inflamed, being proportioned to bodies of contrary tempers, should increase the vehemence of the fire: whence Plutarch ^r and Macrobius ^s have observed, that for ten men it was the custom to put in one woman.

Soldiers usually had their arms burnt with them; wherefore Elpenor in Homer begs this favour of Ulysses ^t:

Ἀλλὰ μὲν κἀκκῆσαι σὺν τεύχεσσι ἄσσω μοι ἔστιν.

Let all the arms I have, be with me burnt.

It seems likewise to have been the custom for the garments they had worn in the time of their lives, to be thrown into the pile. Some were so solicitous about this, that they gave orders in their

^p Iliad. ψ'. v. 164.

^q Eustathius.

^r Sympos. lib. iii. quæst. 4.

^s Saturn. lib. vii. cap. 7.

^t Odys. λ'. v. 74.

last wills to have it done : and the Athenians were, as in all other observances which related any way to religion, so in this, the most profuse of all the Grecians ; insomuch that some of their lawgivers were forced to restrain them, by severe penalties, from defrauding the living by their liberality to the dead. Lycurgus allowed nothing to be buried with bodies beside one red garment, or, at the most, a few branches of olive ^u ; nor these neither, except the person had been eminent for virtue and fortitude. Solon allowed three garments and one ox ^v. At Chæronea, those that were convicted of extravagance at funerals were punished as soft and effeminate by the censors of women ^w.

The pile was lighted by some of the dead person's nearest relations or friends, who made prayers and vows to the winds to assist the flames, that the body might be quickly reduced to ashes. Thus Achilles, having fired Patroclus's pile, intercedes with Boreas and Zephyrus to fly to his assistance with their joint forces ^x.

Οὐδὲ πῦρ ἢ Πατρόκλην ἱκαίετο σθηνιάτος,
 Ενθ' αὖτ' ἄλλ' ἰνόνει ποδάρεκς διὸς Ἀχιλλεύς,
 Στᾶς ἀπάνευθε πυρῆς, δοιοῖς ἡρᾶτ' ἀνέμοισι
 Βορέη δ' Ζεφύρω, δ' ὑπέσχετο ἱερὰ καλὰ,
 Πολλὰ δὲ δ' σπένδων χρυσίῳ διαπᾶι λιτάνειεν
 Εὐθέμιν, ὅφρα τάχιστα πυρὶ φλεγέθιοιτο νεκρὸν,
 Ἐλθ' ἢ τ' ἰσχύοιτο καήμεναι.—————

When he perceiv'd the flames t' abate their force,
 Unable to consume th' unhappy corpse,
 Some distance from the pile the hero stands,
 The golden chalice fills his royal hands,
 And there to Boreas and to Zeph'rus pray'd,
 And with each deity solemn covenants made,
 That grateful victims should their altars stain,
 And choicest offerings load the joyful fane,
 If with their kinder blasts they'd fan the fire,
 And with new force the languid flames inspire,
 That they to earth the corpse might soon reduce.

H. H.

At the funerals of generals and great officers, the soldiers, with the rest of the company, made a solemn procession three times round the pile, to express their respect to the dead. Thus Homer's Grecians ^y :

Οἱ δὲ πρὶς περὶ νεκρὸν ὑπεριχθὺς ἤλασαν ἵππους
 Μυρόμενοι.—————

They drive their horses thrice about the dead
 Lamenting.—————

This action was called in Greek περιδρομή, in Latin *decursio* ; we find frequent mention of it in the poets. Statius has elegantly described it in his poem on the Theban war ^z :

^u Plutarchus Lycurgo.

^v Idem. Solone.

^w Idem. ibidem.

^x Iliad. ψ'. v. 192.

^y Iliad. ψ'.

^z Lib. vi. v. 215.

*Tunc septem numero turbas (centenus ubique
Surgit eques,) versis ducunt insignibus ipsi
Grajugenæ reges, lustrantque ex more sinistro
Orbe rogam, et stantes inclinant pulvere flammæ :
Ter curvos egere sinus, illisæque telis
Tela sonant ; quater horrendum pepulere fragorem
Arma, quater mollem famularum brachia planctum.*

The Grecian princes then in order led
Seven equal troops to purify the dead ;
Around the pile an hundred horsemen ride
With arms revers'd, and compass every side :
They fac'd the left (for so the rites require,)
Bent with the dust, the flames no more aspire
Thrice, thus dispos'd, they wheel'd in circles round
The hallow'd corse ; their clashing weapons sound.
Four times their arms a crash tremendous yield,
And female shrieks re-echo thro' the field.

LEWIS.

Where it may be observed, that in this *decursion* the motion was towards the left hand, by which they expressed sorrow ; as, on the contrary, motion to the right was a sign of joy. Thus the same author^a :

———*hic luctus abolere, novique
Funeris auspiciûm vates, quanquam omina sentit
Vera, jubet, dextro gyro, et vibrantibus hastis
Huc redeant.*———

The priest, though by the boding signs he knew
Some dire calamity would sure ensue,
Bids them their anxious thoughts a while forbear,
Their pompous grief, and bitter passion spare,
And moving tow'ards the right with brandish'd arms,
Back to return.

H. H.

These motions were accompanied with shouts and sound of trumpets, as we learn from Valerius Flaccus^b :

*Inde ter armatos Minyis referentibus orbes
Concussi tremuere rogi, ter inhorruit æther
Luctificum clangente tuba, jecere supremo
Tum clamore faces.*———

Three marches round the pile the Minyæ make,
Their weighty strides the well-pil'd structure shake ;
Thrice doleful sounds from hollow tubes are sent,
The clangour wounds the troubled firmament ;
With torches next, accompanied with shouts,
They light the pile.

H. H.

Which last words seem to intimate the *decursion's* being made before the pile was lighted, whereas it appears from other authors to have been made whilst the pile was burning. Thus Virgil tells us in express words^c :

*Ter circum accensos cincti fulgentibus armis
Decurrere rogos, ter maestum funeris ignem
Lustravere in equis, ululatusque ore dedere.*

^a Thebaid. lib. vi. v. 221.^b Argon. lib. iii.^c Æneid. xi. v. 187.

Then thrice around the kindled piles they go,
For ancient custom had ordain'd it so.
Thrice horse and foot about the fires are led,
And thrice with loud laments they hail the dead.

DRYDEN.

During the time the pile was burning, the dead person's friends stood by it, pouring forth libations of wine, and calling upon the deceased. Thus Achilles attended all night at Patroclus's funeral^d:

————— Καὶ πάννυχος ὥκυν Ἀχιλλεύς
Χρυσίῃ ἐκ κρητῆρος, ἔχων δέπας ἀμφικύπελλον,
Οἶνον ἀφυσσάμενος χάμαδι χεῖ, δέυε δὲ γαῖαν,
Ψυχὴν κικλήσκων Πατροκλῆος δειλοῖο.

All night, divine Achilles does attend
At the sad fun'ral of his much-lov'd friend :
A golden cup he bore, that wine contain'd,
Which pouring out, the glutted pavement stain'd ;
His pious off'ring thus the hero paid,
Calling upon the manes of the dead.

H. H.

When the pile was burnt down, and the flames had ceased, they extinguished the remains of the fire with wine ; which being done, they collected the bones and ashes. Thus Homer relates of the Trojans at Hector's funeral^e:

Πρῶτον μὲν κατὰ πυρκαϊῇν σέσαν ἄθοπι οἶνω
Πᾶσαν, ὅποσον ἔπισχε πύρος μίνος· αὐτὰρ ἔπειτα
Οἷα λευκὰ λίγοντο κασίγνητοι, ἑταροί τε.

About the pile the thronging people came,
And with black wine quench'd the remaining flame ;
His brothers then, and friends, search'd ev'rywhere,
And gather'd up his snowy bones with care.

CONGREVE.

From which words it appears, that this office was performed by near relations : to which practice Tibullus likewise alludes :

————— Non hic mihi mater,
Quæ legat in mæstos ossa perusta sinus.
Nor was my dear indulgent mother by,
Who to her breast my mould'ring bones would lay.

The bones were sometimes washed with wine, and (which commonly followed washing) anointed with oil. Agamemnon is introduced by Homer, informing Achilles how this ceremony has been performed to him^f:

Αὐτὰρ ἔπει δὴ σε φλόξ ἤνυσεν Ἥφαιστος
Ἡῶθεν δὴ τοι λέγομεν λευκ' ὅσ' ἔ, Ἀχιλλεῦ,
Οἶνω ἐν ἀκρότῳ ἔ ἀλείφωτι. —————

But when the flame your body had consum'd,
With oils and odours we your bones perfum'd,
And wash'd with unmixt wine. —————

Patroclus's remains were inclosed in fat^g:

^d Iliad. ψ'. v. 218. ^e Iliad. ω. v. 791. ^f Odyss. ω. v. 71. ^g Iliad. ψ'. v. 252.

Κλαίοντες δ' ἐτάροιο ἐνὶ ἥϊος ὀσεία λευκά

"Ἀλλεγον ἐς χρυσέην φιάλην ἔδιπλακα δημόν.

Then weeping, in a golden urn, with lard

Twice lined, they placed their gentle comrade's bones.

It may here be demanded, how the relics of the body were distinguished from those of the beasts and men burnt with it? In answer to this inquiry (omitting those groundless stories of the stone *amiadto*s, and Indian hemp, which could not be consumed by fire), I shall produce two instances, whereby it appears the method they took to effect this, was by placing the body in the middle of the pile, whereas the men and beasts burnt with it lay on the sides. Thus Achilles tells the Grecians, it would be easy to discover the remains of Patroclus^h:

Πρῶτον μὲν κατὰ πυρκαϊῇν σβέσαι^τ αἰθοπι οἶνω
Πᾶσαν, ὅποσον ἔπασχε πύρρος μῖνος^τ αὐτὰρ ἔπειτα
Ὀσεία Πατρόκλοιο Μεινοτιάδῃσιν λέγωμεν,
Εὐ διαγιγνώσκοντες, ἀριφραδέα δὲ τίτυκται,
Ἐν μίση γὰρ ἔκειτο πυρῇ, τοὶ δ' ἄλλοι ἀνευθεν
Ἐσχατῇ καίοντ' ἐπιμῖξ' ἵπποι τε ἔ' ἄνδρες.

Ye kings and princes of th' Achaïan name,
First let us quench the yet remaining flame
With sable wine; then, (as the rites direct)
The hero's bones with careful view select;
Apart, and easy to be known they lie
Amidst the heap, and obvious to the eye
The rest around the margin may be seen
Promiscuous, steeds and immolated men.

FORE.

Achilles's bones are said to have been distinguished the same wayⁱ:

Δὴ τότε πυρκαϊῇν οἶνω σβέσαν, ὀσεία δ' αὐτῇ
Φαίνειτ' ἀριφραδέως, ἔπει εἰς ἱτίροισιν ὅμοια
Ἦν, ἀλλ' οἷα γίγαντος ἀπειρίος^τ ὡδὲ μὲν ἄλλα
Σὺν κείνοισι ἐμίμικτο, ἔπει βόες, ἠδὲ ἔ' ἵπποι,
Καὶ παῖδες Τρώων μίγδα κταμένοισι ἔ' ἄλλοις
Βαῖον ἄπωθε κέοντο περὶ νέκυν^τ ὅς δ' ἐνὶ μίσησιν
Ῥιπῇ ὑφ' Ἠφαιίσιο δειδμημένος οἷος ἔκειτο

When the remaining flames they'd quench'd with wine,
Which were the hero's bones was plainly seen;
Nor like the rest which fell his sacrifice,
But of a larger and gigantic size;
Nor could his bones be with the vulgar mix'd,
Since his rich corpse remote from them was fix'd;
The captive Trojans, beasts, and horses slain,
Upon the out-works of the pile had lain,
There burnt some distance from the nobler dead,
Who on the middle of the pile was laid.

H. H.

The bones thus discovered, they seem to have gathered the ashes which lay close to them; nor does it appear there was any other way to distinguish the remains of the men from common ashes.

^h Loc. cit.

ⁱ Quintus Smyrnaeus, lib. iii. v. 720,

The bones and ashes thus collected, were repositd in urns call- ed *κάλπαι φίκλαι, κρόσσοι, λάρνακες, ὀσθῆκαι, ὀσδοχεῖα, σοροί, &c.* The matter they consisted of was different, either wood, stone, earth, silver, or gold; according to the quality of the deceased. When persons of eminent virtue died, their urns were srequently adorned with flowers and garlands; but the general custom seems to have been to cover them with cloths till they were deposited in the earth, that the light might not approach them. This is particu- larly remarked in Homer's funeral, as when he speaks of Hector's bones^j:

Καὶ τὰ γι χρυσέην εἰς λάρνακα θῆκαν ἰλόντες,
Πορφύρεοις πέπλοις καλύψαντες μελαποῖσιν.

—an urn of gold was brought,
Wrapp'd in soft purple palls, and richly wrought;
In this the sacred ashes were interr'd.

The same ceremony was performed towards Patroclus's urn in the preceding *Iliad*:

Ἐν κλισίῃσι δὲ θίντες ἱανῶ λιτὲ κάλυψαν.

Within the tent his costly urn was laid,
And over it a linen cloth was laid.

Concerning their interment, it may be observed, that their bodies lay in their coffins with the faces upwards, it being thought more proper, and perhaps more conducive to the welfare of the deceas- ed, to have their faces towards heaven, the abode of the celestial gods, and fountain of light, than the dark mansions of the infernal deities: whence Diogenes the cynic being asked in what posture he would be interred, answered *εἰς πρόσωπον* with my face down- wards; the reason of which being demanded of him, he replied, that in a short time the world would be turned upside down^k; which answer seems designed to ridicule the Grecian superstition in this point.

It may be observed farther, that the heads of the deceased per- sons were so placed in the grave, that they might look towards the rising sun^l. Plutarch informs us, indeed, that the Megarensi- ans placed their dead towards the east; and tho Athenians, whose custom seems herein to be the same with the rest of the Greeks, towards the west^m; and Ælian, as far as concerns the Athenians, agrees with himⁿ: but it must be considered, that to situate the face so as it should look towards the rising sun, it was necessary the head should lie towards the west; whence also the head or

^j *Iliad.* ω. fine.

^k Laërtius Diogene.

^l Thucydides Scholiastes.

^m Solone.

ⁿ Var. Hist. lib. vii. cap. 19.

uppermost part of the sepulchre, being to face the rising sun, was likewise placed at the west end.

Before I conclude this chapter, it will not be improper to add, that the Megarensians commonly put two, three, or four carcases into the same sepulchre; but at Athens one sepulchre, much less one coffin or urn, seldom contained above one carcase^o; which seems to have been commonly observed by the rest of the Greeks; only those that were joined by near relation or affection, were usually buried together, it being thought inhuman to part those in death, whom no accidents of life could separate. Many examples of this nature occur in ancient writers; hence Agathias's epigram concerning two brothers, twins:

Εἰς δὴ ἀδελφὲς ὧδ' ἐπέχει τάφος, ἐν γὰρ ἐπέσχον
Ἡμαρ ἔ γενεῆς οἱ δύο ἔ θανάτου.

Two brothers lie interr'd within this urn,
Both died together, as together born.

Lovers thought this no small accession to their happiness: Thisbe's last request was, that she might be interred with Pyramus^p:

*Hoc tamen amborum verbis estote rogati,
O multum miseri meus illiusque parentes;
Ut, quos certus amor, quos hora novissima junxit,
Componi tumulo non invidetis eodem.*

At length, our thrice unhappy parents, hear,
And grant us this our last most earnest pray'r;
That we, whom love and death together join'd,
As both one fate, one common tomb may find.

II. II.

Admetus in Euripides declares his resolution to lie in the same coffin with his wife Alcestis^q:

Ἐν ταῖσιν αὐταῖς γὰρ μ' ἐπισκήψω κείροισ'
Σοί τε θῆναι πλευράς.

Close by thy side I'll in thy urn be laid.

Patroclus appearing after death to Achilles, begs of him that he would reposit his bones in the same urn he designed for his own^r: And when Achilles was dead, we find the Grecians put the ashes of his friend Antilochus into the same urn with his; but those of Patroclus were not only repositied in the same vessel, but mingled together: thus the ghost of Agamemnon tells him at their meeting in the shades below^s:

Ἐν τῷ τοι κῆται λευκ' ὀσία, φαίδιμ' Ἀχιλλεῦ,
Μίγδα δὲ Πάτροκλοιο Μενoitιάδαο θανόντος·
Χωρὶς δ' Ἀντιλόχοιο, τὸν ἔζοχα τῆς ἀπάντων
Τῶν ἄλλων ἐτάρον μετὰ Πατρόκλόν γε θανόντα.

Within this urn your sad remains are laid,
Mixt with the bones of your Patroclus dead:

• Plutarchus Solone.

P Ovid, Metam. iv. v. 154.

q Alcestid, v. 365.

r Iliad. ψ'.

s Odyss. ω. v. 76.

In the same urn Antilochus doth lie,
His bones not mix'd with yours, but plac'd hard by ;
For much you did that worthy chief esteem,
Only Patroclus was preferr'd to him.

H. H.

Halcyone's love carried her still farther ; for her husband Ceyx having perished in a tempest at sea, she comforts herself in this, that though his body could not be found, yet their names should be inscribed upon the same monument, and, as it were, embrace each other^t :

— *Crudeliôr ipso*
Sit mihi mens pelago, si vitam duocre nitar
Longius, et tanto pugnem supercsse dolori.
Sed neque pugnabo, nec te, miserande, relinquam ;
En tibi nunc saltem veniam comes, inque sepulchro,
Si non urna, tamen junget nos lîtera, si non
Ossibus ossa meis, at nomen nomine tangam.

But I more cruel than the sea shou'd be,
Cou'd I have thoughts to live depriv'd of thee;
Cou'd I but dare to struggle with my pain,
And fondly hope behind thee to remain ;
Ah ! no, dear Ceyx, I'll not leave thee so,
I'll not contend with my too pressing woe,
Where'er you lead, Halcyone will go :
And now at length, my dearest lord, I come,
And though we are deny'd one common tomb,
Though in one urn our ashes be not laid,
On the same marble shall our names be read :
In am'rous folds the circ'ling words shall join,
And shew how much I lov'd, how you was only mine.

H. H.

CHAP. VII.

Of their Sepulchres, Monuments, Cenotaphia. &c.

THE primitive Grecians were buried in places prepared for that purpose in their own houses^u. The Thebans had once a law, that no person should build an house without providing a repository for his dead. It seems to have been very frequent, even in later ages, to bury within their cities ; the most public and frequented places whereof seem to have been best stored with monuments : but this was a favour not ordinarily granted, except to men of great worth, and public benefactors ; to such as had raised themselves above the common level, and were examples of virtue to succeeding ages, or had deserved, by some eminent service, to

^t Ovidii Met. lib. xi. v. 701.

^u Plato Minoe.

have their memories honoured by posterity. The Magnesians raised a sepulchre for Themistocles in the midst of their forum ^v; Euphron had the same honour at Corinth ^w; and it appears to have been common for colonies to have buried their leaders, under whose conduct they possessed themselves of new habitations, in the midst of their cities ^x.

Temples were sometimes made repositories for the dead, whereof the primitive ages afford us many instances; insomuch that some have been of opinion, that the honours paid to the dead were the first cause of erecting temples ^y. Nor were later times wholly void of such examples, for the Platæans are said to have buried Euclides in the temple of Diana Euclea, for his pious labour in going a thousand stadia in one day to fetch some of the hallowed fire from Delphi ^z: from which, with many other instances, it appears that this was looked on as a very great favour, and granted as a reward to public services. Sometimes it was desired for protection, as we learn from Medea's case, who interred her two sons in Juno Acræa's temple, to secure them from the malice of her enemies ^a, as hath been already observed.

But the general custom, in later ages especially, was to bury their dead without their cities, and chiefly by the highways: which seems to be done, either to preserve themselves from the noisome smells wherewith graves might infect their cities, or to prevent the danger their houses were exposed to, when funeral piles were set on fire: or it may be, to fill the minds of travellers with the thoughts of mortality; or to excite themselves to encounter any dangers, rather than permit an enemy to approach their walls, and despoil the monuments, or disturb the peace, of the dead. Lastly, (to trouble you with no more different opinions,) others think it most probable, that this custom was first introduced by a fear of contracting pollution from the dead, of which I have already treated in a foregoing chapter.

But Lycurgus, as in most of his institutions, so herein too differed from the rest of the Grecian lawgivers; for, to cut off the superstition of burying-places, he allowed his Lacedæmonians to bury their dead within their city, and even round about their temples, to the end their youth, by being used to such spectacles, might not be afraid to see a dead body; and withal, to rid them

^v Plutarchus Themistocle.

^w Xenophon. *Ἑλληνικ.* lib. vii.

^x Pindari Scholiastes.

^y Vide Archæolog. nost. lib. ii. cap. 2.

^z Plutarchus Aristide.

^a Euripid. *Med.* v. 1378.

of the conceit, that to touch a corpse, or tread upon a grave, would defile a man ^b.

Every family was wont to have their proper burying-place; to be deprived whereof, was reputed one of the greatest calamities that could befall them; wherefore, when the Lacedæmonians were resolved to conquer the Messenians, or lose all their lives in the attempt, we read that they bound tickets to their right arms, containing their own and their fathers names; that if all should perish in the battle, and their bodies be so mangled as not to be distinguished, those notes might certify what family they belonged to, that so they might be carried to the sepulchres of their ancestors ^c. The rest of the Grecians had the same custom; whence (to trouble you with only one instance more) there being a law, that such as preserved not their inheritance, should be deprived of the sepulchre of their fathers. Democritus having spent his estate in the study of philosophy, was in danger of incurring that penalty ^d.

The common graves of primitive Greece were nothing but caverns dug in the earth ^e, and called *ὑπόγαια*; but those of later ages were more curiously wrought; they were commonly paved with stone, had arches built over them, and were adorned with no less art and care than the houses of the living, insomuch that mourners commonly retired into the vaults of the dead, and there lamented over their relations for many days and nights together, as appears from Petronius's story of the Ephesian matron.

Kings and great men were anciently buried in mountains, or at the feet of them ^f. Thus Aventinus Sylvius was interred in the hill which received its name from him ^g. Virgil reports the same of Dercennus ^h:

——— *fuit ingens monte sub alto*
Regis Dercenni terreno ex aggere bustum.
 A tomb beneath a mighty mount they rear'd
 For king Dercennus.———

Whence likewise appears the custom of raising a mount upon the graves of great persons, which Lucan has thus expressed, speaking of the Egyptians ⁱ.

Et regum cineres extructo monte quiescunt.
 Beneath a mount their monarch's ashes rest.

^b Plutarchus Lycurgo.

^c Justinus, lib. iii.

^d Laërtius Democrito.

^e Etymologici Auctor, v. *ὑπόγειον*.

^f Servius, *Æn.* xi.

^g Aurelius de Orig. Gent. Roman.

^h Loc. cit.

ⁱ Lib. viii.

This consisted sometimes of stone; whence Theseus in Euripides tells Hercules, the Athenians would honour his corpse

———λαῖνοισί τ' ἐξογκώμασι.

With high-built monuments of stone.———

But the common materials were nothing but earth; whence it is usually called *χωμα*. Thus Euripides ^j:

———ορθὸν χῶμ' Ἀχιλλεῖν τάφῳ.

The mount which o'er Achilles' tomb was rais'd.

To cast it up, Homer calls *χέειν σῆμα*, speaking of Hector's tomb ^k:

Χεύαντες τόδε σῆμα, πάλιν κίον.

Having a tomb of earth rais'd o'er his grave,
They all departed.———

The same words he had used before in the description of Patroclus's funeral ^l. Antipater terms it *χώνυσθαι τάφον*

Ἡρώος Πριάμους βαιὸς τάφος, ἐκ ὅτι τοῖς

Ἀξιοῖς, ἀλλ' ἐχθρῶν χερσὶν ἐχωννύμεθα ^m;

Under this sordid tomb doth Priam rest,
Not that his worth did not deserve the best,
But because this by enemies was drest.———

It is sometimes expressed by the more general names of *ὀγκῶσαι*, *ψῶσαι*, &c. Thus Euripides:

———Μητέρα ἐξώγκεν τάφῳ.

O'er my dead mother's corpse a tomb I rais'd.

The author of the following epigram has such another expression ⁿ:

Λοκρίδος ἐν νέμει σμικρῷ νέκυν Ἡσιόδοιο

Νύμφαι κρηνιαδὼν λῆσαν ἀπὸ σφειτέρων,

Καὶ τάφον ἐψῶσαντο.

What care and love the nymphs to Hesiod shew'd?

At their own fountains in the Locrian wood

They bath'd his lifeless corpse, and o'er it rear'd a tomb.

Whence the Latin *tumulus*, which in its proper sense imports no more than a hillock, came to signify a grave.

Whatever the materials were, they were usually laid together with care and art: thus Homer witnesseth of Patroclus's tomb ^o:

Τορνώσαντο δὲ σῆμα, θεμέλια τε προσάλοντο

Ἀμφὶ πυρὴν, εἶθαρ δὲ χυτὴν ἐπὶ γαίαν ἐχέον.

That done, they bid the sepulchre aspire,
And cast the deep foundations round the pyre;
High in the midst they heap the swelling bed,
Of rising earth, memorial of the dead.

POPE.

Where by *θεμέλια* some understand the *lorica*, or inclosed ground round the grave, sometimes termed by the metaphorical names of *θριγκὸς*, *γεῖσον*, &c. and called by Pausanias *περιοκοδομή* and *κρητὶς*, by others *σκέπη*, &c.: for the ancient *μνημεῖα* were composed of two

^j Hecuba.

^k Iliad. ω. fine.

^l Iliad. ψ'.

^m Antholog. Epigr. lib. cit. εἰς Ἡρώας.

ⁿ Antholog. lib. iii. εἰς ποιητάς.

^o Iliad. ψ'.

parts; one was the grave or tomb, which was likewise termed *μνημαῖον* in a strict sense of the word, and is known by several other names, mostly taken from its form, as *σπήλαιον*, *τύμβος*, &c. The second part was the ground surrounding the grave, which was fenced about with pales or walls, but usually open at the top, and therefore sometimes called *ὑπαιθρον*. Tombs of stone were polished and adorned with greater art: whence there is so frequent mention of *ξεσοὶ τάφοι*.

Τύμβον κατόψει ξεσον ^p.

And see the polish'd tomb.————

And again ^q:

———— *ἐπὶ ξεσῶ τάφῳ*.

———— upon the polish'd tomb.

The ornaments wherewith sepulchres were beautified, were numerous. Pillars of stone were very ancient, as appears from the story of Idas's striking Pollux with a pillar broken from his grandfather Amyclas's monument ^r:

———— *σῶ δὲ δευτέρῳ ἔπι*

Πληγὴν ἀλαμῆς κριὸς ἐγκορύψεται,

Ἄγαλμα πῆλας τῶν Ἀμυκλαίων τάφων.

Idas shall Pollux with a pillar strike,

A pillar from the hallow'd monument torn

Of Amyclas.————

Pindar calls it *ἄγαλμα αἶδαο ξεσὸν πέτρων* ^s, and Theocritus takes notice of the same accident ^t.

The pillars were termed *σῆλαι*, and frequently contained inscriptions declaring the family, virtues, and whatever was remarkable in the deceased; which were commonly described in verses. The Sicyonians had no such inscriptions ^u. Lycurgus also would by no means allow of talkative grave-stones, nor suffer so much as the names to be inscribed, but only of such men who died in the wars, or women in child-bed ^v. Nor was it unusual at other places to omit the names of the deceased, writing instead of them some moral aphorism, or short exhortation to the living, such as this:

ΤΟΤΣ ΑΓΑΘΟΤΣ ΚΑΙ ΘΑΝΟΝΤΑΣ ΕΤΕΡΕΤΕΙΝ ΔΕΙ.

The virtuous even when dead ought to be respected.

Beside this, especially when there was no inscription, they commonly added the dead man's effigies, or some other resemblance pertinent to the occasion, and signifying his temper, studies, employment, or condition. Virgins had commonly the

^p Euripid. Alcest. v. 836.

^q Idem Helen. v. 992.

^r Lycophron. Cassandr. v. 557.

^s Nemeon. od. x.

^t Dioscuris.

^u Pausanius Corinthiacis.

^v Plutarchus Lycurgo.

image of a maid with a vessel of water upon their tombs^w; the former to represent the deceased, the latter to denote a custom the young men had of carrying water to the sepulchres of unmarried maids. A careful housekeeper was represented by such figures as are mentioned in the following epigram of Antipater upon Lysidice :

Μαστεύω τίς συ, τίς ἐπὶ σπηλῆτιδι πέτρῃ,
 Λυσιδικᾶ, κλύπτον τὸν δ' ἐχάραξε νόον ;
 ' Τὰ μὲν ἀνεγρομέναν με ποτ' ἔγρια νύκτερος ὄρνις
 Ἄνισα δ' αὐδάσει δάματος ἡνίοχον,
 ' Ἰππαστῆρ δ' ὅδε κηρὸς ἰέσεται ἢ πολύμυθον,
 Οὐ λαλὸν, ἀλλὰ καλῶς ἔμπλεον ἡσυχίης.

I've often ask'd, tell me, Lysidice,
 What is the meaning of this imag'ry ;
 What mean these curious figures round thy tomb ?
 What are they all design'd for, and by whom ?
 ' I tell you, sir, and first that bird of night
 Shews how I us'd to spin by candle-light :
 That well-carv'd bridle on the side is meant
 My well-rul'd family to represent :
 My peaceful temper next the muzzle shews,
 That I no scold or busy tatler was.'

H. H.

Diogenes the cynic had a dog engraven upon his monument, to denote the temper of his sect, or his own. Isocrates's tomb was adorned with the image of a siren ; Archimedes's with a sphere and cylinder : whereby the charming eloquence of the former, and the mathematical studies of the latter, were signified. Nor was it unusual to fix upon graves the instruments which the deceased had used. The graves of soldiers were distinguished by their weapons ; those of mariners by their oars ; and, in short, the tools of every art and profession accompanied their masters, and remained as monuments to preserve their memory. Hence Elpenor is introduced by Homer^x begging of Ulysses to fix the oar he used to row with upon his tomb, as has been already observed^y. Æneas in Virgil performs the like office to his trumpeter Misenus^z.

These, with many other ceremonies, were designed to perpetuate the memory of the deceased ; whence their graves were termed *σῆματα*, *μνημεῖα*, *μνήματα*, &c. Agamemnon reckons it a great happiness to Achilles, that he was honoured with a monument, which would continue his name to posterity^a :

"Οἷεσι, Πηλῆος υἱέ, θεῶς ἐπιείκελ' Ἀχιλλεῖ,
 'Ος θάνεις ἐν Τροίῃ, &c.——

O son of Peleus, greater than mankind,
 Thus Agamemnon's kingly shade rejoin'd

^w Pollux, lib. viii. cap. 7.

^x Odyss. λ' v. 75.

^y Lib. iii. cap. xi. p. 114.

^z Æneid. iv.

^a Odyss. ω' v. 56.

Thrice happy thou ! to press the martial plain,
Midst heaps of heroes in thy quarrel slain.

IOPE.

And afterwards :

—μῖγαν ἔ ἀμύμονα τύμβον
Χιύαμιν Λεργείων ἱερὸς στρατὸς αἰχμητῶν
Λατῇ ἱπὶ πρυχύσῃ ἱπὶ πλάτει Ἑλλησπόντῳ.
Ὡς κιν τηλιφανῆς ἐκ ποντόφιν ἀνδράσιν ἐπὶ,
Τοῖς οἱ νῦν γιγνάσσι, ἔ οἱ μετόπιθεν ἴσονται.

Now all the sons of warlike Greece surround
Thy destin'd tomb, and cast a mighty mound :
High on the shore the growing hill we raise,
That wide th' extended Hellespont surveys ;
Where all, from age to age, who pass the coast
May point Achilles' tomb, and hail thy mighty ghost. IOPE.

But later ages grew so extravagant in these structures, that their lawgivers were forced to keep them within bounds, by inflicting severe penalties upon such as exceeded their prescriptions. Solon, in particular, is reported to have ordered that no statues of Mercury (as had been customary, because Mercury was an infernal god,) or arched roofs, should be made in the Athenian monuments, and that they should never be greater than ten men were able to erect in three days ; and Demetrius the Phalerean enacted a law, that not above one pillar, and that not exceeding three cubits in height, should be placed upon any monument^b.

It may not be improper to mention their customs of praying for their friends, and men of piety and virtue, that the earth might lie light upon them ; for their enemies, and all wicked men, that it might press heavy upon them ; for they thought the ghosts that still haunted their shrouds, and were in love with their former habitations, had a very acute sense of all the accidents which befel their bodies : hence the chorus prays for Alcestis^c:

—Κύφα σοι
Χθὼν ἐπάνω πίσει, γύναι.

I wish the earth may fall upon you light.

Menelaus is introduced by the same poet^d, arming himself against death by this consideration, that the gods took care that such who died with honour should have no sense of any pressure from the earth, whereas cowards should be crushed under it :

—ὡ γὰρ εἰσιν οἱ θεοὶ σοφοί,
Εὐψύχον ἀνδρα πολέμιον θανάτῳ ὑπο
Κύφῃ καταμπίσχουσιν ἐν τύμβῳ χθόνι.
Κακοῖς δ' ἐφ' ἔρμα στείον ἰμβάλλουσι γῆς.

For if the gods (and sure they all things know)
Have due regard for mortals here below,

^b Cicero de Legibus, lib. ii.

^c Euripid. Alcest. v. 462.

^d Helen. v. 357. Senec. Hippolyt.
fine.

They will not, cannot suffer those that die
 By a too pow'rful conquering enemy,
 If they with courage have maintain'd their post,
 And for the public good their lives have lost.
 To be o'erburden'd with the heavy weight
 Of earth; but such as stand aghast at fate,
 Base dastard souls, that shrink at every blow,
 Nor dare to look on a prevailing foe;
 These shall (nor is the punishment unjust)
 Be crush'd and burden'd by oppressive dust.

H. H.

Theseus prays this punishment may be inflicted upon wicked Phædra^c:

———*istam terra defossam premat,
 Gravisque tellus impio capiti incubet.*

And may the earth that is upon her laid,
 Lie heavy on her corse, and crush her impious head.

Ammianus has ingeniously inverted this order in the following epigram^f:

Εἴη σοι κατὰ γῆς κέφι κόνης οἰκτρὲ Νέερχε
 Ὅφρα σε φηιδίως ἐξεύσωσι κόνες,

Which Martial translates thus^g:

*Sit tibi terra levis, mollique tegaris arena,
 Ne tua non possint, eruere ossa canes.*

Let there be one, who lighter dust, or sand
 Shall sprinkle o'er your corse with sparing hand,
 So to the dogs you'll be an easy prey.

Pass we now to the monuments erected in honour of the dead, but not containing any of their remains, and thence called νεοτάφια, κενήρια.

Of these there were two sorts: one was erected to such persons as had been honoured with funeral rites in another place; of which we find frequent mention in Pausanias^h, who speaks of such honorary tombs dedicated to Euripides, Aristomenes, Achilles, Dæmon, Tiresias, &c.

The second sort was erected for those that had never obtained a just funeral; for the ancients were possessed with an opinion, that the ghosts of men unburied could have no admittance into the blessed regions, but were forced to wander in misery one hundred years; and that when any man had perished in the sea, or any other place where his carcase could not be found, the only method of giving him repose was to erect a sepulchre, and by repeating three times, with a loud voice the name of the deceased, to call his ghost to the habitation prepared for it; which action was termed ψυχάγωγια.

^c Seneca.

^f Antholog. lib. ii. tit. εἰς πομπάς.

^g Lib. ix. Epitaph. Philæn.

^h Atticis, Messenicis, Eliac. &c. Boeotidis.

This practice seems to have been very ancient : Pelias is introduced in Pindar ^b, telling Jason he must recal the soul of Phryxus, who died in Colchis, into his native country. Æneas in Virgil performs the same office to Deiphobus ⁱ:

*Tunc egomet tumulum Rhæteo in littore inanem
Constitui, et magna manes ter voce vocavi.*

Thy tomb I rear'd on the Rhætean coast,
And thrice aloud call'd on thy wand'ring ghost.

Ausonius has elegantly described, and assigned the reason of this custom ^j:

*Hoc satis et tumulis, satis et telluris egenis ;
Voce ciêre animas funeris instar habet :
Gaudent compositi cineres sua nomina dici ;
Frontibus hoc scriptis et monumenta jubent :
Ille etiam mæsti cui defuit urna sepulchri,
Nomine ter dicto pene sepultus erit,*

Small is the privilege the unbury'd crave,
No grave, or decent burial they have ;
Only instead of pompous funeral,
Aloud upon their wand'ring ghosts we call ;
This they command, with this they most are pleas'd,
And empty mon'uments with inscriptions rais'd :
For he, whose manes have been so recall'd,
Though his dead corpse of fit interment fail'd,
Is nigh as happy, and as fully blest,
As he whose bones beneath a tomb-stone rest.

H. II.

Many other instances of this nature may be met with in the poets. The sign whereby honorary sepulchres were distinguished from others was commonly *ιερίον*, or a wreck of a ship, to signify the decease of that person in some foreign country.

It may be expected that I should add something concerning the sacredness of sepulchres ; these, with all other things belonging to the dead, were had in so great esteem, that to deface, or any way violate them, was a crime no less than sacrilege, and thought to entail certain ruin upon all persons guilty of it. Examples of this nature are too common to be enumerated in this place, wherefore I shall only set down that of Idas, who, upon breaking one of the pillars in Amphareus's sepulchre, was immediately thunderstruck by Jupiter ^k:

*Ἦ γὰρ ὅδε σάλαν Αἰφαιρία ἱερὰν ἔσανέχουσιν.
Τύμβῳ ἀναρρήξας ταχέως Μισσάνιος Ἰδας,
Μίλλε κασιγνήτοιο βαλεῖν σφιστίοιο φονῆα·
Ἀλλὰ Ζεὺς ἐπάμυνε, χερῶν δὲ οἱ ἔκθαλε τυκτὰν
Μάρμαρον αὐτὸν δὲ φλογέω συνίφλεξε περισπῶν.*

For, to revenge fall'n Lynceus' hasty doom,
He tore a pillar from the sacred tomb,

^b Pythionic. Od. iv.

ⁱ Æneid. vi. v. 505.

^j Præfat. Parentalium.

^k Theocrit. Idyll. xlv. v. 201.

To dart at Castor, dreadfully he stood,
 The fierce revenger of his brother's blood ;
 Jove interpos'd, and by his strict command
 Swift lightning struck the marble from his hand ;
 He strove to reach it, but his soul was fir'd,
 He fell, and in no common destiny expir'd.

CREECH.

It has been a question, whether the *cenotophia* had the same religious regard which was paid to the sepulchres where the remains of the deceased were repositèd : for the resolution hereof, it may be observed, that such of them as were only erected for the honour of the dead, were not held so sacred as to call for any judgment upon such as profaned them ; but the rest, wherein ghosts were thought to reside, seem to have been in the same condition with sepulchres, the want whereof they were designed to supply.

CHAP. VIII.

Of their Funeral Orations, Games, Lustrations, Entertainments, Consecrations, and other Honours of the dead, &c.

BEFORE the company departed from the sepulchre, they were sometimes entertained with a panegyric upon the dead person. Such of the Athenians as died in war, had an oration solemnly pronounced by a person appointed by the public magistrate, which was constantly repeated upon the anniversary-day¹. These customs were not very ancient, being first introduced by Solon, or (as some say) by Pericles, but were generally received, not in Greece only, but at Rome. It was thought no small accession to the happiness of the deceased to be eloquently commended ; whence we find Pliny completing his account of Virginius Rufus's felicity in this, that his funeral oration was pronounced by one of the most eloquent tongues of that age^m.

It was farther customary for persons of quality to institute games, with all sorts of exercises, to render the death of their friends more remarkable ; this practice was generally received, and is frequently mentioned by ancient writers : Miltiades's funeral in Herodotus, Brasidas's in Thucydides, Timoleon's in Plutarch, with many others, afford examples hereof. Nor was it a custom of later ages, but very common in the primitive times : Patroclus's

¹ Cicero de Orat.^m Lib. ii. Ep. 1.

funeral games take up the greatest part of one of Homer's Iliads ^p, and Agamemnon's ghost is introduced by the same poet, telling the ghost of Achilles, that he had been a spectator at great numbers of such solemnities ^o :

Μήτηρ δ' αἰτήσατο Διὸς, περικαλλὶ ἄεθλα
Θῆκε μίσφ' ἰν' ἀγῶνι ἀριστεύουσιν Ἀχαιῶν
"Ἦδη μὲν πολίων τάφῳ ἀνδρῶν ἀντιβόλησα
'Ηρώων, ὅτι κιν ποτ' ἀποφθίμους βασιλῆος
Ζώνονταί τι νιοί, ἔ' ἱπιντύνονται ἄεθλα·
'Αλλὰ κί κείνα μάλις ἰδὼν ἐπέηπτα θυμῷ,
Οἷ' ἐπὶ σοι κατέθηκε Θιά περικαλλὶ ἄεθλα
Ἀργυρόπιζα Θίτις. —

Thetis herself to all our peers proclaims
Heroic prizes and exequial games;
The Gods assented; and around thee lay
Rich spoils and gifts that blaz'd against the day.
Oft have I seen, with solemn funeral games
Heroes and kings committed to the flames;
But strength of youth or valour of the brave
With nobler contest ne'er renown'd a grave,
Such were the games by azure Thetis given.

POPE.

In the age before, we find Oedipus's funeral solemnized with sports, and Hercules is said to have celebrated games at the death of Pelops ^p. The first that had this honour was Azan, the son of Arcas, the father of the Arcadians, whose funeral, as Pausanias reports ^q, was celebrated with horse-races. The prizes were of different sorts and value, according to the quality and magnificence of the person that celebrated them. The garlands given to victors were usually of parsley, which was thought to have some particular relation to the dead, as being feigned to spring out of Archemorus's blood; whence it became the crown of conquerors in the Nemean games, which were first instituted at his funeral ^r.

It was a general opinion, that dead bodies polluted all things about them: this occasioned purifying after funerals, which Virgil has thus described ^s :

*Idem ter socios pura circumtulit unda,
Spargens rore levi, et ramo felicis olivæ
Lustravitque viros.* —

Then Chorinæus took the charge to place
The bones selected in a brazen vase:
A verdant branch of olive in his hands,
He mov'd around and purified the bands.

PITT.

Several other ways of purification may be met with, but these containing nothing peculiar to funerals, and being described in one of the preceding books, have no claim to any mention in this place. Till this purification was accomplished, the polluted per-

^o Iliad. ψ.^p Odyss. ω. v. 85.^r Vid. Archæolog. nostr. lib. ii. cap.^p Dionysius Halicarnass. lib. v.

penult. et ult.

^q Arcadicis.^s Æneid. lib. vi. v. 229.

son could not enter into the temples, or communicate at the worship of the gods : whence Iphigenia speaks the following words concerning Diana ^t :

Τὰ τῆς θεᾶς δὲ μέφομαι σοφίσματα,
 ἥτις, βροτῶν μὲν ἦν τις ἄψηται φόνος,
 ἢ ἔλοχέας ἢ νεκρὰ δίγῃ χερσίν,
 Εὐμῶν ἀπείργῃ μυστράν ὡς ἡγούμενη.

These false rules of the Goddess much I blame:
 Whoe'er of mortals is with slaughter stain'd,
 Or bath at child-birth given assisting hands,
 Or chanc'd to touch aught dead, she as impure
 Drives from her altars.

POTTER.

Nor was it Diana alone, of whom the poet speaks, that had such an aversion to these pollutions, but the rest of the gods and goddesses were of the same temper. Lucian, in his treatise concerning the Syrian goddess, tells, that when any person had seen a corpse, he was not admitted into her temple till the day following, and not then, except he had first purified himself; and the general use of this custom ^u shews, that the rest of the celestial beings were equally afraid of defilement. This may farther appear, from its being unlawful for those persons to enter into the temples, who were called *ὑστερόποτμοι*, or *δευτερόποτμοι* ^v, i. e. such as were thought dead, but after the performance of their funeral rites recovered; or such who were reported to be dead in some foreign country, and unexpectedly returned: these men were prohibited from worshipping any of the gods. Hesychius mentions only the Eumenides, but others speak of the gods in general; whence Aristinus was forced to send messengers to consult the Delphian oracle, what method he should use to be freed from pollution, where he received this answer :

Ὅσα μὲν ἐν λεχέσσι γυνὴ τίκτουσα τελεῖται,
 Τόσσα μὲν ἂν τελέσαντα θύειν μακάρεσσι θεοῖσι.

All forms and customs which child-birth attend,
 The same must you to th' angry gods commend.

Whereupon he was washed, swaddled, and treated in all other respects as new-born infants, and then received into communion: but, as my author ^w proceeds, others make this custom more ancient than Aristinus, carrying it up as high as the primitive ages. And it is certain the opinion that dead bodies polluted all

^t Euripid. Iphigen. Tauric. 380.

^u Suidas, v. *καταλούει*. Aristophan. Scholiast. Nubibus.

^v Hesychius in utraque voce.

^w Plutarchus Quæst. Roman. haud longe ab initio.

things about them, was very ancient, as appears from the Jewish laws.

The house was also purified; an instance whereof we have in Homer ^x, where Ulysses having slain Penelope's courtiers, and carried them out of his house, thus bespeaks his old nurse:

Οἷσι θείων, γρηῦ, κακῶν ἄκος, οἷσι δέ μοι πῦρ,
"Ὅφρα θειώσω μίγαρον.——

Fetch sulphur hitber, nurse, and fire, that I
My tainted dwelling-house may purify.

Afterwards the poet adds ^y:

Οὐδ' ἀπίθησε φίλη τροφὸς Εὐρύκλεια,
Ἥνικεν δ' ἄρα πῦρ ἔ θήϊον' αὐτὰρ Ὀδυσσεὺς
Εὖ διαθείωσιν μίγαρον, ἔ δῶμα, ἔ αὐλήν.
Straight trusty Eurycle perform'd his will,
With fire and sulphur, cure of noxious fumes,
He purg'd the walls, and blood-polluted rooms.

But the Lacedæmonians were taught by their lawgiver to condemn these superstitious follies, and to think it unreasonable to fancy, that such as lived a virtuous life, and conformably to their discipline, should contract any pollution from death; on the contrary, they esteemed their remains worthy of respect and honour, and therefore thought no places so fit to reposit them in, as those adjoining to the temples of their gods ^z.

After the funeral was over, the company met together at the house of the deceased person's nearest relations, to divert them from sorrow; here there was an entertainment provided ^a, which was termed *περίδειπνον*, *νεκρόδειπνον*, *τάφος*, in Latin, *circumpotatio*, according to Cicero, who informs us, that the Attic laws prohibited the use of this ceremony at the funerals of slaves ^b. The custom was very ancient; the Trojans, having celebrated Hector's funeral, were splendidly entertained at king Priam's palace ^c:

Χεῖντες δὲ τὸ σῆμα, πάλιν κίον' αὐτὰρ ἔπειτα
Εὖ συναγειρέμιοι δαίνυντ' ἱερικυδία δαῖτα
Δώμασιν ἰν Πριάμοιο διατρέφεις βασιλῆος.

All Troy then moves to Priam's court again,
A solemn, silent, melancholy train:
Assembled there, from pious toil they rest,
And sadly share the last sepulchral feast.

POPE.

The same may be observed in the Grecian camp, with this difference, that Achilles entertained them before Patroclus's funeral ^d:

Κὰδ δ' Ἴζον παρὰ νηὶ ποδάκεις Αἰακίδαο
Μυρία, αὐτὰρ ὁ τοῖσι τάφον μινεικέα δαῖνω

^x Odyss. χ'. 481. ^y V. 492.

^z Plutarchus Lycurgo.

^a Demosthenes Orat. de Corona. Lucianus Dialog. de luetu.

^b Lib. ii. de legibus.

^c Iliad. ω. line.

^d Iliad. ψ. v. 28.

Πολλοὶ μὲν βόες ἀργοὶ ὀρέχθεον ἀμφὶ σιδήρεω
 Σφαζόμενοι, πολλὰ δ' ῥίεσ' ἔμηνάδεις αἶγες·
 Πολλοὶ δ' ἀργιόδοντες ὕεσ' θαλίθοντες ἀλοιφῇ
 Εὐόμεινοι τανύοντο διὰ φλογὸς Ἡφαίστιοιο·
 Πάντη δ' ἀμφὶ νέκυι κοτυλήρυτον ἔρρειν αἷμα.

All to Achilles' sable ship repair,
 Frequent and full, the genial feast to share.
 Now from the well-fed swine black smokes aspire,
 The bristly victims hissing o'er the fire :
 The huge ox bellowing falls : with feebler cries
 Expires the goat ; the sheep in silence dies.
 Around the hero's prostrate body flow'd,
 In one promiscuous stream, the reeking blood.

POPE.

By which last words it appears, that the dead person had some interest in these entertainments ; and as the blood of the beasts was designed for Patroclus's ghost, so, even in later ages, we are told the broken morsels which fell from the tables were looked on as sacred to the departed souls, and not lawful to be eaten^c: To this fancy Pythagoras's aphorism, though perhaps containing a more mystical sense, was an undoubted allusion^f, τὰ πεσόντα μὴ ἀναίρεισθαι, i. e. *take not up things fallen down* ; or, as others express it, Μηδὲ γίνεσθαι ἄττι' ἂν ἐντὸς τραπέζης καταπίεση, i. e. *do not so much as taste things fallen under the table*. These fragments were carried to the tomb, and there left for the ghost to feast upon ; whence, to denote extreme poverty, it was usual to say, that a person *stole his meat from the graves*. To this Tibullus's curse alludes :

*Ipsâ fame stimulante furens, escasque sepulchro
 Quærat, et a sævis ossa relicta lupis.*

May she want bread so much, as ev'n to crave
 The scraps and musty morsels of a grave ;
 May she be glad to pick a carcase bone
 Which wolves and vultures once have fed upon.

J. A.

The entertainments of later ages, consisted not, like Homer's, of flesh only, but of all sorts of pulse^g, beans, pease, with lettuces, parsley, eggs, and many other things. The chief subjects of discourse at these meetings, were the praises of the dead, especially if they had been eminent for any virtue or commendable quality ; otherwise, so great was the simplicity of primitive ages, that they looked upon it most expedient to say nothing, when, by speaking, they must unavoidably offend the dead man, or transgress the rules of truth, both which were thought equally criminal : but after-

^c Athenæi Δειπνοσοφ. lib. x.^f Laërtius Pythagor.^g Plutarchus Problemat.

wards they grew more lavish of their commendations, distributing them to all persons without distinction; whence came the proverb, *Οὐκ ἐπαινεθείης ἔδ' ἐν περιδείπνῳ*, which was only applied to villains of the first rate, and such as had not the least shadow of a good quality to recommend them.

There was a custom at Argos, obliging those that had lost any of their kindred or acquaintance, to sacrifice to Apollo presently after mourning, and thirty days after to Mercury, out of an opinion, that as the earth received their bodies, so their souls fell into Mercury's hands. The barley of the sacrifice they gave to Apollo's minister, the flesh they took themselves; and having extinguished the sacrificial fire, which they accounted polluted, kindled another whereon they boiled the flesh, calling it *ἔγκνισμα*^h, from the fumes ascending from the burnt sacrifice, which were termed in Greek *κνίσσα*.

The honours paid to the sepulchres and memories of the deceased, were of divers sorts: it was frequent to place lamps in the subterraneous vaults of the dead, whither such as would express an extraordinary affection for their relations retired, and cloistered themselves up; an example whereof we have in Petronius's Ephesian matron.

They had a custom of bedecking tombs with herbs and flowers, amongst which parsley was chiefly in use, as appears from Plutarch's story of Timoleon, who, marching up an ascent, from the top of which he might take a view of the army, and strength of the Carthaginians, was met by a company of mules loaded with parsley; which (saith my author) his soldiers conceived to be a very ill-boding and fatal occurrence, that being the very herb wherewith we adorn the sepulchres of the dead. This custom gave birth to that despairing proverb, when we pronounce of one dangerously sick, *δεῖσθαι σελίνου*, *that he has need of nothing but parsley*; which is in effect to say, he is a dead man, and ready for the grave. All sorts of purple and white flowers were acceptable to the dead, as amaranthus, which was first used by the Thessalians to adorn Achilles's graveⁱ; *πάθος λευκός*^j; which some will have to be the jessamine, with lilies, and several others: hence Virgil^k:

^h Plutarchus Quæst. Græc. p. 296, 297. edit. Paris.

ⁱ Philostratus Heroicis,

^j Theophrastus, lib. vi. *ψυχικῶν*. Athenæus, lib. xiv.

^k Æneid. v. 79.

Purpureosque jacet flores, ac talia fatur.

He having purple flowers strew'd, thus spoke.

In the subsequent book he alludes to the same custom ^l:

*Heu, miserande puer, si qua fata aspera rumpas,
Tu Marcellus eris: manibus date lilia plenis;
Purpureos spargam flores, animamque nepotis
His saltem accumulem donis, et fungar inani munere.*

Ah! could'st thou break through fate's severe decree,
A new Marcellus shall arise in thee:
Full canisters of fragrant lilies bring,
And all the curious drap'ry of the spring;
Let me with purple flowers his body strow,
This gift which parents to their children owe,
This unavailing gift at least I may bestow.

DRYDEN.

The rose too was very grateful; whence Anacreon has these verses in his ode upon that flower:

*τῶδε ἔ' νοσῶσιν ἀρκεῖ,
τῶδε ἔ' νεκροῖς ἀμύνει.*

When pain afflicts, and sickness grieves,
Its juice the drooping heart relieves;
And after death its odours shed
A pleasing fragrance o'er the dead:
And when its withering charms decay
And sinking, fading, die away,
Triumphant o'er the rage of time
It keeps the fragrance of its prime.

BROOME.

Nor was the use of myrtle less common; whence Euripides introduces Electra complaining that Agamemnon's tomb had never been adorned with boughs of that plant:

*Ἀγαμέμνονος δὲ τύμβος ἡτικασμένος
Οὐ πάποτε ἔ' χοῶς, ἔ' κλῶνα μυρσίνης
ἔ' ελας.*——

With no libations, nor with myrtle boughs,
Were my dear father's manes gratify'd.

In short, graves were bedecked with garlands of all sorts of flowers, as appears from Agamemnon's daughter in Sophocles ^m:

*Ἐπεὶ γὰρ ἦλθον πατρὸς ἀρχαῖον τάφον,
Ὅρῶ κλώνης ἐξ ἄκρας νορρύντης
Πηγᾶς γάλακτος, ἔ' περιεσχῇ κύκλῳ
Πάντων ὅσ' ἐστὶν ἀνθίων θήκην πατρός.*

My father's honour'd tomb as I approach'd,
White on the summit of the mound I saw
Large streams of milk late pour'd; the sepulchre,
Wherein he lies inurn'd, with wreaths of flowers,
Glowing in all their various dyes, hung round.

FOTTER.

These were commonly called ἔρωτες ⁿ, either from their design to express love and respect to the deceased person, or from ἔρανος, because they were usually composed of a collection of several sorts of flowers; or from ἔρα, as being laid upon the earth; though neither of these last reasons are constant: for the garlands were some-

^l Æneid. vi. v. 885.

ⁿ Phavorinus, Etymologici Auctor.

^m Electra. v. 886.

times composed of only one sort of flowers, and frequently hung upon the pillars, and not laid upon the grave-stone. Several other things were frequently laid upon graves, as ribands; whence it is said, that Epaminondas's soldiers being disanimated at seeing the riband that hung upon his spear, carried by the wind to a certain Lacedæmonian sepulchre, he bid them take courage, for that it portended destruction to the Lacedæmonians, it being customary to deck the sepulchres of their dead with ribands ^p. Another thing dedicated to the dead, was their hair. Electra in Sophocles says, that Agamemnon had commanded her and Chrysothemis to pay him this honour.

Ἡμεῖς δὲ πατρὸς τύμβον, ὡς ἰφίετο,
Λοιβᾶϊσι πρῶτον ἔκ καρπτόμοις χλιδαῖς
Στίψαντες.—

But cut thou off thy hair and crisped curls,
And from my wretched head (small gift indeed,
But all I have to give) these squalid locks,
With them present.—

POTTER.

Canace in Ovid ^q bewails her calamity, in that she was not permitted to adorn her lover's tomb with her locks, as has been already observed.

It was likewise customary to perfume the grave-stones with sweet ointments; to which practice Anacreon has this allusion:

Τί σε δεῖ λίθον μυρίζειν,
Τί δὲ γῆν χεῖν ματία;
Εμὲ μᾶλλον, ὡς ἔτι ζῶ,
Μύρισον, ῥόδοις δὲ κρᾶτα
Πύκκσον.—

Why do we precious ointments show'r,
Noble wines why do we pour,
Beauteous flowers why do we spread:
Upon the mon'uments of the dead?
Nothing they but dust can show,
Or bones that hasten to be so.
Crown me with roses while I live.

COWLEY.

Whence Leonidas seems to have borrowed the sense of this epigram:

Μὴ μύρα, μὴ σφάνους λιθίναις σίλαισι χαρίζε,
Μηδὲ τὸ πῦρ φλέξεης, εἰς κενὸν ἢ δαπάνη.
Ζῶντί μοι, εἴ τε θείλῃς, χάραϊσι σίφην δὲ μεθύσκων
Πηλὸν ποιήσεις, ἔχ' ὁ θανὼν τίεται.

When cold and lifeless in my grave I'm laid,
No fragrant oil then pour, no chaplets spread:
All expiatory fires, all rites are vain,
Wine only can my fruitless ashes stain:
Come let's carouse, let's revel while we live,
'Twill elevate our souls, 'twill ease to troubles give.

J. A.

To these practices we find another added, viz. running naked about sepulchres; for Plutarch ^r tells us, that Alexander arriving

^p Frontinus, lib. i. cap. 2.^q Epist. Canac. ad Macar.^r Alexandro.

at Troy, honoured the memories of the heroes buried there with solemn libations, anointed Achilles's grave-stone, and (according to ancient custom) together with his friends, ran naked about his sepulchre, and crowned it with garlands.

Beside the fore-mentioned ceremonies, there remain several others, especially their sacrifices and libations to the dead: the victims were black and barren heifers, or black sheep, as being of the same sort with those offered to the infernal gods, to denote the contrariety of those regions to light and fruitfulness; whence Homer introduces Ulysses making a vow to the ghosts after this manner ^r:

Πολλὰ δὲ γενέμεν νεκύων ἀμενηνὰ κάρηνα,
Ελθὼν εἰς Ἰθάκην, σείραν βῶν, ἥτις ἄριστη,
Ῥέξεν ἐν μεγάροισι, πυρὴν τ' ἐμπλησέμεν ἰθλῶν.
Τειρεσίῃ δ' ἀπάνευθεν δῖν ἱερυσίμεν οἶον
Παμμέλαι, ὅς μῆλοισι μεταπρέπει ἡμετέροισι.

Now the wan shades we hail, th' infernal gods,
To speed our course, and waft us o'er the floods;
So shall a barren heifer from the stall
Beneath the knife upon your altars fall;
So in our palace, at our safe return,
Rich with unnumber'd gifts the pile shall burn;
So shall a ram the largest of the breed,
Black as these regions, to Tiresias bleed.

POPE.

Besides their offering these sacrifices in ditches, and some other customs spoken of in one of the former books^s, it may be observed farther, that the first things they offered was the hair upon the victim's forehead, which, for that reason, was termed ἀπαρχαί, and to offer it ἀπαρχεσθαι: but, however these terms are sometimes used for the sacrifices of the ghosts, yet the custom of offering these first-fruits was common to the sacrifices of the celestial and other deities, as appears from several instances: Homer mentions it at one of Minerva's sacrifices ^t:

————— Πολλὰ δ' Ἀθήνη
Εὐχετ' ἀπαρχόμενος κεφαλῆς τρίχας ἐν πυρὶ βάλλων.
Having invok'd Minerva with his pray'rs,
He on the altar threw the forehead hairs.

In another place he speaks of it as acceptable to the gods ^u:

Ἄλλ' ὅγ' ἀπαρχόμενος κεφαλῆς τρίχας ἐν πυρὶ βάλλων
Ἀργιόδοντος ὕδς, ἃ ἱπῆρυχετο πᾶσι θεοῖσι.
Of a sow's forehead having burn'd the hairs,
To all the gods he offers fervent pray'rs.

But their ordinary offerings were nothing but libations of blood, honey, wine, milk, water, &c. Solon forbade the Athenians ἐνα-

^r Odyss. λ'. v. 29.^s Lib. ii. cap. 4.^t Odss. γ'.^u Iliad, ζ'.

γίζειν βῆν, to offer an ox on this occasion ^v. Upon the sacrifice they commonly sprinkled barley-flour. Some of these are mentioned in Homer ^w:

—————χοῶς χίμεν παῖσι νεκύσσι
 Πρῶτα μελικρήτω, μετίπειτα δὲ ἡδίῳ οἴνω,
 Τὸ τρίτον αὖθ' ὕδατι, ἐπὶ δ' ἄλφιτα λευκὰ πάλυνον.
 We did with reverence the shades adore,
 First we did honey mix'd with water pour,
 Then wine, then simple water, and next barley flour.

Honey was rarely omitted, being accounted θανάτου σύμβολον, a *symbol*, or emblem of death ^x. Hence, as some think, the ghosts of the deceased came to be termed μέλισσαι, the infernal gods, μελίχιοι, and their oblations, μελίγματα.

They were designed to render the ghosts kind and propitious, and therefore termed χοαὶ ἡδυντήριοι, or θελκτήριοι. Iphigenia in Euripides thus describes them ^y:

—————Ω, τάσδε
 Χοῶς μέλλω, κρατῆρά τε
 Τῶν θριμίνων
 Ἵδραινεν γαίης ἐν νότοις,
 Πηγὰς τ' ὑρείων ἐκ μύσχαων,
 Βάκλιν τ' οἴνηράς λαιβάς,
 Ξανθῶν τε πόνημα μελισσῶν,
 Ἄ νεκροῖς θελκτήρια κεί
 Τ'—————

For him, as dead, with pious care,
 This goblet I prepare;
 And on the bosom of the earth shall flow
 Streams from the heifer mountain-bred,
 The grape's rich juice, and mix'd with these
 The labour of the yellow bees,
 Libations soothing to the dead.

POTTER.

These were sometimes offered upon altars, which were commonly placed near the ancient sepulchres, with tables for the sacrificial feasts; sometimes they were poured forth upon the ground, or grave-stone, and, together with a certain form of words, offered to the deceased; thus Helena desires Hermione to address Clytemnestra in her name ^z:

Ω τέκνον ἔξιελθ', Ἑρμιόνη, δόμων πάρος,
 Καὶ λάβε χοῶς τάσδ' ἐν χειροῖν, κόμας τ' ἐμὰς,
 Ελθῶσα δ' ἀμφὶ τὸν Κλυταιμνήστρας τάφον
 Μελίκρατ' ἄφες γάλακτες, οἶνωπὸν τ' ἄχνην,
 Καὶ σῶσ' ἐπ' ἄκρην χόματος λίζον τάδε,
 “Ἐλίνη σ' ἀδελφὴ ταῖσδε δωρεῖται χοαῖς.”

Hermione, come hither, to the tomb
 Of Clytemnestra these libations bear,
 And these my locks; there pour this honied bowl
 Foaming with milk and wine; on the high mound

^v Plutarchus Solone.^w Odys. λ'. v. 26.^x Porphyrius de Antro Nympharum.^y Iphigen. Tauric. v. 159.^z Euripid. Orest. v. 112.

Addressing thus the dead; "These hallow'd gifts
"Helen, thy sister, offers."

POTTER.

The water thus employed was termed λεγρόν, χθόνιον λουτόν; and at Athens, ἀπόνημα^a. When persons died who had been married, there was a custom for women to carry water to their graves, who from pouring it forth were termed ἐκχυτρίσαι^b. When a young man or maid died, the water was carried by a boy^c, or (which appears to some more probable) by a boy to the sepulchres of young men, by a maid to the sepulchres of maids; whence came the custom of erecting images, representing maids with vessels of water upon the sepulchres of such as died in their virginity, as was observed in the foregoing chapter, though I have there interpreted this custom so as to agree with the former opinion. As for those that died in their infancy, they were honoured with no libations, nor had any right to the rest of the funeral solemnities^d.

These honours were paid the dead the ninth and thirtieth days after burial^e, and repeated when any of their friends arrived that had been absent at the solemnity, and upon all other occasions which required their surviving relations to have them in memory: but some part of the month Anthisterion seems to have been especially set apart for these ceremonies in several of the Grecian cities. Athenæus reports, in particular, of the Apolloniata^f, that they paid the dead the customary honours in this month. Hesychius^g likewise reports, that the same custom was observed at Athens; and that they termed the days appointed for those solemnities μιαινά ημέραι, which were by others called ἀποφράδες^h, as being polluted by their dedication to the dead, whose ghosts were thought to ascend from their subterraneous habitations, to enjoy the kind entertainment of their friendsⁱ; the want hereof was thought a great calamity, and therefore is reckoned by Cassandra among the manifold misfortunes of the Trojans, that they should have no surviving friends to offer sacrifices at their tombs.

—οὐδὲ πρὸς τάφους
ἔσθ' ὅστις αὐτῶν αἷμα γῇ δαρήσεται.

—nor shall one friend remain
To stain their desert sepulchres with blood.

Upon these public days, they called over the names of their dead relations one by one, excepting such as died under age, or

^a Eustathius, Odyss. 4.

^b Etymologici Auctor.

^c Idem.

^d Plutarchus, lib. consolat. ad uxorem.

^e Pollux, lib. iii. cap. 10.

^f Δειπνισοφ. lib. viii.

^g Voce Μιαινά.

^h Suidas.

ⁱ Lucianus Επισκοπῶσιν.

forfeited their titles to these honours, by dissipating their paternal inheritances, or other crimes. There was likewise another time when they called over the names of the dead, which being omitted in the foregoing chapters, I shall speak of it in this place; it was when they lost their friends in foreign countries; whence before they departed they called the names of all that were missing out of their company three times: this Ulysses in Homer declares he did, when he lost some of his men in battle with the Cicones^j.

Οὐδ' ἄρα μοι προτέρῳ νῆες κίον ἑμφίελισσαι,
Πεῖν τινα τῶν δειλῶν ἑτάρων τρεῖς ἑκάσον αὔσαι,
Οἳ θάνατον ἐν πιδίῳ Κικόνων ὑποδηϊοθέντες.

With sails outspread we fly th' unequal strife,
Sad for their loss, but joyful for our life:
Yet as we fled, our fellows rites we paid,
And thrice we call'd on each unhappy shade.

ROPE.

Hercules in Theocritus calls Hylas three times^k:

Τρεῖς μὲν Ἰλᾶν αὔσεν ὅσον βαθυς ἤρυγε λαίματος.

On Hylas thrice he call'd, with voice profound.

FAWKES.

The reasons of this custom were, according to John Tzetzes^l, partly, that such as were left behind might, upon hearing the noise, repair to their ships, and partly testify their unwillingness to depart without their companions:

Τὸ πρότερον τὰς θνήσκοντας εἰς γῆν τὴν ἀλλοτρίαν
Ἀποδημῶντες οἱ αὐτῶν τρισάκις ἀνεκάλεον,
Ὡς Ὁμήρος ἰδιδάξει βίβλῳ τῆς Ὀδυσσεύς,
Τῷτο δ' ἔδρον ὡς μνήμονες τυγχάνοντες Φιλίας.
Καὶ ὡς δ', εἰ ἀπολείβῃ τις, πρὸς τὴν φονὴν συνδράμοι.

It was a custom 'mongst the ancient Greeks,
That he who trav'ling into distant lands
Expir'd, should by surviving friends be call'd
Thrice, as a token of their parting love.
Hence all that then remain'd, as Homer tells,
Join'd in the solemn melancholy cry.

To return: they had anniversary days, on which they paid their devotions to the dead; these were sometimes termed Νεμέσια, as being celebrated upon the festival of Nemesis, who was thought to have especial care for the honours of the dead^m; sometimes Ὠραῖαⁿ, as also Γενέσια^o; the reason of which seems to be, that it signifies the anniversary day of a man's nativity, which after his death was solemnized with the same ceremonies that were used upon the anniversary of his death^p, which were properly termed

^j Odyss. i. v. 64.

^k Idyll. γ'. v. 58.

^l Chiliad. v. Hist. 14.

^m Moschopolus, Suidas.

ⁿ Hesychius, Phavorinus.

^o Suidas, &c.

^p Suidas, Hesychius, Phavorinus, Moschopolus, &c.

Νεκύσια: hence it is that these two words are commonly thought to signify the same solemnity.

The honours of the dead were distinguished according to the quality and worth of the person they were conferred on: such as by their virtues and public services, had raised themselves above the common level, had *ἡρωϊκὰς τιμὰς*, the honours of heroes; the participation hereof was termed *ἀνιερεῖσθαι*, or *τετευχέναι τιμῶν ἡρωϊκῶν, ἰσοθέων* or *ἰσοδ.υμπίων*: others, who had distinguished themselves from the former, were raised a higher degree, and reckoned among the gods, which consecration was termed *θεοποιῖα*, and was very different from the former, to worship the former persons being only termed *ἐαγίζειν*, but the latter *θεύειν*. The latter honour was very rare in the heroic times, but in subsequent ages, when great examples of virtue were not so frequent, and men more addicted to flattery, it became more cheap, insomuch that those persons, whom former ages had only worshipped as heroes, were afterwards accounted gods; an instance whereof we have (to omit several others) in Lampsace, one of Plutarch's heroines⁹. The Athenians were especially remarkable for immoderate and profuse distributions of those honours, and it is generally observed that that nation exceeded all the rest of the Grecians in the arts of flattery and superstition, as appears from several instances in the precedent books.

I shall observe, in the last place, that these and the rest of the honours of the dead, were thought most acceptable when offered by their nearest friends; when by their enemies, they were rejected with indignation: whence Sophocles introduces Electra advising her sister Crysothemis, that they should by no means offer Clytemnestra's gifts to Agamemnon^r:

Ἀλλ', ὦ φίλη, τέτων μὲν, ὧν ἔχεις χειροῖν,
 Τύμβῳ προσάψης μηδὲν ἔγάρ σοι θίμης,
 Οὐδ' ὅσιον ἐχθρᾶς ἀπὸ γυναικὸς ἰσάναι
 Κτερίσματ', ὧδ' ἑλκτρὰ προσφέρειν πατρί.
 But nothing, my lov'd sister, of these gifts
 Affix thou to the tomb: it is not meet,
 It is not holy, that such offerings, sent
 By this malignant woman, should be placed;
 Or such libations to our father's shade
 Be pour'd. —————

POTTER.

For men were thought to retain the same affections after death which they had entertained when alive. This appears farther from the story of Eteocles and Polynices, Oedipus's sons, who having killed each other in single combat, and being burned in the same

⁹ Lib. de Mulierum claris factis.

^r Electra, v. 432.

pile, the flames of their bodies would not unite, but by parting from each other demonstrated the irreconcilable and immortal hatred of the brethren, as we are informed by Bianor's following epigram :

Οἰδιποδὸς παῖδων Θήβη τάφος, ἀλλ' ὁ πάνωλης
Τύμβος ἴτι ζώντων αἰσθάνεται δοράτων·
Κείνως ἔτ' αἰδῆς ἰδαμάσσατο, κῆν Λαχίροντι
Μάριανται, κείνων χά τάφος ἀντίπαλος.
Καὶ πυρὶ πύρ ἤλειξαν ἱναντίον· ὃ ἰλιδεῖνοι
Παῖδες, ἀποιμήτων ἀψάμεινοι δοράτων.

Within thy walls, O Thebes, two brothers lie,
Who, though deceas'd, cease not their enmity ;
For from the bodies on the pile there fly
Enrag'd corpuscles, justling in the sky ;
With pointed fury eagerly they meet,
Then in aversion scornfully retreat.
Unhappy youths, by fates denied to have
The peaceful slumbers of a quiet grave.

J. A.

Lycophron has furnished us with the parallel example of Mopsus and Amphilochus, who having slain each other, were buried in the opposite sides of an hill, lest their ghosts should be disturbed by having their sepulchres within sight of one another ^s :

Αἰπὺς δ' ἀλιεὺς ὄχμος ἐν μεταίχμῳ
Μίγαρσος ἀγνῶν ἥριον σταθήσεται,
Ὅς μὴ βλίπωσι, μηδὲ νετέρων ἔδρας
Δύντες, φόνῳ λυσθίντας ἀλλήλων τάφους.

An high and craggy mount, Megarsus named,
Shall stand between the sacred monuments,
Lest the griev'd manes should offended be
To see each other's tomb by slaughter stain'd.

J. A.

CHAP. IX.

Of their Love of Boys.

WHO it was that first introduced the custom of loving boys into Greece, is uncertain : however (to omit the infamous amours of Jupiter, Orpheus, Lajus of Thebes, and others,) we find it generally practised by the ancient Grecians, and that not only in private, but by the public allowance and encouragement of their laws ; for they thought there could be no means more effectual to excite their youth to noble undertakings, nor any greater security to their commonwealths, than this generous passion. This the

^s Cassandr. v. 445.

invaders of their liberties so often experienced, that it became a received maxim in the politics of tyrants, to use all their endeavours to extirpate it out of their dominions; some instances whereof we have in Athenæus^t: on the contrary, free commonwealths, and all those states that consulted the advancement of their own honour, seem to have been unanimous in establishing laws to encourage and reward it. Let us take a view of some few of them.

First, we shall find it to have been so generally practised, so highly esteemed in Crete, that such of their well-born and beautiful youths as never had any lovers, incurred the public censure, as persons some way or other faulty in their morals; as if nothing else could hinder, but that some one's affections would be placed upon them: but those that were more happy in being admired, were honoured with the first seats at public exercises, and wore, for a distinguishing badge of honour, a sort of garment richly adorned; this they still retained after they arrived to man's estate, in memory they had once been *κλεινοί*, *eminent*^u, which was the name the Cretans gave to youths who had lovers. The lovers themselves were called *Φιλήτορες*. One thing was remarkable in this place, that the lovers always took their boys by force; for, having placed their affections upon any one, they gave notice of it to his relations, and withal certified them what day they designed to take him: if the lover was unworthy of the boy, they refused to yield him up; but if his quality and virtues were answerable, they made some slight opposition, to satisfy the law, and pursued him to his lodgings, but then gave their consent. After this, the lover carried the boy whither he pleased, the persons that were present at the rape bearing him company. He entertained him some time, two months at the farthest, with hunting, and such diversions, then they returned him home. At his departure, it was ordered by law, that the boy should receive a suit of armour, an ox, and a cup, to which the lover usually added out of his own bounty several other presents of value. The boy being returned home, sacrificed the ox to Jupiter, made an entertainment for those that had accompanied him in his flight, and gave an account of the usage he had from his lover; for in case he was rudely treated, the law allowed him satisfaction^v. It is farther affirmed by Maximus the Tyrian, that during all the time of their converse together, nothing unseemly, nothing repugnant to the ancient laws of virtue passed

^t Lib. xiii.^u Strabo, lib. x.^v Ibid.

between them ^w; and however some authors are inclined to have hard thoughts of this custom, yet the testimonies of many others, with the high characters given by the ancients of the old Cretan constitutions, by which it was approved, are sufficient to vindicate it from all false imputations. The same is put beyond dispute by what Strabo tells us ^x, that it was not so much the external beauty of a boy, as his virtuous disposition, his modesty, and courage, which recommended him.

From the Cretans pass we to the Lacedæmonians, several of whose constitutions were derived from Crete. Their love of boys was remarkable all over Greece, and for the whole conduct and excellent consequences of it every where admired. There was no such thing as presents passed between the lovers, no foul arts were used to insinuate themselves into one another's affections; their love was generous, and worthy the Spartan education; it was first entertained from a mutual esteem of one another's virtue; and the same cause which first inspired the flame, did alone serve to nourish and continue it; it was not tainted with so much as a suspicion of immodesty. Agesilaus is said to have refused so much as to kiss the boy he loved ^y, for fear of censure: and if a person attempted any thing upon a youth, besides what consisted with the strictest rules of modesty, the laws (however encouraging a virtuous love) condemned him to disgrace ^z, whereby he was deprived of almost all the privileges of free denizens. The same practice was allowed the women toward their own sex, and was so much in fashion among them, that the most staid and virtuous matrons would publicly own their passion for a modest and beautiful virgin ^a; which is a farther confirmation of the innocency of this custom. Maximus the Tyrian ^b assures us the Spartans loved their boys no otherwise than a man may be enamoured with a beautiful statue, which he proves from what Plutarch ^c likewise reports, that though several mens fancies met in one person, yet did not that cause any strangeness or jealousy among them, but was rather the beginning of a very intimate friendship; whilst they all jointly conspired to render the beloved boy the most accomplished in the world; for the end of this love was, that the young men might be improved in all virtuous and commendable qualities, by convers-

^w Dissert. x.^x Loco citato.^a Plutarchus Lycurgo.^y Plutarchus Apophthegm.^b Dissert. x.^z Xenophon de Rep. Laced. Plutarchus Institut. Laconic.^c Lycurgo.

ing with men of probity and experience; whence the lover and the beloved shared the honour and disgrace of each other; the lover especially was blamed if the boy offended, and suffered what punishment was due to his fault ^d. Plutarch has a story of a Spartan fined by the magistrates, because the lad whom he loved cried out effeminately whilst he was fighting ^e. The same love continued when the boy was come to man's estate; he still preserved his former intimacy with his lover, imparted to him all his designs, and was directed by his counsels, as appears from another of Plutarch's relations concerning Cleomenes, who, before his advancement to the kingdom, was beloved by one Xenares, with whom he ever after maintained a most intimate friendship, till he went about his project of new-modelling the commonwealth, which Xenares not approving, departed from him, but still remained faithful to him, and concealed his designs ^f.

If we pass from Sparta to Athens, we shall find that there Solon forbade slaves to love boys, making that an honourable action, and, as it were, inviting (these are Plutarch's words) ^g, the worthy to practise what he commanded the unworthy to forbear. That lawgiver himself is said to have loved Pisistratus ^h, and the most eminent men in that commonwealth submitted to the same passion. Socrates, who died a martyr for disowning the pagan idolatry, is very remarkable for such amours, yet seems not, whilst alive, to have incurred the least suspicion of dishonesty; for what else could be the cause, that when Callias, Thrasymachus, Aristophanes, Anytus and Melitus, with the rest of his enemies, accused him of teaching Critias to tyrannise, for sophistry, for contempt of the gods, and other crimes, they never so much as upbraided him, with impure love, or for writing or discoursing upon that subject? And though some persons, especially in later ages, and perhaps unacquainted with the practice of the old Grecians, have called in question that philosopher's virtue in this point, yet both he and his scholar Plato are sufficiently vindicated from that imputation by Maximus the Tyrian ⁱ, to whom I refer the reader. The innocency of this love may farther appear from their severe laws enacted against immodest love, whereby the youths that entertained such lovers were declared infamous, and rendered incapable of public employments, and the persons that prostituted

^d Ælian. Var. Hist. lib. xiii.

^e Lycurgo.

^f Plutarchus Cleomene.

^g Solone.

^h Idem. loc. cit.

ⁱ Dissert. 8. 9. IO. 11.

them condemned to die. Several other penalties were likewise ordered to deter all men from so heinous and detestable a crime, as appears from the laws of Athens, described in one of the foregoing books ^k.

There are many other examples of this nature, whereof I shall only mention one more; it shall be taken from the Thebans, whose lawgivers, Plutarch tells us ^l, encouraged this excellent passion, to temper the manners of their youth; nor were they disappointed of their expectation, a pregnant evidence whereof (to omit others), we have in the *ἱερὰ φάλαγγξ*, *sacred band*; it was a party of 300 chosen men, composed of lovers and their beloved, and therefore called *sacred*; it gained many important victories, was the first that ever overcame the Spartans (whose courage till then seemed irresistible), upon equal terms, and was never beaten till the battle at Cheronea; after which king Philip, taking a view of the slain, and coming to the place where these 300, who had fought his whole phalanx, lay dead together, he was struck with wonder; and understanding that it was the band of lovers, he said, weeping, *let them perish who suspect that these men either did or suffered any thing base*.

Before I conclude this chapter, it may be necessary to observe, that the lover was called by the Spartans *ἔσπνιλος*, *ἔσπνιλος*, or, as others write it, *εἰσπνήλης*• the beloved was termed by the Thessalians *αἴτης*• thus Theocritus ^m:

Δοῖά δ' ἤ τι νε τῶδε μετ' ἀμφοτέροισι γενέσθην
Φῶθ'• ὁ μὲν ἦν εἰσπνιλος, φαίη χά' μυκλαῖσδων
Τὸν δ' ἔτερον πάλιν ὥς κεν ὁ Θεσσαλὸς εἴποι αἴταν.

The Greek scholiast derives both the names *παρὰ τὸ τὸν ἐρώμειον εἰσαίειν καὶ εἰσπνεῖν τὸν ἔρωτα τῷ ἀγαπῶντι*, from the lover's being inspired with affection by his beloved; and other ancient grammarians agree with him herein.

CHAP. X.

Of their Customs in expressing their Love, their Love-Potions, Incantations, &c.

LOVERS had several ways of discovering their passion, and expressing the respect they had for their beloved. Every tree in the walks they frequented, every wall of their houses, every book they

^k Lib. i. p. 172, 175.

^l Pelopida.

^m Idyl. β'. v. 12.

used, had inscribed upon it the beloved's name, with the epithet of *καλή* or *καλός*• whence Lucianⁿ, relating a story of one desperately in love with Venus Cnidia, after other expressions of his passion, adds, that there was never a wall or tree but what proclaimed *Αφροδίτη καλή*, *Venus fair*. Callimachus's lover has the same fancy, only that he wishes his mistress's name written on leaves, if we may credit the scholiast upon Aristophanes^o.

Αλλ' ἐνὶ δὴ φύλλοις κεκομμένα τόσσα φέροιεν

Γράμματα, Κυδίππην ὡς ἐρώσι καλὴν.

May the kind trees on leaves such letters bear,

As shall proclaim my dear Cydippe fair.

It was in allusion to this practice, that one in Euripides declared he should never entertain a good opinion of the female sex, though the pines in mount Ida were filled with their names^p. Aristophanes had an eye to the same custom, when, jesting upon an old Athenian, that was mightily in love with deciding causes, he says, that upon every place he writ *κηρὸς καλός*, which word signifies the cover of the judiciary urn^q:

— Ἀν' ἴδῃ γε πρὸς γεγραμμένον

Τὸν Πυριλάμπους ἐν Δύρα Δῆμον καλόν,

Ἰὼν παρέγραψε πλησίον Κηρὸς καλός.

Lovers usually decked the doors of their beloved with flowers and garlands; for, thinking the persons their affections were played on to be the very image of the deity of love, their house could be no less than Cupid's temple^r, which was accustomed to receive those honours. From the same original, they seem to have derived that other custom of making libations before their mistress's doors, and sprinkling them with wine, of which we have mention in the scholiast upon Aristophanes^s, where he reports, that many of the Thessalian gentlemen were in love with the beautiful Nais, and publicly owned their passion, by sprinkling the doors of her house with wine.

When a person's garland was untied, it was taken for a sign of being in love^t; and for a woman to compose a garland, was another indication of her passion^u:

— Εὐν τις πλῆκη

Γύνῃ σίφανον, ἱρᾶν δοκεῖ.

The wreathing garlands in a woman is

The usual symptom of a love-sick mind.

They had several methods of discovering whether their love

ⁿ Amator.

^o Acharn.

^r Athenæus, lib. xv.

^p Eustathius, Iliad. ζ'. p. 490. edit. Basil.

^s Pluto, act. i. sc. 1.

^q Vespis.

^t Athenæus, lib. cit.

^u Aristophanes Thesmophor.

would prove successful ; that of the κότταβος was very frequent at entertainments, which is hereafter described. Two other ways we have in Theocritus ^v :

Εγνὼν τρᾶν, ὅκα μιν μεμνημένω εἰ φιλείεις με,
Οὐδὲ τὸ τηλίφιλον ποτιμάζατο τὸ πλατάγημα,
Ἀλλ' αὐτῶς ἀπαλῶ ποτὶ παχὺ ἔξιμαρᾶνθη·
Εἴπει γ' Ἀγριοῦ τάλανθ' ἀλαβία κοσκινόμαντις,
Ἀπρὰν ποιοιογιῦσα, παραιεάτις, θνικ' ἰγὼ μιν
Τὴν ὅλος ἔγκειμαι τὸ δὲ μιν λόγον ἄδ' ἵνα ποιῇ.

All this I knew, when I design'd to prove
Whether I should be happy in my love ;
I press'd the long-live, but in vain did press,
It gave no lucky sound of good success ;
To Agrio too I made the same demand,
A cunning woman she, I cross'd her hand ;
She turn'd the sieve and sheers, and told me true,
That I should love, but not be lov'd by you.

CREECH.

Both these customs I have already described in one of the precedent books ^w, which the reader may consult.

When their love was without success, they had several arts to procure the affections of their beloved. The Thessalian women were famous for their skill in this, as well as other magical practices. The means whereby it was effected were of divers sorts : it was sometimes done by portions called φίλτρα, which are frequently mentioned in authors of both languages. Juvenal speaks thus ^x :

*Hic magicos affert cantus, hic Thessala vendit
Philtrea, quibus valeant mentem vexare mariti.*

This pedlar offers magic charms, the next
Philtres, by which the husband's mind's perplex'd.

Their operations were violent and dangerous, and commonly deprived such as drank them of their reason. Plutarch and Cornelius Nepos report, that Lucullus the Roman general first lost his reason, and afterwards his life, by one of them. Lucretius the poet ended his life the same way ; and Caius Caligula (as Suetonius reports), was driven into a fit of madness by a philtre given him by his wife Cæsonia ; which story is mentioned by the same poet ^y :

———*Tamen hoc tolerabile, si non
Et furere incipias, ut avunculus ille Neronis,
Cui totam tremuli frontem Cæsonia pulli
Infudit.*———

Some nimbler juice would make him foam and rave,
Like that Cæsonia to her Caius gave,
Who plucking from the forehead of the foal
His mother's love, infus'd it in the bowl.

DRYDEN.

^v Idyl. iii. v. 28.^w Lib. ii. cap. 18. p. 519.^x Satir. vi. v. 609.^y Loc. cit.

Ovid likewise assures us, that this was the usual effect of these potions :

*Nec data profuerint pallentia philtra puellis,
Philtra nocent animis, vimque furoris habent.*

All pois'nous drugs and necromantic arts
Ne'er move the scornful maids' relentless hearts,
They but distract the senses, seize the brain,
And Venus' rites and mysteries profane.

J. A.

The ingredients they were made up of were of several sorts, divers of which, applied by themselves, were thought effectual. Some of the most remarkable were these that follow :

Hippomanes, a piece of flesh upon the forehead of colts new foaled, of a black or brown colour, in bigness and shape like a fig, which the mares bite off as soon as they have foaled ; but if they be prevented, forsake their offspring ; whence it was thought a prevalent medicine to conciliate love, especially when reduced to powder, and swallowed with some drops of the lover's blood. It is frequently mentioned by the writers of natural history. Aristotle, Pliny, Solinus, Columella, with many others, have thought it worth their notice. The poets are full of its effects : whence Dido in Virgil (to omit other instances) has recourse to it, when pretending to recal Æneas to her affection ^z :

*Quæritur et nascentis equi de fronte revulsus
Et matri præceptus amor.*—————

She from the forehead of a new-foal'd colt
Th' excrescent lump doth seek.—————

The same word is frequently taken in another sense, and is described by Pliny to be *virus distillans ab inguine equæ coitum maris appetentis, et in furorem agens*. This was no less powerful than the former, as appears from Pausanias's story of a horse's statue, dedicated by one Phormis, an Arcadian, which being infected by a magician with the Hippomanes I am speaking of, so enraged all the stone-horses that passed that way, that they would break their bridle in pieces, and throw their riders to come at it ^a, and could not, without great difficulty and many stripes, be forced from it. Several of the poets speak of its effects. Ovid ^b :

*Scit benè quid gramen, quid torto concita rhombo
Licia, quid valeat virus amantis aquæ.*

She knows the virtue of each herb to move
The latent seeds of a coy lady's love ;
She knows the rhomb, what feats in magic are,
From pois'nous issue of a lustful mare.

^z Æncid. iv. 515^a Eliac. 4. prope finem.^b Lib. i. Eleg. 8.

Virgil will have it to proceed from Lusitanian mares impregnated by the wind^c;

*Continuoque avidis ubi subdita flamma medullis,
Vere magis (quia vere color redit ossibus) illæ,
Ore omnes versæ in Zephyrum, stant rupibus altis,
Exceptantque leves auras; et sæpe sine ullis
Conjugiis, vento gravidæ (mirabile dictu)
Saxa per, et scopulos, et depressas convalles
Diffugiunt; non, Euræ, tuos, neque Solis ad ortus,
In Borcam, Caurumque, aut unde nigerrimus Auster
Nascitur, et pluvio contristat frigore cælum.
Hinc demum Hippomanes vero quod nomine dicunt
Pastores, lentum distillat ab inguine virus;
Hippomanes, quod sæpe malæ legere novercæ,
Miscueruntque herbas, et non innoxia verba.*

When at the spring's approach their marrow burns,
(For with the spring their genial heat returns,)
The mares to cliffs of rugged rocks repair,
And with wide nostrils snuff the western air;
(When, wond'rous to relate,) the parent wind,
Without the stallion, propagates the kind;
Then fir'd with am'rous rage they take their flight
Through plains, and mount the hills unequal height;
Nor to the north, nor to the rising sun,
Nor southward to the rainy regions run,
But bearing to the west, and hov'ring there,
With gaping mouths they draw prolific air,
With which impregnate, from their groins they shed
A slimy juice, by false conception bred;
The shepherds know it well, and call the same
Hippomanes, to note the mother's flame;
This gather'd in the planetary hour,
With noxious weeds, and spell'd with words of pow'r,
Dire stepdames in the magic bowl infuse,
And mix for deadly draughts the pois'nous juice.

DRYDEN.

The same story is attested by Aristotle. Others make hippomanes to be a plant in Arcadia, which also was powerful in producing the fore-mentioned effects^d:

*Ἴππομανὲς φυτὸν ἐστὶ παρ' Ἀρκάσι· τὸ δ' ἐπὶ πᾶσαι
καὶ πᾶλοι μαίνονται ἀν' ὥρεα, καὶ θοαὶ ἵπποι·
ὧς καὶ Δέλφιν ἴδοιμι καὶ ἐς τὸδε δῶμα πρὸς ἔσθαι
Μαινομένην ἱκέλον, λιπαρᾶς ἔκτοσθε παλαιστράας.*

Hippomanes, a plant Arcadia bears,
Makes the colts mad, and stimulates the mares:
O'er hills, thro' streams they rage; O could I see
Young Delphis thus run madding after me.

FAWKES.

Ἰϋγξ is the name of a small bird, the Latin of which is not agreed on; some translate it *passerculus*, others will have it the same with *torquilla*, *frutilla*, or with *regulus*. This bird, the writers of fables tell us^e, was once the daughter of Pan and Pitho, or Echo,

^c Georgic. iii. 271.

^d Theocritus, Idyll. β'. v. 48.

^e Suidas, Isacius, Tzetzes in Lyco-

phronem, v. 510. ubi commentarius
noster adeundus.

and having inveigled Jupiter into Io's love, was transformed by Juno; upon this she became the darling of Venus, and retaining the same inclinations she had formerly, still served to promote the affairs of love: the first time the goddess made use of her was in the Argonautic expedition, when she invented love-magic, with charms and potions, a chief ingredient whereof was this bird, which she communicated to Jason, to gain his access to Medea's affections: hence Pindar ^f;

Μαινὰδ' ὄρνιν Κυπριγενεῖα φέρειν
Πρῶτον ἀνθρώποισι, λιπὰς τ' ἔπαι-
δας ἐκδιδάσκεισεν σοφὸν Δίονίδα·
Ὀφρα Μηδείας τοκέων ἀφέλοι-
τ' αἰδῶ. —————

The Phasis soon they enter and survey
The swarthy subjects of Æetes' sway;
And here the Cyprian Queen to Jason lent
Her surest weapons, and her philtres tried,
Her various lÿnx, from Olympus sent
To the swift circling wheel, a captive tied;
The raging bird that kindles am'rous fire,
And spells and songs she taught to raise desire.

LEE.

The part most valued by enchanters was the tongue, which they looked on as having a sovereign virtue in love potions: sometimes they fastened the whole bird to a wheel of wax, which they turned over the fire till both were consumed, thus inflaming the party in whom they had a mind to create love. Others there are that will have *ῥυγξ* to signify nothing but a musical instrument; and some take it for all sorts of allurements.

To these may be added several herbs, and insects bred out of putrid matter, with other animals; such as the fish called *ἐχενήις*, or *remora*; the lizard, with another not much unlike it called *stellio* and *stincus*; the brains of a calf; the hair upon the extremity of a wolf's tail, with some of the secret parts; the bones of the left side of a toad eaten by ants; for these were thought to generate love, whereas those on the right side caused hatred: others took the same bones, when the flesh was devoured by ants, and cast them into a vessel of water, wherein those that sunk, being wound up in a white linen cloth, and hung about any person, inflamed him with love, the others with hatred. Other parts of the toad were used in poisonous compositions: whence Juvenal ^g;

At nunc res agitur tenui pulmone rubetæ.

But now with pois'nous entrails of a toad
They urge their husband's fate.

To these others add the blood of doves, the bones of snakes, screech-owl's feathers, bands of wool twisted upon a wheel (which

^f Pythion. Od. iv.

^g Sat. vi. v. 658.

were very much used on these occasions, for their resemblance to the soft ties of love,) especially such as had been bound about one that hanged himself. Some of these are mentioned by Propertius^h;

*Improba non vicit me moribus illa, sed herbis,
Stamine et a rhombi ducitur ille rota :
Illum turgentis ranæ portenta rubetæ,
Et lecta e sectis anguibus ossa trahunt,
Et strigis inventæ per busta jacentia plumæ,
Cinctaque funesto lanæ vitta viro.*

Were there to merits but a due regard,
I should not fear my rival's being preferr'd ;
But she, too conscious of my pow'rful charms,
By spells and magic tears him from my arms ;
The poisonous bones of swelling toads she takes,
And mingles them with those of crested snakes ;
Then strait where owls frequent she doth repair,
And picks their scatter'd feathers up with care ;
Next she procures some fatal woollen band
That late bound him that dy'd by his own hand :
Thus what her merits can't, by magic charms
She, with her am'rous fire, his frozen bosom warms. II. II.

Several other ingredients of love potions are mentioned in Lælius's verses cited by Appuleiusⁱ ;

*Philtra omnia undique eruant,
Antipathes illud quæritur,
Trochisci, iynges, tæniæ,
Radiculæ, herbæ, surculi,
Aureæ ilices, bichordilæ,
Hinnientium dulcedines.*

From ev'ry part they magic draughts procure,
For that much-fam'd Antipathes they seek,
Pills, fillets, and those love-enforcing birds,
Roots too, and baneful herbs, and sappy sprigs,
With scarlet oaks, and dire hippomanes.

Other sorts of ingredients were rags, torches, and, in short, all relics, and whatever had any relation to dead corpses, or funerals. Sometimes a nest of young swallows was placed in a convenient vessel, and buried in the earth till they were famished : then they opened the grave, and such of them as were found with mouths shut, were thought conducive to allay the passion of love ; but the rest, which perished with mouths gaping for food, were thought to excite it. To the same end they used bones snatched from hungry and ravenous bitches, which were believed to derive some part of the eager desire of those animals into the potion : hence Horace gives us this elegant description of an echantress's practices^k :

*Canidia brevibus implicata viperis
Crines et incompitum caput,
Jubet sepulchris caprificos erutas,
Jubet cupressos funebres,*

^h Lib. iii. Eleg. 5.

ⁱ Apolog.

^k Epod. v. 14.

*Et uncta turpis ova ranæ sanguine,
 Plumamque nocturnæ strigis,
 Herbasque quas et Tolchos, atque Iberia
 Mittit venenorum ferox,
 Et ossa ab ore rapta jejunæ canis,
 Flammis aduri Colchicis.*

Canidia crown'd with wreathing snakes
 Dishevell'd, thus the silence breaks :

" Now the magic fire prepare
 " And from graves uprooted tear
 " Trees, whose horrors gloomy spread
 " Round the mansions of the dead ;
 " Bring the eggs and plumage foul
 " Of a midnight shrieking owl ;
 " Be they well besmear'd with blood
 " Of the blackest venom'd toad ;
 " Bring the choicest drugs of Spain,
 " Produce of the poisonous plain ;
 " Then into the charm be thrown,
 " Snatch'd from famish'd bitch, a bone ;
 " Burn them all with magic flame
 " Kindled first by Colchian dame."

FRANCIS.

To these they added another ingredient more powerful than any of the rest; which the poet has thus described in the same ode¹;

*Abacta nulla Veja conscientia,
 Ligonibus duris humum
 Exhaustiebat ingemens laboribus ;
 Quo posset infossus puer
 Longo die bis terve mulatæ dapis
 Inemori spectaculo,
 Cum promineret ore, quantum extant aqua
 Suspensa mento corpora
 Ersucta uti medulla, et aridum jecur
 Amoris esset poculum,
 Interminato cum semel fixæ cibo
 Intabuissent pupulæ.*

Veia, who never knew remorse,
 Uplifts the spade with feeble force ;
 And breathless with the hellish toil,
 Deep-groaning breaks the guilty soil.
 Turns out the earth, and digs a grave
 In which the boy (as o'er the way
 A lusty swimmer lifts his head)
 Chin-deep sinks downward to the dead,
 O'er dainties, chang'd twice, thrice a-day,
 Slowly to gaze his life away ;
 That the foul hags, an amorous dose
 Of his parch'd marrow may compose
 His marrow and his liver dried,
 The seat where wanton thoughts reside,
 When, fix'd upon his food in vain,
 His eye-balls pined away with pain.

FRANCIS.

Let us now pass to some other arts they had of exciting love. Some thought the udder of an hyena, tied about their left arm, a good expedient to entice to their affections any woman they fixed their eyes on : others took *πίττα*, a sort of small and hard olives, or (as others interpret it) barley-bran, which, either by itself, or

made up in paste, they cast into the fire, hoping thereby to inspire the flames of love: hence Sinoëtha in Theocritus ^m:

Νῦν θυσῶ τὰ πίτυρια.—

Now will I strew the barley-bran,

Sometimes they used ἄλφιστα, or *flour*, which the scholiast upon Theocritus will have termed θυλήματα* that poet has described this custom, where he introduces his enchantress thus calling out to her maid ⁿ:

Ἀλφιστὰ τοι πρῶτον πυρὶ τάκιται, ἀλλ' ἐπίπασσι,
Θίσυλι δειλαία, πᾶ τὰς φρένας ἐκπεπότασαι;
Ἢ ῥά γι' τοι, μυσσάρᾳ, καὶ τὴν ἐπίχαρμα τίτυγμαί,
Πασσ' ἄμα, καὶ λίγι ταῦτα, τὰ Δελφίδος, ὅσ' ἴα πάσσω.

First burn the flour, then strew the other on,
Strew it; how? where's your sense and duty gone?
Base Thestylis, and am I so forlorn,
And grown so low, that I'm become your scorn?
But strew the salt, and say in angry tones,
I scatter'd Delphid's, perjur'd Delphid's bones.

CREECH.

Instead of bran or flour, it was usual to burn laurel, as we learn from the same enchantress, who proceeds thus:

Δέλφιδις ἔμ' ἀνίασεν ἐγὼ δ' ἐπὶ Δέλφιδι δάφναν
Αἶθω· καὶ ὡς αὐτὰ λακίει μέγα καπνυρίσασσα,
Κήζαπίνης ἄφθῃ, καὶ δὲ σπαδὸν εἰδομένη αὐτῇ,
Οὔτα τοι καὶ Δέλφιδις ἐνὶ φλογὶ σάρε' ἀμαθύνει.

First Delphid injur'd me, he rais'd my flame,
And now I burn this bough in Delphid's name;
As this doth blaze, and break away in fume;
How soon it takes! let Delphid's flesh consume.

CREECH.

It was likewise frequent to melt wax, thereby to mollify the person's heart whom they desired: hence she goes on:

Ὡς τῷτον τὸν καρὸν ἐγὼ σὺν δαίμονι τάκω,
Ὡς τάκοιθ' ὑπ' ἔρωτος ὁ Μυνδῖος αὐτίκα Δέλφιδι,
As this devoted wax melts o'er the fire,
Let Myndian Delphis melt with soft desire.

Sometimes they placed clay before the fire, together with wax, that as one melted whilst the other hardened, so the person that then rejected them might have his heart mollified with affection, and inflamed with desire, whilst their own became hard and unrelenting; or that his heart might be rendered incapable of any impression from other beauties, but easy of access to themselves. This seems to be Virgil's meaning in the first of the following verses; the latter two contain some of the customs before described out of Theocritus;

*Limus ut hic durescit, et hæc ut cera liquescit,
Uno eodemque igni; sic nostro Daphnis amore:
Sparge molam, et fragiles incende bitumine lauros;
Daphnis me malus urit, ego hanc in Daphnide laurum.* ^o

As fire this figure hardens made of clay,
 And this of wax with fire consumes away,
 Such let the soul of cruel Daphnis be,
 Hard to the rest of women, soft to me.
 Crumble the sacred mole of salt and corn,
 Next in the fire the bays with brimstone burn,
 And, whilst it crackles in the sulphur, say,
 This I for Daphnis burn, thus Daphnis burn away. DRYDEN.

It was customary to imitate all those actions they had a mind the person they loved should perform. They turned a wheel round, praying he might fall down before their doors, and roll himself on the ground: thus Theocritus's enchantress:

Χ' ὡς δινεῖθ' ὅδε ῥόμβος ὁ χαλκεός, ἐξ Ἀφροδίτας
 'Ως κῆνος δινοῖτο ποθ' ἀμετέραισι Δύραισιν.

And, Venus, as I whirl' this brazen wheel,
 Before my doors let perjur'd Delphid reel.

We are told that it has been usual to compose an image of wax, and calling it by the name of the person to be inflamed with love, to place it near the fire, the heat whereof affected the image, and the person represented by it, at the same time^P. Virgil's enchantress speaks of drawing it three times round the altar:

————terque hæc allaria circum
 Effigiem duco.————

Thrice round this altar I the image draw.

She had before taken care to have it bound, thereby to intimate the tying his affections:

Terna tibi hæc primum triplici diversa colore
 Licia circumdo.————

Three threads I of three diff'rent colours bound
 About your image.————

It was not unfrequent to sprinkle enchanted medicaments upon some part of the house where the person resided: thus Theocritus's enchantress commands:

Θέσυλι, νῦν δὲ λαβοῖσα τὸ τὰ θρόνα ταῦθ', ὑπόμαζον
 Τὰς τήνω φλιάς καθυπέρτερον, ἃς ἔτι χ' νῦν
 Εκ θυμῷ δίδεμαι (ὃ δέ μιν λόγον ἔδδεναι ποιεῖ)
 Καὶ λίγ' ἐπιφύσσοισα, τὰ Δέλφιδος ὅσ' ἐα πάσσω.

Now take these poisons, I procure you more,
 And strew them at the threshold of his door,
 That door where violent love hath fix'd my mind,
 Though he regard not, cruel and unkind!
 Strew them, and spitting, say in angry tones,
 I scatter Delphid's, perjur'd Delphid's bones. CRTECH.

If they could get into their hands any thing that belonged to the person whose love they desired, it was of singular use. The same enchantress burns the border of Delphid's garment, that the owner might be tortured with the same flame:

Τῦτ' ἀπὸ τῆς χλαῖνας τὸ κράσπεδον ὧλισι Δίλφιδος,
 Εγὼ νῦν τίλλοισα κατ' ἀγρίῳ ἐν πυρὶ βέλλω.

This piece from dear false Delphid's garment torn,
I tear again, and am resolv'd to burn.

Virgil's enchantress deposits her lover's pledges in the ground, underneath her threshold ;

*Has olim exuvias mihi perfidus ille reliquit,
Pignora cara sui ; quæ nunc ego limine in ipso,
Terra, tibi mando ; debent hæc pignora Daphnin.*

These garments once were his, and left to me,
The pledges of his promis'd loyalty ;
Which underneath my threshold I bestow,
These pawns, O sacred earth, to me my Daphnis owe. DRYDEN.

The design of which action seems to be the retaining her lover, and securing his affections from wandering.

Virgil has thus described another method in the nymph's command to her woman ;

*Fer cineres, Amarylli, foras, rivoque fluenti,
Transque caput jace ; ne respexeris : his ego Daphnin
Aggrediar, nihil ille Deos, nil carmina curat.*

Bear out these ashes, cast them in the brook ;
Cast backwards o'er your head, nor turn your look ;
Since neither gods nor godlike verse can move,
Break out ye smother'd fires, and kindle smother'd love. DRYDEN.

I shall only trouble you with one expedient more, which was their tying venereal knots, to unite the beloved person's affections with their own :

*Necte tribus nodis ternos, Amarylli, colores ;
Necte, Amarylli, modo ; et Veneris, dic, vincula necto.
Knit with three knots the fillets, knit them straight ;
And say, these knots to love I consecrate.*

Her caution about the number of knots is observable, for most of their actions in these rites were confined to the number three. Theocritus's enchantress is no less exact in this circumstance :

Ἐς τρεῖς ἀποσπίνδω, καὶ τρεῖς τὰδε, πότνια, φωνῶ.

Thrice, thrice I pour, and thrice repeat my charms.

Virgil has assigned the reason hereof to the pleasure the gods were thought to take in that number :

———*numero Deus impare gaudet.*

Unequal numbers please the gods.

Whether this fancy owes its original to the supposed perfection of the number three, because, containing a beginning, middle, and end, it seems natural to signify all things in the world ; or whether to the esteem the Pythagoreans, and some other philosophers, had for it, on the account of their trinity ; or lastly (to mention no more opinions), to its aptness to signify the power of all the gods, who were divided into three classes, celestial, terrestrial, and infernal, I shall leave to be determined by others. Thus much is

certain, that the ancients thought there was no small force and efficacy in unequal numbers ; whence we find Vegetius advising, that the ditches round encampments should be at the least nine feet in breadth, at the most seventeen, but always of an unequal number ^q. Shepherds are likewise advised to take care that the number of their sheep be not even ^r; but the number three was acceptable to the gods above all others ; whence we find three fatal sisters, three furies, three names and appearances of Diana, according to the poet :

————— *tria virginis ora Dianæ.*

Three diff'rent forms does chaste Diana bear.

The sons of Saturn, among whom the empire of the world was divided, were three ; and for the same reason, we read of Jupiter's *fulmen trifidum*, Neptune's *trident*, with several other tokens of the veneration they had for this number.

Many of their other practices were the same with those used at common incantations : the *charm*, or form of verses, had little difference beside the proper application to the present occasion : Virgil's nymph speaks of her verses as of the same sort, and endued with the same efficacy as Circe's :

————— *nil hic nisi carmina desunt :*

*Ducite ab urbe domum, mea carmina, ducite Daphnin ;
Carmina vel cælo possunt deducere lunam,
Carminibus Circe socios mutavit Ulyssæi,
Frigidus in pratis cantando rumpitur anguis.*

————— we want but verse ; restore, my charms,
My ling'ring Daphnis to my longing arms ;
Pale Phœbe drawn by verse, from heav'n descends,
And Circe chang'd with charms Ulysses' friends :
Verse breaks the ground, and penetrates the brake,
And in the winding cavern splits the snake.

DRYDEN.

And the herbs and minerals used in other magical operations, were no less sought for in this, there being in them (as it was thought), some wonderful powers, which were equally prevalent in all supernatural and miraculous effects : whence we find Virgil's nymph alluring Daphnis to her love by the very same medicaments which Mœris had found effectual in performing other magical feats :

*Has herbas, atque hæc Ponto mihi lecta venena
Ipse dedit Mœris ; nascuntur plurima Ponto ;
His ego sæpe lupum fieri, et se condere silvis
Mœrin, sæpe animas imis excire sepulcris,
Atque satas alio vidi traducere messes.*

These pois'nous plants, for magic use design'd,
(The noblest and the best of all the baneful kind)

^q Lib. iii. cap. 8.

^r Geoponic. lib. xviii.

Old Mæris brought me from the Pontic strand,
 And cull'd the mischief of a bounteous land,
 Smear'd with the pow'rful juices, on the plain
 He howls a wolf among the hungry train ;
 And oft the mighty necromancer boasts,
 With these to call from tombs the stalking ghosts ;
 And from the roots to tear the standing corn,
 Which, whirl'd aloft, to distant fields is borne.

DRYDEN.

The gods likewise (to mention no more instances of their agreement), were the same that superintended all magical arts, as we learn from Theocritus's Simoetha, who is introduced invoking the moon and Hecate to her assistance :

——— Ἀλλὰ, Σελάννα,
 Φαῖνε καλὸν, τιν γὰρ ποταείσομαι ἄσυχον, δαῖμον,
 Τῇ χθονία δ' ἑκάστα, τὰν ἔ σκύλακες τρομέοντι
 Ερχομένην νεκρὸν ἀνά τ' ἡρία, ἔ μέλαν αἷμα.
 Χαῖρ', ἑκάστα δασπλήτι, ἔ ἐς τέλος ἄμμιν ὁπάδεις,
 Φόρομακα ταῦθ' ἔρδοισα χερσέονα μητι τι Κίρκης.
 Μήτις τι Μηδείας, μήτις ξανθᾶς Περιμήδας.

——— Moon, shine bright and clear,
 To thee I will direct my secret prayer ;
 To thee and Hecate, whom dogs do dread,
 When stain'd with gore she stalks amidst the dead.
 Hail, frightful Hecate, assist me still,
 Make mine as great as fam'd Medea's skill.

CREECH.

Thus far concerning their arts in exciting love. It may be inquired, in the next place, whether they had any means to allay the passion when once raised? Now it appears, that it was common to set the patient at liberty by the help of more powerful medicaments, or demons superior to those that had bound him: whence we find Canidia, in Horace, complaining that all her enchantments were rendered ineffectual by art superior to her own :

*Quid accidit ? cur dira barbaræ minus
 Venena Medæ valent,
 Quibus superba fugit ulta pellicem,
 Magni Creontis filiam,
 Cum palla, tabo munus imbutum, novam
 Incendio nuptam abstulit ?
 Atqui nec herba, nec latens in asperis
 Radix fefellit me locis.
 Indormit unctis omnium cubilibus
 Oblivione pellicum.
 Ah, ah, solutus ambulat veneficæ
 Scientioris carmine.*

Am I so serv'd ? my base degrading charms,
 Shall Colchos foster greater harms ?
 What ! shall the present spell'd with magic rage,
 Medea's vengeful breast assuage ?
 Since the fallacious gift to flames is turn'd,
 And her unhappy rival burn'd ?
 Then what am I ? There's not an herb doth grow,
 Nor root, but I their virtues know,
 And can their craggy places show ;

Yet Varus slights my love, above my pow'r,
 And sleeps on rosy beds secure ;
 Ah ! much I fear some rival's greater skill
 Defends him from my weaker spell.

H. H.

But love, inspired without the assistance of magic, scarce yielded to any cure. Apollo himself could find no remedy against it, but is introduced lamenting in these words ^s:

*Inventum medicina meum est, opiferque per orbem
 Dicor, et herbarum est subjecta potentia nobis ;
 Hei mihi ! quod nullis amor est medicabilis herbis,
 Nec prosunt domino, quæ prosunt omnibus, artes.*

Med'cine is mine, what herbs and simples grow
 In fields and forests, all their pow'rs I know,
 And am the great physician call'd below ;
 Alas ! that fields and forests can afford
 No remedies to heal their love-sick lord !
 To cure the pains of love no plant avails,
 And his own physic the physician fails.

DRYDEN.

The same poet professes in another place, that no art was ever able to set a lover at liberty ^t :

*Nulla recantatas deponent pectora curas,
 Nec fugiet vivo sulphure victus amor.
 Quid te Phasiacæ juverunt gramina terræ,
 Cum cuperes patria, Colchi, manere domo ?
 Quid tibi profuerunt, Circe, Perseides herbæ,
 Cum tibi Neritias abstulit aura rates.*

Not all the pow'r of verse with magic join'd
 Can heal the torture of a love-sick mind ;
 Altars may smoke with expiatory fire,
 Too weak to make a well-fix'd love retire,
 Love by repulse still works the passion higher.
 What help, Medea, did thy potions yield ?
 Not all the drugs that stock'd the Colebian field,
 Could ease to your distracted breast afford,
 When forc'd from home, you lov'd the foreign lord.
 Nor greater the relief that Circe found,
 When left by her Ulysses homewards bound ;
 Nor herbs, nor poisons could her grief allay,
 When envious gales had stolen her dear away.

H. H.

But, notwithstanding the difficulty of this cure, there is not wanting variety of prescriptions adapted to the several causes and occasions of the malady ; as appears from the old nurse's words to Myrrha, desperately in love ^u :

*Seu furor est, habeo quæ carmine sanet, et herbis :
 Sive aliquis nocuit, magico lustrabere ritu :
 Ira deum sive est, sacris placabilis ira.*

Madness by sacred numbers is expell'd,
 And magic will to stronger magic yield ;
 If the dire wrath of heav'n this fury rais'd,
 Heav'n is with sacrifice and prayer appeas'd.

HOPKINS.

^s Ovid. Metam. i. 521.^t De remedio amoris.^u Metam. x. 597.

The antidotes may be reduced to two sorts: they were either such as had some natural virtue to produce the designed effect; such are *agnus castus*, and the herbs reputed enemies to generation ^v: or, secondly, such as wrought the cure by some occult and mystical power, and the assistance of demons; such are the sprinkling of the dust wherein a mule had rolled herself ^w, the tying toads in the hide of a beast lately slain ^x, with several others mentioned by Pliny; amongst which we may reckon all the minerals and herbs, which were looked on as amulets against other effects of magic; for those were likewise proper on such occasions: whence the poets usually mention Caucasus, Colchis, and other places famous for magical plants, as those which alone could furnish remedies and antidotes against love. I shall only set down one instance wherein the poet, enquiring what should be the cause his mistress had forsaken him, puts this question among others ^y:

— an quæ

Lecta Prometheus dividit herba jugis.

What! do those odious herbs, the lover's bane,
Growing on Caucasus, produce this pain?

By Prometheus's mountain, he means Caucasus, which was remarkable for herbs of sovereign power, that sprung out of Prometheus's blood.

The infernal gods were called upon for assistance, as may be learned from Virgil's Dido, who signifies her pretended design to dispel the remains of love for Æneas, in these words ^z:

*Sacra Jovi Stygio, quæ rite incepta paravi,
Perficere est animus, finemque imponere curis,
Dardaniique rogam capitis permittere flammæ.*

Thus will I pay my vows to Stygian Jove,
And end the cares of my disastrous love;
Then cast the Trojan image on the fire,
And as that burns my passion shall expire.

DRYDEN.

Silius introduces Anna, Dido's sister, telling how she had endeavoured to render the same gods propitious ^a:

*Nigro forte Jovi, cui tertia regna laborant,
Atque atri sociæ thalami nova sacra parabam,
Queis ægram mentem, et trepidantia corda levaret
Infelix germana tori.*————

To grisly Jove of hell I off'rings paid,
And to the swarthy consort of his bed,
In pity of my love-sick sister's grief,
And in assurance of a bless'd relief,
To charm her cares to sleep, her fears to rest,
And still the tumults of her troubled breast.

J. A.

^v Vide Archæolog. hujus lib. ii. cap. 3.

^x Idem. lib. xxxii. cap. 10.

^y Propertii, lib. i. Eleg. 12.

^z Æneid, iv. v. 638. ^a Lib. viii.

Not long before, the same person, relating how the diviners essayed to restore Dido to her right mind, says, they invoked the gods of night (whereby she means the shades below) to aid them :

*Heu ! sacri vatum errores, dum numina noctis
Eliciunt, spondentque novis medicamina curis.*

O soothing priestcraft ! O the close disguise
Of cheat, imposture, and well-varnish'd lies !
The shades with zeal pretended they implore,
The gods of night demurely they adore,
With promis'd cures they gull our easy minds,
A solemn vow their holy knav'ry binds.

J. A.

I shall only mention one expedient more, whereby they cured themselves of love ; it is the water of Selemnus, a river that falls into the sea near Argyra in Achaia. The story is thus : Selemnus, a beautiful young shepherd in those parts, was beloved by Argyra, the nymph from whom the town and fountain of that name were called ; but the flower of his age being over, the nymph deserted him, upon which he pined away, and was transformed into a river by Venus ; after this he still retained his former passion, and (as the Patrensiens report) for some time conveyed his waters through a subterraneous passage to Argyra's fountain, in the same manner that Alpheus was said to join himself with Arethusa, till by Venus's favour, the remembrance of her was caused to vanish quite out of his mind. Hence it came to pass, that as many as washed themselves in this river, were made to forget that passion : thus Pausanias^b.

Thus much concerning their love. I am not ignorant that enlargements might be made in every part of this chapter ; but what has been said will (I hope) be sufficient to satisfy the reader's curiosity, without trespassing too far upon his patience.

CHAP. XI.

Of their Marriages.

THE first inhabitants of Greece lived without laws and government ; no bounds were prescribed to their passions ; their love (like the rest of their desires) was unconfined, and promiscuous mixtures, because forbidden by no human authority, were publicly

allowed. The first that restrained this liberty was Cecrops, who having raised himself to be king over the people afterwards called Athenians, amongst many other useful institutions, introduced that of marriage ^c. Others refer the honour of this institution, together with the invention of dancing, to Erato, one of the Muses; but some rather understand that story of the marriage solemnity, the regular conduct whereof, they say, was first ordered by Erato. However that be, it was in some time received by all the Grecians; for no sooner did they begin to reform their savage and barbarous course of life, and join themselves in towns and societies, but they found it necessary to confine the unruly lusts of men, by establishing lawful marriage, with other rules of good manners.

Marriage was very honourable in several of the Grecian commonwealths, being very much encouraged by their laws, as the abstaining from it was discountenanced, and in some places punished; for the strength of states consisting in their number of people, those that refused to contribute to their increase, were thought very cold in their affections to their country. The Lacedæmonians are very remarkable for their severity against those that deferred marrying, as well as those who wholly abstained from it ^d. No man among them could live without a wife beyond the time limited by their lawgiver, without incurring several penalties; as first, the magistrates commanded such, once every winter, to run round the public forum naked; and to increase their shame, they sung a certain song, the words whereof aggravated their crime, and exposed them to ridicule. Another of their punishments was, to be excluded from the exercises, wherein (according to the Spartan custom) young virgins contended naked ^e. A third penalty was inflicted upon a certain solemnity, wherein the women dragged them round an altar, beating them all the time with their fists ^f. Lastly, they were deprived of that respect and observance which the younger sort were obliged to pay to their elders, and therefore, saith Plutarch ^g, no man found fault with what was said to Dercyllidas, a great captain, and one that had commanded armies, who, coming into the place of assembly, a young man, instead of rising and making room, told him, ‘Sir, you must not expect that honour from me, being young, which cannot be returned to me by a child of yours when I am old.’

^c Vide Archæolog. hujus lib. i. cap. 2.

^e Plutarchus Lycurgo.

^d Stobæus, lxx. de laude Nuptiarum.

^f Athenæus, lib. xiii.

^g Loc. citat.

To these we may add the Athenian law^h, whereby all that were commanders, orators, or entrusted with any public affair, were to be married, and have children, and estates in land; for these were looked upon as so many pledges for their good behaviour, without which they thought it dangerous to commit to them the management of public trusts.

Polygamy was not commonly tolerated in Greece, for marriage was thought to be a conjunction of one man with one woman; whence some will have γάμος derived παρὰ τὸ δύο ἄμα εἶναι, from *two* becoming *one*. When Herodotus reports that Anaxandridas the Spartan had two wives, he remarks that it was contrary to the custom of Spartaⁱ. The rest of the Grecian cities did, for the most part, agree herein with the Lacedæmonians; only upon some emergent occasions, when their men had been destroyed by war, or other calamities, toleration was granted for marrying more wives; an instance whereof we have at Athens in Euripides's time, who, as some say, conceived an hatred against the whole sex, for which he is famous in story, by being harassed with two wives at once^j. Socrates is said to have been married to Xantippe and Myrto at the same time^k; and Athenæus concludes it was then reputed no scandal, because we never find any of his enemies casting it in his teeth^l; but some think the matter of fact may be justly called into question; and, in Plutarch's opinion, Panetius of Rhodes, *ἰκανῶς ἀντίσκηψε*, has fully confuted it in his discourse concerning Socrates^m.

The time of marriage was not the same in all places: the Spartans were not permitted to marry till they arrived at their full strengthⁿ; and though I do not find what was the exact number of years they were confined to, yet it appears from one of Lycurgus's sayings, that both men and women were limited in this affair; which that lawgiver being asked the reason of, said, his design was, that the Spartan children might be strong and vigorous. The Athenian laws are said once to have ordered, that men should not marry till above thirty-five years of age; for human life being divided by Solon into ten weeks (*ἑβδομάδεις*), he affirmed, *in harum hebdomadam quinta maturitatem ad stirpem relinquendam homini inesse*; that in the fifth of these weeks men were of ripeness to

^h Dinarchus in Demosthenem.

ⁱ Lib. v.

^j Gellius Noct. Attic. lib. xv. cap. 20.

^k Diogenes Laërtius Socrate.

^l Lib. xiii.

^m Plutarchus Pericle.

ⁿ Xenophon de Repub. Lacedæm.

multiply their kind^o; but this depended upon the humour of every lawgiver, nothing being generally agreed to in this matter. Aristotle^p thought thirty-seven a good age, Plato thirty; and Hesiod was much of the same judgment, for thus he advises his friend:

Πρᾶτος δὲ γυναῖκα τιδὸν ποτὶ εἶκον ἀγισθαί,
Μήτε τριηκόντων ἱτίων μάλα πολλὰ ἀπολείπων,
Μήτ' ἐπιθείς μάλα πολλὰ γάμος δὲ τοι ὄριος ἔσται^q.

The time to enter on a married life
Is about thirty, then bring home a wife;
But don't delay too late, or wed too young,
Since strength and prudence to this state belong. J. A.

Women married sooner than men; some of the old Athenian laws permitted them to marry at twenty-six, Aristotle at eighteen, Hesiod at fifteen;

Ἢ δὲ γυνὴ τίτορ' ἡβώῃ, τίμπτω δὲ γαμοῖτο.^r
A wife when fifteen choose, then let her wed,
She'll then enjoy the rapturous marriage-bed.

Where the poet advises that women be permitted to grow to maturity in four years, i. e. four after ten, and marry in the fifth, i. e. the fifteenth: others think he means they must continue unmarried four years after their arrival at woman's estate, i. e. at fourteen years, and marry in the fifth, i. e. the nineteenth: but as the women were sooner marriageable than men, so their time was far shorter, it being common for men to marry much older than women could expect to do, as Lysistrate complains in Aristophanes^s:

ΑΤ. Περὶ τῶνδε κορῶν ἐν τοῖς θαλάμοις γηρασκυῶν ἀνιώμαι.
ΠΡ. Οὐκὲν γ' ἄνδρες γηράσκουσιν; ΑΤ. Μὰ Δί' ἄλλ' ἐκ εἵπας ὁμοιον,
Ὁ γὰρ ἦκων μὲν, κἄν ἢ πολλὸς, τὰχὺ παῖδα κόρην γιγάμηκιν^r
Τῆς δὲ γυναικὸς μικρὸς ὁ καιρὸς, κἄν τῷτο μὴ πιδάσῃται
Οὐδὲς ἰβίλει γῆμαι ταύτην, ὅττευομένη δὲ κάθηται.

LY. 'Tis some concern to me when I reflect
On the poor girls that must despair of man;
And keep a stale and loathed virginity.
PR. What, ha'nt the men the same hard measures then?
LY. Oh! no, they have a more propitious fate,
Since they at sixty, when their vigour's past,
Can wed a young and tender spouse, to warm
Their aged limbs, and to repair their years:
But women's joys are short and transient;
For if we once the golden minutes miss,
There's no recalling, so severe's our doom;
We must then long in vain, in vain expect,
And by our ills forewarn posterity. A.

The times or seasons of the year most proper for marriage were,

^o Censorinus de die natali, cap. 14.
^p Polit. lib. vii. cap. 16.

^q Εγγ. καὶ Ημέρ. β'. 515.
^r Ibid. 516. ^s Lysistrate.

according to the Athenians, some of the winter months, especially January, which, for that reason, was called γαμηλιών^t: hence the person in Terence, the scene of whose fable is laid in Greece, affirms the soothsayers had forbidden to enter upon matrimony till winter :

*Aruspex vetuit ante brumam autem quid novi
Negotii incipere.*—————

Until the seasonable time of year,
When frosty weather binds all things, the priest,
By all means counsell'd us to put off marriage.

The most convenient season was when there happened a conjunction of the sun and moon, at which time they celebrated their festival called Θεογάμια, or marriage of the gods^v. Clytemnestra in Euripides having asked Agamemnon when he designed to give Iphigenia in marriage to Achilles, he answers, that the full moon was the fittest time :

Ὅταν σελήνης εὐτυχῆς ἔλθῃ κύκλος^w.

When the full moon darts forth her lucky rays.

Themis in Pindar advises that Thetis be married to Peleus in the same season^x; for^{*} by διχομηνίδες ἐσπέραι, he means the full moon, which happens in the middle of lunar months, which were used in the old Grecian computations. The poet's words run thus :

————— *Εν διχομηνίδεσσι
Δὲ ἐσπέραις, ἱερὰ τὸν
Αὔροι κεν χαλινὸν ὕ-
φ' ἥρωϊ παρθένίας.*

When crescent Phæbe is about to shine,
In a full orb with radiant light,
Then may he marry, then may she invite
The hero, both their loves to join,
Then let them blend and tie, their joys, their all combine.

J. A.

This custom seems to have proceeded from an opinion they had of the moon's power in generation. Some prescribe other days : Hesiod thinks the fourth most convenient, because (as one of the scholiasts observes) it was dedicated to Venus and Mercury^y :

*Εν δὲ τετάρτῃ μηνὸς ἄγισθαι ἐς οἶκον ἄκοιτιν,
Οἷωνδ' ἐκείνης οἱ ἐπ' ἔργματι τάττω ἄριστοι.*

When, resolute to change a single life,
You wed, on the fourth day lead home your wife;
But first observe the feather'd race that fly,
Remarking well the happy augury.

COOKK.

The sixteenth, or, as some, the eighteenth, is mentioned as most unfit of all others^z :

^t Olympiodorus in Meteora Aristotelis, Eustathius in Iliad. σ'.
^u Phormione.

^v Hesiodi Scholiastes.

^w Iphigen. in Aulid. v. 717.

^x Isthm. Od. η. p. 751. edit. Benedic.

^y Ημέρ. v. 36.

^z V. 18.

Ἐκτῇ δ' ἡ μίσση μάλ' ἀσύμφορός ἐστι φυτοῖσιν,
 Ἀνδρὲς γόνος τ' ἀγαθῆ, κέρη δ' ἢ σύμφορός ἐστιν
 Οὐτε γινίσθαι πρῶτ', ὅτ' ἄρ' γάμῳ ἀντιβολῆσαι.

Whatever trees you plant the sixteenth day,
 They'll never thrive, but wither and decay :
 But if your wife's deliver'd of a son,
 His life with lucky prospects is begun ;
 But girls, if born, or married now, will see
 Their years annoy'd with woe and misery.

J. A.

Several other days were looked on as favourable, or otherwise, in this and all other affairs, which it would be too tedious to enumerate in this place.

Most of the Greeks looked on it as scandalous to contract within certain degrees of consanguinity. Hermione in Euripides speaks of the custom of brethren's marrying their sisters, with no less detestation than of sons marrying their mothers, or fathers their daughters ^a :

——— τοιούτων, πᾶν τὸ βάρβαρον γένος
 Πατὴρ τι θυγατρὶ, παῖς τι μητρὶ μίγνυται,
 Κόρη τ' ἀδελφῇ, διὰ φόνου δ' οἱ φίλτατοι
 Χωρεῖσι· ἔ τῶν ἑδὲν γ' ἐξέρχεται νόμος.

Such things barbarians act, such villanies
 Are the result of lust, or perverse will,
 Where no laws sanction, and no right confines.
 Fathers their daughters, sons their mothers force
 To an incestuous bed, and hurried on
 By raging lust, brothers with sisters join :
 All things are free ; the most exalted love
 Can't 'gainst incentive lust secure your life.

J. A.

Several of the barbarous nations seem to have overlooked the rules of decency, and allowed unlawful and incestuous mixtures. The Persians are especially remarkable for such practices ; for their magi, the most sacred persons among them, were the offspring of mothers and their sons ; hence Catullus ^b :

*Nascetur Magus ex Gelli matrisque nefando
 Conjugio, et discat Persicum aruspicum :
 Nam Magus ex matre et gnato gignatur oportet,
 Si vera est Persarum impia religio.*

Gellius hath issue by his mother got,
 Nor is it in his heraldry a blot ;
 The boy must straight be made profoundly wise
 In necromantic trumpery and lies.
 What must the Persian religion be,
 Where such an act is no impiety ?

J. A.

The Lacedæmonians were forbidden to marry any of their kindred, whether in the direct degrees of ascent or descent ; but a collateral relation hindered them not ; for nephews married their aunts, and uncles their nieces ; an instance whereof Herodotus

^a Andromach. v. 173.^b Epigram. xci.

gives us in Anaxandridas, who married his sister's daughter^c. The marriages of brothers and sisters were utterly unlawful, though countenanced by several examples of their gods: an ample account hereof may be seen in Byblis's words, when in love with her brother Caunus, where, notwithstanding the greatness of her passion, she confesses that no examples were sufficient to license her incestuous desires^d:

*Dii melius! Dii nempe suas habuere sorores:
Sic Saturnus Opim junctam sibi sanguine duxit,
Oceanus Tethyn, Junonem rector Olympi.
Sunt superis sua jura. Quid ad cœlestia ritus
Exigere humanos, diversaue fœdera tento?
Aut nostro velitus de corde fugabitur ardor;
Aut, hoc si nequeo, peream precor ante, toroque
Mortua componor, positæque det oscula frater:
Et tamen arbitrium quærit res ista duorum.
Finge placere mihi, scelus esse videbitur illi;
At non Æolidæ thalamos timuere sororum:
Unde sed hos novi? Cur hæc exempla paravi?
Quo feror? obscenæ procul hinc discedite flammæ.*

The gods forbid; yet those whom I invoke
Have lov'd like me, have their own sisters took.
Great Saturn, and his greater offspring, Jove,
Both stock'd their heaven with incestuous love;
Gods have their privilege; why do I strive
To strain my hopes to their prerogative?
No, let me banish this forbidden fire,
Or quench it with my blood, or with't expire;
Unstain'd in honour, and unhurt in fame,
Let the grave bury both my love and shame;
But when at my last hour I gaping lie,
Let only my kind murderer be by;
Let him, while I breathe out my soul to sighs,
Or gaze't away, look on with pitying eyes;
Let him (for sure he can't deny me this),
Seal my cold lips with one kind parting kiss:
Besides 'twere vain should I alone agree
To what another's will must ratify.
Could I be so abandon'd to consent
What I have past for good and innocent,
He may perhaps as worst of crimes resent:
Yet we amongst our race examples find
Of brothers, who have been to sisters kind;
Fam'd Canace could thus successful prove,
Could crown her wishes in a brother's love.
But whence could I these instances produce?
How came I witty to my ruin thus?
Whither will this mad frenzy hurry on?
Hence, hence you naughty flames, far hence begone,
Nor let me e'er the shameful passion own.

OLDHAM.

Yet it was not reputed unlawful, in several places, for brothers to marry their half-sisters; and sometimes their relation by the father,

^c Lib. v.

^d Ovid. Metam. lib. ix. 498.

sometimes by the mother, was within the law. The Lacedæmonian lawgiver allowed marriages between those that had only the same mother, and different fathers^e. The Athenians were forbidden to marry sisters by the same mother, but not those by the same father, as we are told by Philo the Jew^f. An instance hereof we have in Archeptolis, Themistocles's son, who married his sister Mnesiptolena^g; as likewise in Cimon, who being unable, through his extreme poverty, to provide a suitable match to his sister Elpinice, married her himself. Nor was this contrary to the laws or customs of Athens, as Athenæus^h, is of opinion; for, according to Plutarch's accountⁱ, it was done publicly, and without any fear of the laws. Cornelius Nepos^j likewise assures us, it was nothing but what the custom of their country allowed. We find indeed, that Cimon is sometimes taxed for his familiarity with Elpinice; but this is only to be understood of his taking her after she had been married to Callias; for it appears from the forecited authors, that Cimon first married her himself, then gave her to Callias, a rich Athenian; after which he again became familiar with her, which indeed was looked on as adultery, she being then another man's wife.

Most of the Grecian states, especially those that made any figure, required their citizens should match with none but citizens; for they looked upon the freedom of their cities too great a privilege to be granted upon easy terms to foreigners, or their children: hence we find the Athenian laws sentencing the children of such matches to perpetual slavery; an account whereof has been given in one of the foregoing books^k. This was not all; for they had a law, that if a foreigner married a freewoman of Athens, it should be lawful for any person to call him to account before the magistrates called Thesmothetæ, where, if he was convicted, they sold him for a slave, and all his goods were confiscated, and one third part of them given to his accuser. The same penalty was inflicted upon such citizens as gave foreign women in marriage to men of Athens, pretending they were their own daughters, save that the sentence of slavery was changed into ignominy, whereby they were deprived of their voices in all public assemblies, and most other privileges belonging to them as citizens. Lastly, if any

^e Phil. Judæus, lib. de specialibus legibus ad præceptum vii. contra mæchos.

^f Libro de legibus specialibus.

^g Plutarchus Themistocle.

^h Lib. xii.

ⁱ Cimone.

^k Lib. i. cap. 9.

ⁱ Cimone.

man of Athens married a woman that was not free of that city, he was fined a thousand drachms ^l. But these laws were not constant and perpetual: sometimes the necessity of the times so far prevailed, that the children of strange women enjoyed all the privileges of free-born citizens. The old law, which prohibited the men of Athens to marry strangers, having been sometimes disused, was revived by Pericles, and afterwards, at the instance of the same person, abrogated by a decree of the people ^m; but again renewed in the archonship of Euclides, at the motion of Aristophon, when it was enacted, that no persons should be free denizens of Athens, unless both their parents were free ⁿ.

Virgins were not allowed to marry without the consent of their parents: whence Hero in Mosæus ^o tells Leander, they could not be honourably joined in marriage, because her parents were against it.

Αμφαδὸν ἔδυναμιστα γάμοις ὁσίοισι πιλάσσει,
οὐ γὰρ ἐμοῖς τοκέεσσιν ἰπεύαδεν—

My parents to the match will not consent,
Therefore desist, it is not pertinent.

Hermione in Euripides ^p professes she had no concern about her marriage, but left that wholly to her father.

Νυμφευμάτων μὲν τῶν ἐμῶν πατὴρ ἐμὸς
Μέριμναν ἔχει, καὶ ἐμὸν φρονεῖν τάδε.

I'm not concern'd, my father will take care
Of all things that respect my nuptials.

The mother's consent was necessary as well as the father's; and therefore Iphigenia in Euripides was not to be given in marriage to Achilles till Clytemnestra approved the match ^q: nor were men permitted to marry without consulting their parents; for even the most early and ignorant ages were too well acquainted with the right which parents have by nature over their children, to think these had power to dispose of themselves without their parents' consent. Achilles, in Homer, refuses Agamemnon's daughter, and leaves it to his father Peleus to choose him a wife ^r:

Ὦν γὰρ δὴ με σώωσι θεοὶ, ἔοικαδ' ἵκωμαι,
Πηλεὺς δ' ἂν μοι ἔπειτα γυναῖκα γαμήσονται αὐτός.

If by heaven's blessing I return, a bride
My careful father will for me provide.

And Pamphilus in Terence is betrothed by his father Simo, who is introduced thus speaking ^s:

—hâc famâ impulsus Chremes
Ultro ad me venit, unicam gnatam suam

^l Demosthenes Orat. in Neæram.

^m Plutarchus Pericle.

ⁿ Demost. in Eubulidem.

^o V. 179.

^p Andromache.

^q Iphigen. in Aulide.

^r Iliad. i. v. 395.

^s Andriæ, act. i. sc. 1.

*Cum dote summa filio uxorem ut daret ;
Placuit ; despondi ; hic nuptiis dictus est dies.*

Chremes, seduced by this fine character,
Came, of his own accord, to offer me
His only daughter, with a handsome portion
In marriage with my son. I lik'd the match ;
Betroth'd my son ; and this was pitch'd upon,
By joint agreement for the wedding-day.

COLMAN.

When virgins had no fathers, their brothers disposed of them : thus we find Creon promising his sister Jocasta, to any person who should destroy the Sphinx that infested Thebes ; and Orestes gave his sister Electra to his friend Pylades. When they had neither parents nor brethren, or if their brethren were not arrived to years of discretion, they were disposed of by their grandfathers, those especially by the father's side ; when these failed, they were committed to the care of guardians, called ἐπίτροποι, or κύριοι [†]. Sometimes husbands betrothed their wives to other persons upon their death-beds, as appears from the story of Demosthenes's father, who gave his wife Cleobule to one Aphobus, with a considerable portion. When he was dead, Aphobus took the portion, but refused to marry the woman : whereupon Demosthenes made his complaint to the magistrates, and accused him in an elegant oration [‡]. And that this custom was not unusual, appears from the same orator's defence of Phormio, who being a slave, and faithful in his business, his master gave him both his liberty and his wife.

They had several forms of betrothing, such as this cited by Clemens the Alexandrian ^x out of Menander, Παιδων σπόρον τῶν γνησίων δίδωμι σοι τὴν ἑμάντι θυγατέρα, i. e. *I give you this my daughter to make you father of children lawfully begotten.* The dowry was sometimes mentioned, as we find in Xenophon ^w, where Cyaxares betrothes his daughter to Cyrus, Δίδωμαι σοι, ᾧ Κύρε, αὐτὴν τὴν γυναῖκα θυγατέρα τε ἕσαν ἑμὴν, ἐπιδίδωμαι δ' αὐτῇ ἐγὼ καὶ φερὴν Μηδίαν πᾶσαν, i. e. *I give you, Cyrus, this woman, who is my daughter, with all Media for her dowry.* The persons to be married plighted their faith to one another, or to their relations. Thus Clitophon and Lucippe swear to each other ^x, the former to be constant and sincere in his love, the latter to marry him, and make him master of all she had. Ovid makes the next ceremony after betrothing, to be the virgin's oath to her lover ;

Promisit pater hanc, hæc et juravit amanti.

Her father promis'd, she an oath did take
Her faithful lover never to forsake.

[†] Demosthenes in Stephanum testem.

[‡] Orat. in Aphobum.

[¶] Stronot. lib. ii.

^w Κυροπαίδ. lib. viii.

^x Achill. Tat. lib. v.

The ceremony in promising fidelity was kissing each other, or giving their right hands, which was the usual form of ratifying all agreements: hence Clytemnestra in Euripides calls for Achilles's right hand, to assure her of his sincere intention to marry her daughter ^y:

Δεξιάν γ' ἱμῇ χεῖρα

Σύνειπον, ἄρχην μακαρίαν νυμφευμάτων.

Join your right hand to mine, a sacred tie

Of this our compact.

The Thebans had a custom for lovers to plight their faith at the monument of Iolaus, who was a lover of Hercules, and assisted him in his labours ^z, and was therefore believed to take care of love affairs when advanced into heaven.

In the primitive ages, women were married without portions from their relations, being purchased by their husbands, whose presents to the woman's relations were called her *dowry*. Thus we find Shechem bargaining with Jacob and his sons for Dinah: 'Let me find grace in your eyes (saith he) and what ye shall say unto me, I will give: ask me never so much dowry and gift, and I will give according as ye shall say unto me; but give me the damsel to wife ^a.' Several instances may be produced to the same purpose, were not this custom too well known to need farther confirmation; only thus much must be observed, that when civility and good manners came to be established in any place, it was usually laid aside; for Aristotle makes it one argument to prove that the ancient Grecians were an uncivilized people, because they used to buy their wives ^b. No sooner, therefore, do we find them beginning to lay aside their barbarous manners, but this practice was left off; insomuch that Medea, in Euripides, complains that women were the most miserable of all rational creatures, because lying under a necessity of purchasing their own masters at a dear rate ^c. So frequent became the custom for women to bring portions to their husbands, that some make the most essential difference between *γυνή* and *παλλακή*, i. e. *wife* and *concubine*, to consist in this, that wives had dowries, whereas concubines were usually without: whence one in Plautus, the scene of whose action is laid in Greece, speaks thus ^d:

—sed ut inops,

Infamis ne sim, ne mihi hanc famam differant, ne

^y Iphigen. in Aulid. v. 851.

^z Plutarchus Pelopida.

^a Gen. xxxiv. 2.

^b Politic. lib. ii. cap. 8.

^c Euripidis, Med. 250.

^d Trinummus.

*Germanam meam sororem in concubinatum tibi
Sic sine dote dedisse magis, quam in matrimonium.*

Tho' I am poor in purse, and am but mean,
I'll offer some small matter for her dow'ry,
Least this aspersion should be thrown abroad,
That she's your mistress, not your lawful wife.

Hence men who were content to marry wives who had no fortune, commonly gave them *προικῶνα*, an instrument in writing, whereby the receipt of their dowry was owned. The rest of their distinction was chiefly founded upon this; for she that had a dowry, thought it a just title to a greater freedom with her husband, and more respect from him, than such as owed their maintenance to him: hence Hermione, in Euripides, is enraged that the captive Andromache should pretend to be her rival in Pyrrhus's affection:

Κίσμον μὲν ἀμφὶ κρατὶ χρυσίας χλιδῆς,
Σταλμόντι χρωτὶς τᾷδε ποικίλων πεπλων
Οὐ τῶν Ἀχιλλείας, ἠδὲ Πηλείας ὕπο
Δόμων ἀπαρχὰς δεῦρ' ἔχουσ' ἀφικόμεν·
Ἀλλ' ἐκ Λακκαίνης Σπαρτιάτιδος χθονὸς
Μενέλαος ἡμῖν ταῦτα δωρεῖται πατὴρ
Πολλοῖς σὺν ἔδνοις ὥς' ἐλευθεροσομεῖν,
'Υμᾶς μὲν ἐν τοιοῖσδ' ἀμείβομαι λόγοις·
Σὺ δ' ἔσσι δέλη, καὶ δορίκτετος γυνή
Δόμους κατασχεῖν, ἐκβαλῆσ' ἡμᾶς, θέλεις
Τέσδ' ^c.

With these resplendent ornaments of gold
Decking my tresses, in this robe array'd,
Which bright with various-tinctur'd radiance flames,
Not from the house of Peleus or Achilles
A bridal gift, I come. In Sparta this
From Menelaus, my father, I receiv'd
With a rich dow'ry: therefore I may speak
Freely, and thus to you address my words.
Woman, wouldst thou, a slave, beneath the spear
A captive, keep possession of this house,
And drive me out? —————

POTTER.

So sensible was Lycurgus of this, and some other inconveniencies attending this custom, that partly for fear wives should domineer over their husbands, and partly out of a desire that men should choose wives more for the sake of their persons than their money, and that no woman's poverty should hinder her of an husband, he quite banished it out of Sparta ^f. Solon agreed herein with Lycurgus; for all the dowry he permitted the Athenian wives to have, was a little inconsiderable household stuff, and three suits of clothes: 'for (says Plutarch) he would not have marriages for gain, or an estate, but for pure love, kind affection, and to get

^c Euripid. *Andromach.* 147.

^f Justin. lib. iii. Plutarch. *Apotheg.* cap. 6. Laconic, Ælian. Var. Hist. lib. vi.

children^g. But some are of opinion, that this ordinance had no relation to dowries, but only to those gifts which the bride brought with her called *ἐπαύλια*, of which an account will afterwards be given. And that Solon did not prohibit other dowries, appears hence, that men who had no sons, were allowed to entail their estates upon daughters; and every heiress (the Athenians called them *ἐπίκληροι*) was obliged to marry her nearest relation, lest her estate should go out of the family; but in consideration of her dowry, she had the privilege, when her husband was impotent, to lie with his nearest kinsman; which law was contrived against those who, conscious of their own inability, would match with heiresses for the portion's sake, and make use of a law to put violence upon nature; yet (saith my author) it was wisely done to confine her to her husband's nearest kinsman, that the children might be of the same family. A farther privilege heiresses had above other women was, that their husbands were obliged to lie with them thrice a month^h. When there were any orphan virgins without inheritance, whom they termed *θῆσσαι*ⁱ, he that was next in blood was obliged to marry her himself, or settle a portion on her according to his quality; if he was *Πεντακοσιομέδιμμος*, one of the first rank, five minæ, or 500 drachms; if *ἑκπένες*, of the second rank, 300; if *τριπένες*, of the third rank, 150; but if she had many relations equally allied, all of them contributed their proportions to make up the sum. If there were more than one virgin, their nearest kinsman was only obliged to marry, or give a portion to one of them; and upon his refusal to do this, any person was allowed to indict him before the archon, who was obliged to compel him to his duty; and if he refused to put the law in execution, was fined 1000 drachms, which were consecrated to Juno, the goddess of marriage^j. Terence has several hints at these customs; for his scenes being laid in Athens, he frequently describes the usages of that city: thus in Phormio^{*}:

*Lex est, ut orbæ, qui sint genere proximi,
Eis nubant, et illos ducere eadem hæc lex jubet.*

There's a law
That orphan girls should wed their next of kin,
Which law obliges too their next of kin
To marry them.

COLMAN.

In the same comedy^k, he expressly mentions the five minæ given by men of the first quality:

^g Plutarchus Solone.

^h Idem. loc. citato.

ⁱ Eustathius in Iliad. ex Aristophane Grammatico.

^j Demosthenes Orat. ad Macartatum de Hagianâ hæreditate.

^{*} Act. i. sc. 2.

^k Act. ii. sc. 3.

*Etsi mihi facta injuria est, verumtamen
Potius quam lites secter, aut quam te audiam
Itidem ut cognatu si sit, id quod lex jubet,
Dotem dare, abduce hanc, minas quinque accipe.*

— Although I have been wrong'd,
Yet, rather than engage in litigation,
And rather than hear you ; as if she were
Indeed related to us, as the law
Ordains, I'll pay her dowry : take her hence,
And with her take five minæ.

COLMAN.

It may be observed farther, that afterwards, when money became more plentiful, the relations of these virgins increased their dowries ; for we are told by Eustathius ¹, that the Περτακοσιομέδιμοι gave ten minæ, and men of inferior quality, without doubt, raised their contributions proportionably. When virgins had no relations to provide for them, and were descended from men that had been serviceable to their country, it was common for the state to take care of them ; a remarkable instance hereof we have in Aristides's two daughters, to each of which the city gave 300 drachms for her portion ^m. Nor is it to be wondered (saith my author) that the Athenians should make provision for those that lived in their city, when hearing that the grand-daughter of Aristogiton (a famous patriot that opposed Pisistratus's sons) was in a low condition, in the isle of Lemnos, and like to want a husband, because without a portion, they sent for her to Athens, married her to a person of great quality, and gave her a farm belonging to the city for a dowry. Indeed, however generous the love of the more ancient Athenians was, their successors commonly made money the chief tie of their affections : and the later Spartans were of the same humour, even whilst the laws of Lycurgus were still in being ; for we find, that whilst Lysander was in a flourishing condition, and passed for a wealthy man, several persons engaged themselves to his daughters, who seeing afterwards how poor and honest he died, broke off their contract. It is true the Spartans punished them severely for their perfidiousness ; but that seems done rather out of respect to Lysander's memory ⁿ, than to their ancient constitution, which, as soon as riches began to be possessed and admired at Sparta, seems to have been laid asleep. The Grecians, indeed, notwithstanding the prohibition of some of their laws, were generally lovers of money, and seem to have matched rather for the sake of that, than other more commendable qualifications. Nor was this a late corruption, but entertained even in the primitive times ; for we find Andromache called by Homer ^o

¹ Iliad. φ'. ^m Plutarch, Aristide. ⁿ Plutarchus Lysandro. ^o Iliad. γ'.

Πολύδωρος, i. e. according to Eustathius, Πολύπριος, possessed of a large dowry: and, before the use of money was common, virgins increased their husbands estates, by adding sheep and oxen to their flocks and herds, wherein the riches of those ages chiefly consisted; whence (as the same author observes,) they are sometimes honoured with the epithet of ἀλφεισίσσαι. And from the expence fathers were at on this account, came the proverb:

Παῖς μοι τριτογένης εἴη, μὴ τριτογένεια.

Which is nothing but a father's wish, that his children might rather be boys than girls. As to the quantity of dowries, nothing can be determined, the humours of persons, and their particular exigencies, being the laws they were usually directed by in such cases; only it may be observed, that in Crete, sisters were put off with half the shares of their brothers^p. The dowry was named προίξ, sometimes μελία, παρὰ τὸ μελίσσειν τὸν ἄνδρα, or ἔδνα, q. ἡδῶνα, παρὰ τὸ ἡδεῖν, as designed to procure the favour and good-will of the person they were given to; sometime φερὴ, from φέρειν, because brought by the wife to her husband. Some of the same names are used for the man's dowry or portion, as Eustathius has observed. When the wife had a dowry, it was commonly expected her husband should make her a settlement, to be a maintenance for her in case he should happen to be parted from her by death or divorce; this was usually an house or land, and was anciently called ἀποτίμημα^q, being a return equivalent to the dowry; afterwards it was frequently termed ἀντιφέρην, i. e. a recompence for her dowry, or ὑπόβολον, from ὑποβάλλειν, because it was ὑποβαλλόμενον τῇ φερῇ, given instead of her dowry: but where no such security was given, husbands that divorced their wives were obliged to return their dowry. The same obligation reached their heirs, upon refusal to maintain the wives of those whose estates they inherited: hence Telemachus in Homer, having suffered many affronts, and sustained great losses by his mother Penelope's gallants, yet thinks it not prudent to dismiss her to her father Icarius, because that could not be done without returning her portion^r;

—καὶν δέ με πολλ' ἀποτίμειν

Ἰκαρίῳ, αἶψ' αὐτὸς ἐκὼν ἀπὸ μητρία τίμψω.

I could not now repay so great a sum
To the old man, should I dismiss her home
Against her will. ———

^p Alexander ab Alex. Gen. Dier. lib. iv. cap. 8.

^q Hesych. Harpocrat. Suidas, Pollux.
^r Odyss. β'. v. 132.

Which words seem to intimate farther, that if the woman departed of her own accord, the fore-mentioned obligation became void. Yet, in case the woman departed from her husband in the manner which was allowed by the laws, her dowry was restored to her. This we find to have been the practice at Athens.

In the same city it was the custom, when any man's estate was confiscated, that the wife's dowry should be assigned to her.

In the same city it was decreed, that he who did not restore to his wife, when divorced, her dowry, should pay nine oboli every month whilst it was detained, for interest. If this was neglected, an action termed *σιτίς δίκη*, was preferred against him in the Odeum by the woman's (*ἐπίτροπος*) guardian^s. This is to be understood of the dowries of those of the lowest class of citizens, to whom, as hath been before observed, Solon allotted 150 drachmæ; for it being the custom for one *μνᾶ*, which is equivalent to 100 drachmæ, to bring in an interest of six oboli every month, the interest of 150 drachmæ must amount to nine oboli.

Hence the payment of the dowry was also attested by sufficient witnesses, and also by a written instrument called *προίκῃα*. If these could not be produced, the husband was not obliged to allow his wife a separate maintenance. If the woman deceased without children, her dowry was repaid to the person by whom she had been endowed^t; for the dowry was intended as a maintenance to the children, and therefore when the woman's sons came to be of age, they enjoyed their mother's dowry whilst she was living, only allowing her a competent maintenance^u. What other things wives brought to their husbands above their portions, were called *παράφορνα ἐπίπροικον*, *ἐπιμεΐλια*, and by later Greeks *ἑξώπροικα*.

Before men married, it was customary to provide themselves an house to settle in; to which practice Hesiod's advice is an allusion:

Οἶκον μὲν πρῶτιστά, γυναῖκά τε^v.——

First see you have a settlement, and wife.

The woman in Theocritus asks her lover whether he was making an house ready for her:

Τεύχεις μοι θαλάμους, τεύχεις καὶ δῶμα, καὶ αὐλὰς.

What? are you furnishing an house? Have you Provided beds?——

^s Demosthenes in Neæram.

^u Demosthenes in Phænippum, et in

^t Conf. Isæus Orat. de hæred. Pyrrhi. Stephanum Testem.

^v Εξγ'. β'. 23. vide Turnæb. Adv. lib. xxi.

To which he replies,

Τύχω σοι θαλάμους.——

Beds I procure, don't fear.——

Protesilaus in Homer, being called to the Trojan war soon after his marriage, is said to have left δόμον ἡμιτελῆ, his house half finished ^w :

Τῷ δὲ ἔ' ἀμφιδρυφῆς ἄλλοχος Φυλάκη ἐλέλιπτο,
Καὶ δόμος ἡμιτελής.——

At Phylace he left behind his spouse,
There to lament in an half-finish'd house.

Some indeed will have Οἶκος to be meant of his family, which is called ἡμιτελής, because he left it before he had any children ^x. The same ambiguity is found in Valerius Flaccus, who has thus imitated Homer :

———conjug miseranda Caico
Linquitur, et primo domus imperfecta cubili.

Near the Caïcus his unhappy wife
Is left alone: his house deserted stands,
Vacant of those dear sources of delight
That bless the fruitful marriage-bed.

Catullus has expressed the same thought thus ^z :

*Conjugis ut quondam flagrans advenit amore
Protesilaëam Laodamia domum
Inceptam frustra, nondum cum sanguine sacro
Hostia cælestes pacificasset heros.*

As fair Laodamia once did come,
Inflam'd with passion, to th' unfinish'd home
Of her dear lord, before the sacrifice
Had yet appeas'd the heav'nly deities.

J. A.

But the former sense seems more agreeable to the way of speaking in those times, it being then the constant custom to build an house before marriage. Hence women, whose husbands died soon after marriage, are said to be left *widows in a new-built house*; as the Greek scholiast observes upon that verse of Homer ^a :

Χηρέσας δὲ γυναῖκα μυχῷ θαλάμοιο νέοιο.

The Athenian virgins were presented to Diana before it was lawful for them to marry. This ceremony was performed at Brauron, an Athenian borough; it was called ἀρκτεῖα, the virgins themselves, ἄρκτοι, and the action, ἀρκτεῖα, the custom being instituted to appease the goddess, who had been incensed against some of the Athenians for killing a bear; the story whereof is described at large in one of the precedent books ^b. Another custom there was for virgins, when they became marriageable, to present certain

^w Iliad. β'. v. 700.

^x Scholiastes vetus in loc. cit.

^y Lib. vi.

^z Epigram. ad Mallium.

^a Iliad. ε'. v. 56.

^b Lib. ii. cap. 20. in βραυρόνια.

baskets full of little curiosities to Diana, to gain leave to depart out of her train (virgins being looked on as that goddess's peculiar,) and change their state of life. To which custom Theocritus has this allusion ^c:

Πνθ' ἂ τῷ Εὐβύλοιῳ καναφόρος ἄμμιν Ἀναξῶ
 Ἀλσος ἐπ' Ἀρτίμιδος. —————

Anaxo, Eubul's daughter, full of love,
 Came to me with a basket for Diana's grove.

The action was called *κανηφορεῖν*, and the virgins *κανηφόροι*, from the baskets they carried. The Bœotians and Locrians had a custom, for persons of both sexes, before their nuptials, to offer sacrifices to Euclia, who had an image and altar in their market-place. This Euclia some will have to be the daughter of Menœcius, and sister of Patroclus; others rather think her the same with Diana ^d; it is not improbable that Diana received this surname from Patroclus's sister, or that she was worshipped by the name of Diana Euclia; for Diana being the goddess of virginity, it is not to be wondered that one honoured for the preservation of her virginity, should be worshipped under her name, since it is common to attribute to those that were first eminent for any sort of virtue or excellent quality, the actions of all that afterwards imitated them. Hence we have several Jupiters, Minervas, Bacchuses, Herculeses, &c. the famous exploits of many persons, distant as well in time as place, being ascribed to one hero. To return: we find Diana concerned in the preparatory solemnities before all marriages; for a married life being her aversion, it was thought requisite for all that entered upon it to ask her pardon for dissenting from her. This was done by prayers and several sorts of sacrifices; whence Agamemnon in Euripides, pretending he was going to match Iphigenia with Achilles, speaks thus to Clymnestra ^e:

Ἐκπεμπε παῖδα δωμάτων πατρός μέτα,
 Ὡς χίρνιβες πάρισιν ἡντρεπισμέναι,
 Προχύται τε βάλλειν πῦρ καθάρσειον ἐκ χειρῶν
 Μόσχοι τε, πρὸ γάμων ὥς θεῆ πεισῖν χρεῶν
 Ἀρτίμιδι, μέλανος αἵματος φυσήματα.

Send now thy daughter to her father's charge
 Committed; for the lavers ready stand,
 The salted cakes, which o'er the lustral fire
 The hand must cast, the heifers too, whose blood
 Must in black streams, before the nuptials, flow,
 To the chaste queen, Diana, are prepared.

POTTER.

These were called *γαμήλαιοι εὐχαῖ*, *προγάμεια*, *προτέλαιοι εὐχαῖ*, or *πρετέ-*

^c Idyll. 6. v. 66.

^d Plutarchus Aristide.

^e Iphigen. in Aulid. 1110.

γεια, for τέλος and γάμος are terms of the same signification ^f; the former denoting marriage, either as a general name for all sorts of rites and ceremonies, or (as some say) because the longing expectations of married persons are thereby consummated, and brought to an end, or because persons that are married become complete and perfect men, and renounce all the customs and desires of childhood; whence γῆμαι, to marry, is termed τελειωθῆναι, to be made perfect ^g. Married persons are called τέλειοι ^h, and are said to be ἐν βίῳ τελείῳ. The same epithet is commonly given to the gods that had the care of marriage; whence we read of Jupiter τέλειος, Juno τελεία ⁱ, &c. These gods were likewise rendered propitious before the nuptials, and the sacrifices, with other devotions offered them, were all known by the same names with those offered to Diana: Juno's were called (besides their general name) Ηρατέλεια, from her own name, which, in Greek, is Ηρα. Several other deities had their share in these honours. Minerva, surnamed Παρθένος, the virgin, had a peculiar title to them at Athens, upon the same account they were paid to Diana: and it was not permitted a virgin to marry, till she had paid her devotion to this goddess's temple in the citadel ^j. Venus likewise, and all the rest of the γαμήλιοι θεοί, gods superintending marriage, were invoked ^k. The Lacedæmonians had a very ancient statue of Αφροδίτη Ηρα, i. e. Venus Juno, to which all mothers sacrificed when their daughters were married ^l. The most ancient Athenians paid the same honour to Heaven and Earth, which were believed to have a particular concern in marriages, the latter of these being rendered fruitful by the benign influence of the former, and therefore a fit emblem of marriage ^m. The Fates and Graces, being thought first to join, and then preserve the tie of love, were partakers of the like respect ⁿ; and it is probable that several other deities at different places, and for different reasons, claimed a share therein. The day wherein this ceremony was performed, was usually that which immediately went before the marriage ^o: it is commonly called γαμηλία, κρηστῶτις ^p, from the custom they had of shaving themselves on this occasion ^q, and presenting their hair to some of the fore-mentioned

^f Eustathius in Iliad. β'.

^g Eustathius in Iliad. μ'.

^h Bisetius in Aristoph. Thesmophor.

ⁱ Suidas, aliique complures.

^j Suidas, &c.

^k Etymologicus Auctor. &c.

^l Pausanias Laconicus.

^m Proclus in Timæum Platonis Comment. v.

ⁿ Pollux, lib. iii. cap. iii. Etymologicus Auctor. v. γαμηλία.

^o Hesychius.

^p Etymologicus Auctor.

^q Pollux, loc. cit. &c.

deities, or other gods, to whom they had particular obligations. Pollux^r mentions some who offered their hair to Diana, and the fatal sisters. At Trœzen the virgins were obliged to consecrate their hair to Hippolytus, the son of Theseus, who died for his chastity, before they entered into marriage-bonds^s. The Megarians offered their hair, with libations, at the monument of Iphinoe, daughter of Alcathous, who died a virgin; the Delians to Hecæerge and Opist^t: the Argians and Athenians (to trouble you with no more instances) to Minerva. Statius has mentioned this ceremony^u, speaking of that goddess's temple:

—hic more parentum
Iasides, thalamis ubi casta adolesceret ætas,
Virgineas libare comas, primosque solebant
Excusare toros.—

Here, so long custom had ordain'd, are led
The nymphs when ripen'd for the marriage-bed,
And for the frailty of the sex atone
With maiden ringlets on the altars thrown.

LEWIS.

But these names (γαμηλία and κερεῶτις) were at Athens peculiar to one day of the solemnity called *apaturia*, wherein fathers had their children entered into the public register, at which time they offered sacrifices for their prosperity, with a particular respect to their marriages, and commonly shaved off some of their hair to be dedicated to some of the deities, especially her to whose honour that festival was celebrated. But though the time of presenting their hair might not be constantly the same, yet the custom itself seems to have been universally observed, not only by women but men, who rarely failed of performing this ceremony upon their arrival to years of maturity. Some of their locks were carefully preserved for this use; and therefore, when Pentheus in Euripides threatens Bacchus to shave his hair, the young god tells him it would be an impious action, because he designed it for an offering to some deity^v:

ἱερὸς ὁ πλόκαμος, τὴ θεῶν δ' αὐτὸν τρέφω.

This lock is sacred, this I do preserve
As some choice votive off'ring for the god.

The hair was called πλόκαμος *θεραπευτικός*, because presented to a god, as an acknowledgment of his care in their education: The deity thus honoured was commonly Apollo, as Plutarch reports, when he tells us, that Theseus, according to the custom of the Grecian

^r Onomast. lib. iii. cap. 3.

^s Lucianus de Dea Syria.

^t Pausanias Atticis.

^u Thebaid. ii. ^v Bach. v. 594.

youth, took a journey to Delphi to offer the first fruits of his hair to the god of that place^w. But this could not concern the poorer sort, to whom such journies would have been too expensive: nor were those of better quality under any strict obligation to pay this honour to Apollo, it being not unusual to do it to other gods, such especially as were thought to have protected their infancy from danger, and preserved them to manhood. Instances are needless in a thing so well known; only it may be necessary to observe, that the deities of rivers were commonly thought to have a title to this respect: which conceit seems to have proceeded from the opinion of some philosophers, who thought all things were first produced out of water, and still nourished and rendered fruitful by it: whence the poets took occasion to give the epithet *εσπερίος* to watery deities, as well as Apollo, those being no less instrumental in the growth and increase of living creatures, than the sun, whose influences without moisture can contribute nothing to the production or preservation of life; hence both were looked on as deserving their returns of gratitude for the first gift, as well as continuance of life^x. I shall only trouble you with the following example of hair presented to rivers, whereby what I have said concerning the reason of this custom will be confirmed; for Achilles's preserving his hair as a present to Sperchius, on condition he should return home in safety, and afterwards shaving it, when he found the fates had decreed that he should be slain before Troy, plainly shews that they used to preserve their hair to the gods, as a grateful acknowledgment of their care in preserving them. Homer's words run thus, when he speaks of Patroclus's funeral^y:

Ενθ' αὖτ' ἄλλ' ἐνόησέ ποδάρχης διός Αχιλλεύς,
 Στὰς ἀπάνευθε πυρῆς ξάνθην ἀπεκείρατο χαίτην,
 Τὴν ῥα Σπερχεῖω παταμῶ τρέφε τηλεβόωσαν
 Οχθήσας δ' ἄρα εἶπεν, ἰδὼν ἐπὶ οἴνοπα πόντον
 Σπερχεῖ, ἄλλῳ σοι γέ πατήρ ἡγήσατο Πηλεὺς,
 Κεῖς με νοστήσαντα φίλῃν ἐς πατρίδα γαίαν,
 Σοί τε κόμην κείειν, ῥίξεν δ' ἱερὴν ἐκατόμβην,
 Πεντήκοντα δ' ἑορχα παρ' αὐτοῖσι μῆλ' ἱερεύσειν
 Ἐς πηγὰς, ὅθι τοι τέμενος, βωμός τε θυεῖς·
 Ὡς ἤρ᾽ ὁ γέραν, σὺ δέ οἱ νόον ἔκ ἐτίλισσας·
 Νῦν δ' ἐπεὶ ἐνεμαί γι' ἐφίλῃν ἐς πατρίδα γαίαν,
 Πατρόκλῳ ἤρωι κόμην ὀπάσσαιμι φέρισθαι.

But great Achilles stands apart in prayer
 And from his head divides the yellow hair;
 Those curling locks which from his youth he vow'd,
 And sacred grew, to Sperchius honour'd flood:

^w Theseo.^x Eustathius, *Iliad*. ψ'. ubi hanc rem fusius enarrat.^y *Iliad*. ψ'. v. 140.

Then, sighing, to the deep his looks he cast,
 And roll'd his eyes around the wat'ry waste.
 " Sperchius ! whose waves in mazy error lost,
 Delightful roll around my native coast !
 To whom we vainly vow'd at our return,
 These locks to fall, and hecatombs to burn :
 Full fifty rains to bleed in sacrifice,
 Where to the day thy silver fountains rise,
 And where in shade of consecrated bow'rs
 Thy altars stand perfum'd with native flow'rs !
 So vow'd my father, but he vow'd in vain,
 No more Achilles sees his native plain :
 In that vain hope these hairs no longer grow,
 Patroclus bears them to the shades below."

POPE.

And the custom of nourishing hair, on religious accounts, seems to have prevail'd in most nations. The Jews had their Nazarites. Osiris the Egyptian consecrated his hair to the gods, as we learn from Diodorus^z. And, to mention no more, we find in Arian's account of India, that it was a custom there *κομᾶν τῷ θεῷ*, to preserve their hair for some god, which they first learned (as that author reports) from Bacchus.

To return : before the marriage could be solemnized, the other gods were consulted, and their assistance implored by prayers and sacrifices, which were usually offered to some of the deities that superintended these affairs, by the parents, or other relations of the persons to be married. Nor can these offerings be thought the same with those already mentioned, and called *προτίλεια*, since we find them plainly distinguished by Euripides, in a dialogue between Agamemnon and Clytemnestra, concerning the marriage of their daughter Iphigenia :

KAT. Προτίλεια δ' ἦδε παῖδός Ἰσφαζας θεῶ ;

ΑΓΑ. Μίλλω γ' ἐπὶ ταύτῃ ἔ καθίσταμεν τύχη.

KAT. Κάπειτα δαίσεις τῆς γάμους ἐσύτερον ;

ΑΓΑ. Θύσας γε θύμαθ', ἅπερ μ' ἐχρῆν θύσαι θεοῖς².

CLYT. Is for the bride the previous victim slain ?

AGAM. Soon shall it : that employs my present thought.

CLYT. And wilt thou next the nuptial feast prepare ?

AGAM. When I have offer'd what the Gods require.

POTTER.

When the victim was opened, the gall was taken out, and thrown behind the altar^b, as being the seat of anger and malice, and therefore the aversion of all the deities who had the care of love, as well as those who became their votaries. The entrails were carefully inspected by soothsayers ; and if any unlucky omen presented itself, the former contract was dissolved, as displeasing to the gods, and the nuptials prevented. The same happened upon the appearing of any ill-boding omen without the victim. Thus we find

^z Lib. i.

² Euripid. Iphigen. in Aulid. v. 7, 8.

^b Coelius Rhodigin. lib. xxviii. cap. 21. Plutarchus de conjugal. præcept.

in Achilles Tatius, that Clitophon's designed marriage with Calligone was hindered by an eagle, that snatched a piece of the sacrifice from the altar^c. The most fortunate omen that could appear was a pair of turtles; because of the inviolable affection those birds are said to have for each other. The same may be observed of *κορῶναι*, which were thought to promise long life or happiness, by reason of the length of their lives, which is proverbially remarkable, and the perpetuity of their love; for when one of the mates is dead, the other remains solitary ever after^d; for which reason, the appearance of those birds single, boded separation or sorrow to the married couple; (whence as we are told by Horapollon) it was customary at nuptials to sing *Κόρη ἐκκόρει κοράνην*, whereby the maids were put in mind to watch, that none of these birds, coming single, should disturb the solemnity; or perhaps it might be done to avert the pernicious influences of that unlucky omen, if it happened to appear. Another remedy against evil omens was this: they wrote over their house doors, *ΜΗΔΕΝ ΕΙΣΙΤΩ ΚΑΚΟΝ*, *LET NO EVIL ENTER*. To this sentence they sometimes joined the master of the house's name, as appears from a new-married person, who wrote thus upon his house:

Ο ΤΟΥ ΔΙΟΣ ΠΑΙΣ ΗΡΑΚΛΗΣ ΚΑΛΛΙΝΙΚΟΣ
ΕΝΘΑΔΕ ΚΑΤΟΙΚΕΙ ΜΗΔΕΝ ΕΙΣΙΤΩ ΚΑΚΟΝ.

i. e. *Here dwells Hercules, the victorious son of Jupiter; let no evil enter.*

This gave occasion to Diogenes's jest; for, seeing upon the door of a vicious fellow, the fore-mentioned prayer, 'then,' said he, 'let not the master of the house enter^c.'

The bridegroom's garments were all dyed, as Suidas^f has observed out of Aristophanes. However that be, both the married persons and their attendants were richly adorned, according to their quality:

Σοὶ δὲ γάμος σχεδὸν ἦν, ἵνα χρὴ καλὰ ἔαυτὴν
ἔματα ἔνυσθαι, τὰ δὲ τοῖσι παρασχέιν, οἳ κί σ' ἄγωνται.

The time was nigh completed, when a bride
You was to be, and richly drest in clothes,
With your attendants on that solemn time.

They were likewise decked with garlands of various herbs and flowers: whence Clytemnestra in Euripides speaks thus to Achilles about her daughter Iphigenia^g:

^c Lib. ii. ^d Alex. ab Alex.

^e Diogenes Laërtius in Diogene.

^f V. βαπτρά.

^g Iphigen. in Aulid. v. 903.

Ἀλλ' ἄμυνον ὦ Διῶς παῖ, τῇ τ' ἱμῇ δυσπραξία,
 Ἡ τὴν τι λιχθείσῃ δάματρί σῃ, μάτην μὲν, ἀλλ' ὅμως
 Σοὶ κατασίψασ' ἰγὼ νιν ἦγον ὡς γαμυμένην.

Protect, o Goddess-born, a wretched mother :
 Protect a virgin call'd thy bride : her head
 With garlands, ah, in vain ! yet did I crown,
 And led her as by thee to be espous'd.

POTTER.

The herbs were usually such as some way or otherⁱ signified the affairs of marriage, as those sacred to Venus, or (which are mentioned by the scholiast^h upon Aristophanes) σισύμβριον, μήκων, σήσαμον, &c. Cakes made of sesame were likewise given at marriages, that herb being πολυγόνος, remarkable for its fruitfulness, according to the same author. The Bœotians used garlands of wild asparagus, which is full of prickles, but bears excellent fruit, and therefore was thought to resemble the bride, who had given her lover some trouble in courting her, and gaining her affections, which she recompensed afterwards by the pleasantness of her conversation. The house where the nuptials were celebrated was likewise decked with garlands; a pestil was tied upon the door, and a maid carried a sieveⁱ, the bride herself bearing φεύγετον, φεύγιτρον, or φεύγητρον^j, an earthen vessel, wherein barley was parched, to signify her obligation to attend the business of her family.

The bride was usually conducted in a chariot from her father's house to her husband's in the evening^k, that time being chosen to conceal her blushes. Thus we find in Catullus's Epithalamium :

*Vesper adest, juvenes consurgite, vesper Olympo
 Expectata diu vix tandem lumina tollit ;
 Surgere jam tempus, jam pingues linquere mensas :
 Jam veniet virgo, jam dicetur Hymenæus.*

Wish'd evening's come, ye youths assembled rise !
 The long expected evening has shut out
 The light of heaven : now it is time to rise,
 Now it is time to leave the jovial board ;
 Here comes the lovely bride ; now chaunt the song,
 The hymeneal song.

c. s.

She was placed in the middle, her husband sitting on one side, and one of the most intimate friends on the other, who, for that reason, was called πάροχος. This custom was so frequent, that when the bride went to the husband's house on foot, the person who accompanied her retained the same name. The same was called νυμφευτής, παρανμφίος, and παράνυμφος^l, though this is more commonly used in the feminine gender, and signifies the woman that waited upon the bride, sometimes called νυμφεύτρια. When the bridegroom had been married before, he was not permitted to fetch the bride from her father's house, but that care was com-

^h Pace.ⁱ Pollux, lib. iii. cap. 3.^j Idem, lib. i. cap. 12. Hesychius.^k Suidas, v. Ζεῖγος. Eustathius, Iliad. λ'. p. 765.^l Hesychius, v. Νυμφαγώγος.

mitted to one of his friends, who was termed *νυμφαγωγὸς* ^m, or *νυμφοστόλος*; which words are likewise taken for the persons that assisted in making up the match, and managing the concerns which related to the marriage, who, if women, were called *προμνήστριαι*, *προζενήστριαι*, &c. One thing farther may be observed in the bride's passage to her husband's house, viz. that torches were carried before her, as appears from the messenger in Euripides, who says, he called to mind the time when he bore torches before Menelaus and Helena ⁿ:

Νῦν ἀνανεῦμαι τὸν σὸν ὑμέναιον πάλιν,
Καὶ λαμπάδων μεμνήμεθ' ἄς, τετραόροις
"Ἰπποῖς τροχάζων, παρέφερον σὺ δ' ἐν δίφροισι
Σὺν τῷδε νύμφῃ δῶμ' ἔλιπες ὄλβιον.

I call to mind, as yesterday, the pomp
Of your procession on the wedding-day,
How you were carried in a coach and four,
While I with torches blazing in the air,
Drove foremost on from your dear parent's house,
That happy nurs'ry of your tender years.

J. A

These torches were usually carried by servants, as appears from the following words of Hesiod ^o:

Τῇλε δ' ἀπ' αἰδομένων δαΐδων σείλας ἐλύφαζε
Χερσὶν ἐνὶ δμῶν.

The servants then the flaming torches bear,
Which darted forth a quiv'ring light afar.

They were sometimes attended with singers and dancers, as Homer acquaints us in his description of Achilles's shield ^p:

Ἐν δὲ δύο πόλεις μερόπων ἀνθρώπων
Καλὰς, ἐν τῇ μὲν ῥα γάμοι τ' ἔσαν, ἐλαπίναι τε,
Νύμφας δ' ἐκ θαλάμων, δαΐδων ὑπολαμπομένων,
Ἡγίενον ἀνὰ ἄστυ, πολὺς δ' ὑμεναῖος ὄρωρει·
Κῦροι γ' ὀρχηστῆρες ἰδίνεον ἐν δ' ἄρα τοῖσιν
Αὐλοὶ, φόρμιγγές τε βοὴν ἔχον, αἱ δὲ γυναικες
Ἰσαμέναι θάύμαζον ἐπὶ προθύροισιν ἐκάστη.

Two cities radiant on the shield appear,
The image one of peace, and one of war;
Here sacred pomp and genial feast delight,
And solemn dance and hymeneal rite;
Along the street the new-made brides are led,
With torches flaming to the nuptial bed;
The youthful dancers in a circle bound
To the soft flute, and cittern's silver sound:
Through the fair streets, the matrons in a row
Stand in their porches, and enjoy the show.

POPE.

The song they were entertained with in their passage was called *ἀρμάτειον μέλος*, from *ἄρμα*, the *coach* they rode in, the axletree whereof they burnt when arrived at their journey's end, thereby

^m Hesychius, vide Pollucis Onomast. lib. iii, item Suidani, Phavorinum, cæterosque Lexicographos.

ⁿ Helen. v. 728.

^o Scut. Hercul. v. 275.

^p Iliad, ἔ. v. 490.

signifying, that the bride was never to return to her father's house. The Rhodians had a peculiar custom of sending for the bride by a public crier. When the bridegroom entered the house with his bride, it was customary to pour upon their heads, figs, and divers other sorts of fruits, as an omen of their future plenty ^q. The day of the bride's departure from her father was celebrated in manner of a festival, and called Προσχαίρητήρια ^r. It seems to have been observed at her father's house, before she departed, being distinct from the nuptial solemnity, which was kept at the bridegroom's house, and began at evening, the usual time of the bride's arrival there.

The bride being come to the bridegroom's house, was entertained with a sumptuous banquet, called by the same name with the marriage, viz. γάμος, as Pollux hath observed from the following verse in Homer :

Εἰλαπὶν, ἢ γάμος, ἢ πρὸς ἑταῖρος τάδε γ' ἴσιν.

A shot-free banquet, or a marriage-feast,
Not such as is by contribution made.

Whence δαίειν γάμον is to make a *nuptial entertainment* : thus Homer ^s.

——— δαίσειν δὲ γάμον μετὰ Μυρμιδόνεσσι.

To make a marriage-feast for th' Myrmidons.

The same poet has this expression in other places ^t.

——— δαίνυντα γάμον πολλοῖσιν ἑταῖρσιν.

Making a nuptial banquet for his friends.

What was the design of this entertainment we learn from Athenæus, who (to pass by the joy and mirth it was intended to promote) tells us there were two reasons for it ; the first was, the respect due to the gods of marriage, who were invoked before the feast, and had no small share in it ; and it is thought by some, that most of the Grecian festivals were first observed on this ground. The second end of this entertainment was, that the marriage might be made public ^u ; for all the relations of the married couple were invited as witnesses of their marriage, and to rejoice with them : whence the young man in Terence concludes, the marriage he there speaks of could not be presently consummated, because time was required to invite friends, and to make necessary preparations ^v ;

Ducenda est uxor, ut ais ; concedo tibi :

Spatium quidem apparandis nuptiis,

Vocandi, sacrificandi dabitur paululum.

^q Aristophanis Scholiast. in Plutum,
p. 78.

^r Harpocration, Suidas.

^s Iliad, τ'.

^t Odyss. δ'.

^u Athenæus, lib. v. cap. 1, initio.

^v Phorm. act iv, sc. 4.

————— If he receives
The money, he must wed the girl: I grant it;
But then some little time must be allow'd
For wedding-preparation, invitation,
And sacrifices. —————

COLMAN.

During the solemnity, the company diverted themselves, and honoured the gods of marriage with music and dancing: we seldom read of a marriage without them. All the songs were called *ὑμέναιοι*, or *ὑμένες*: thus both Homer and Hesiod:

————— Πολὺς δ' ὑμέναιος ὄρωρει.

Many Hymens sung. —————

The Romans used the same term ^w;

Hymenæum, turbas, lampadas, tibicines.

Your Hymens, hubbubs, flambeaus, and gut-scrapers.

This name was taken from the frequent invocations of Hymen, or Hymenæus, the god of marriage, always made in these songs; as in this verse of Catullus,

Io Hymen, Hymenæe, Hymen ades, O Hymenæe.

This Hymenæus, we are told, was an Argian ^x, whom they received into the number of their gods, and thus remembered for a generous action, in delivering certain Athenian virgins from the lust and cruelty of some Pelasgians. Others derive the words ἀπὸ τῆ ὁμῆς ναίειν from the married couple's *inhabiting together*; others, lastly, from ὑμῆν, which signifies the *membrana virginalis*.

About the time of their entertainment there were several significant ceremonies, relating some way or other to the state of marriage. One at Athens was this: there came a boy, covered with thorn-boughs and acorns, carrying a basket full of bread, and singing, Εφύγον κακὸν, εὔρον ἄμεινον, i. e. *I have left the worse, and found the better*. Which saying was used at one of their festivals, when they commemorated their change of diet from acorns to corn; but seems at this time to have signified also the happiness which the married persons were entering upon, and that marriage was preferable to a single life. The Lacedæmonians had a custom of carrying about a sort of cakes made in various figures, and called κυρίθωνες, whilst they danced, and commended the bride in songs ^y.

When the dances were ended, the married couple were conducted to the marriage-bed, called in Latin, *lectus genialis*; in Greek, κλίνη νυμφιδίη, or γαμικὴ, or (when the persons were first married, and in their youth), κυρίδον λέχος. It was richly adorned,

^w Terentius Adelph.

^y Athenæus, lib. x.

^x Homeri Scholiastes, Iliad. c'. v. 595.

as the quality of the person would bear; the covering was usually purple: whence the poet ^z:

Purpureumve tuum consternens veste cubile.

Spreading a garment o'er thy purple bed.

Apollonius speaks of the same colour, and flowers wherewith they used to strew it ^a:

Ενθα τότ' ἐσόρισαν λίκτρον μέγα τοῖοδ' ὕπερθε
Χρύσειον αἰγλήεν κῶας βάλλον, ὄφρα πέλοιτο
Τιμήεις τε γάμος ἔ' αἰδιδίμος· ἄνθια δὴ σφι
Νύμφαι ἀμνηρόμεναι λευκοῖς ἐν ποικίλα κόλποις
Εσφόρειον.—————

Then richly they adorn'd the marriage-bed,
A costly purple skin they o'er it spread;
And that the nuptials they might celebrate
With more magnificent and pompous state,
The beauteous nymphs brought in their snowy breasts,
Flowers of various colours.—————

H. H.

In the same room there was commonly placed a side-bed, called κλίνη παρὰ οὐσος ^b, ὑπὲρ τῆς τὴν παιῖδα μὴ ἀθυμῆσαι, as Pollux accounts for the custom ^c. But before they went to bed, the bride bathed her feet: whence Trygæus, in Aristophanes ^d intending to marry Opora, no sooner brings her to his house, but commands his servants to provide a vessel of water, then to make ready the bed:

Ἀλλ' εἰσαγ' ὡς τάχιστα ταυτηνὶ λαβὼν,
Καὶ τὸν πύελον κατὰ κλυζε καὶ θέρμαιν' ὕδωρ,
Στόρευθί μοι καὶ τῇδε κρεῖδιον λίχος.

Bring home my bride as soon as possible,
Then wash the vessel, and the water warm,
And next prepare us for the nuptial bed.

This water the Athenians always fetched from the fountain Callirhoe, afterwards called *Εννιάκρεστος*, from *nine cisterns* supplied by it with water. The person that brought it was a boy nearly allied to one of the married couple, whom they termed *λετροφόρος*, from his office ^e. This being done, the bride was lighted to bed with several torches; for a single torch was not enough, as may be observed from the miser in Libanius ^f, that complains he could not light the bride to bed with one torch. Round one of the torches the married person's mother tied her hair-lace, which she took from her head for this use. Seneca alludes to this custom ^g:

—————*Non te duxit in thalamos parens
Comitata primos, nec sua festas manu
Ornavit ædes, nec sua lætas faces
Villa revinxit.*—————

^z De nuptiis Pelei et Thetidis, v. 1402.

^a Argon. iv. 1141.

^b Hesychius.

^c Lib. iii. cap. 3.

^d Pace.

^e Suidas, Pollux loc. cit.

^f Declamat. xxxvii.

^g Theb. v. 505.

Your mother did not at the wedding wait,
Nor you into your chamber introduce,
Nor with her hand the bridal house adorn,
Nor with her hair-lace tye the joyful torch.

H. H.

The relations of the married persons assisted in the solemnity, and it was looked on as no small misfortune to be absent; the mothers especially were assiduous in lighting torches when their son's wives entered the houses. Jocasta in Euripides severely chides Polynices for marrying in a foreign country, because she, with the rest of his relations and friends, were deprived of their offices at his nuptials ^h:

Σὺ δ', ὦ τέκνον, καὶ γάμοισι δὴ κλύω
Ζυγέντα, παιδοποιὸν ἄδον ἄν
Ξένοισιν ἐν δόμοις ἔχειν,
Ξένον τε κῆδος ἀμφέπειν.
Ἀλὰς ματρὶ τάδε,
Λαῖω τε σὺ παλαιγενεῖ,
Γάμων ἱσακτὰν ἄταν.
Εγὼ δ' ἔτε σοι πυρὸς ἀνῆψα φῶς
Νόμιμον ἐν γάμοις,
Ὡς πρέπει ματρὶ μακαρίᾳ,
Ἀνυμέναια δ' Ἰσμενὸς ἐκιδεύθη
Λυτροφόρον χλιδᾶς
Ἀνὰ δὲ Θηβαίαν πόλιν
Εσιγάθη τῶς εἰσοδὸς νύμφας.

For thee, my son, the nuptial bed, I hear,
Rais'd in a foreign house, gives thee the joys
Of love, and fondly to a foreign stem:
Allies thee; to a mother grievous this,
Grievous to high-born Laius, this disgrace
To be allied to strangers: nor did I
Light, as our country's rites require, the torch
To attend thy nuptials, office well beseeeming
An happy mother: his unconscious stream
Ismenus roll'd, and his delicious wave
Fill'd not the bridal bath: through silent Thebes,
No voice of joy hail'd, as she pass'd along
Thy ent'ring bride.

POTTER.

The bride's mother had no less a right to this office; for we find Clytemnestra, though professing all due submission to Agamemnon, when desired by him to absent herself from Iphigenia's marriage, stedfastly refusing it, as a thing against all justice, notwithstanding his promise to perform her part of the ceremony ⁱ:

ΚΑ. Ἡμᾶς δὲ πῶ χερὶ τηνικαῦτα τυγχάνειν
ΑΓ. Χώρει πρὸς Ἀργος, ταρβένους τε τημίλει.
ΚΑ. Λιπύσα παῖδα· τίς δ' ἀναστήσει φλόγα·
ΑΓ. Εγὼ παρίξω φῶς, ὃ νυμφίαις πρέπει.
ΚΑ. Οὐχ ὁ νόμος ἔστος, καὶ σὺ δὲ φαῦλ' ἡγῇ τάδε.

^h Phœniss. v. 339, in quem locum vide Scholiastem. ⁱ Iphigen. in Aulid. 731.

CL. Whither meantime shall wretched I repair ?

AG. To Argos, let those maids employ your care.

CL. And leave my child ? Who then the torch will light ?

AG. That be my care, I will perform that rite.

CL. And is that fit ? let Agamemnon judge.

II. II.

After a little disputing they proceed thus :

ΑΓ. Πῶ. ΚΑ. Μὰ τὴν ἄνασσαν Ἀργείαν Διάν

Ἐλθὼν δὲ, τᾶξω πρᾶσσει, τὰ ἴδμοις δ' ἰγῶ,

Ἄ χρεὶ παρῆναι νυμφίοισι παρθενοῖς.

AG. Without more reasonings my demands obey.

CL. By Juno, that o'er Argos bears the sway,

Sooner would wretched Clytemnestra bleed

Than give consent to so unjust a deed ;

Affairs abroad better my lot become,

'Tis fit that I should manage things at home.

II. II.

The married couple being shut together in the chamber, the laws of Athens obliged them to eat a quince, whereby was intimated that their first conversation ought to be pleasing and agreeable^j. The husband then loosed his wife's girdle, whence *λύειν ζώνην* is to deflower, and *γυνὴ λυσιζωνος*, a woman who has lost her virginity. This girdle was not (as some seem to fancy) worn by maids only, but used as well after marriage as before, being designed to secure the weaker sex from the sudden attempts of men inflamed with lust; whence Nonnus calls it *σαόφρων*, and when he introduces the satyrs endeavouring to embrace certain virgins, we find their honour secured by it^k. The same appears farther from the mention which authors make of untying women's girdles in child-birth, and from calling such girls only *ἄμιτροι*, i. e. *not having a girdle*, as were not arrived at maturity.

At this time the young men and maids stood without the door, dancing and singing songs, called *ἐπιθαλάμια*, from *θάλαμος*, the *bride-chamber*, and making a great noise, by shouting and stamping with their feet, which was termed *κυπρία*, or *κυπρίον*^l, and designed to drown the maid's cries. Lest the women should go to her assistance, one of the bridegroom's friends stood centinel at the chamber door, and from his office was called *θυρωρός*^m. This song, as likewise all the rest, was termed *ῥυμέναιος*, and consisted of the praises of the bridegroom and bride, with wishes for their happiness, as may appear (to pass by other instances) from Theocritus's epithalamium of Helena, which begins thus :

Εν ποτ' ἄρα Σπάρτα, ξανθότριχι πάρ Μενελάω,
Παρθενικαὶ θάλλοντα κόμαις ὑάκινθον ἔχοισαι.

^j Plutarchus Solone, et in Conjugal. præcept.

^k Lib. xii, circa finem.

^l Hesychius.

^m Pollux, lib. iii, cap. 3.

Πρόσθε νεογράφῳ θαλάμῳ χορὸν ἐτάσαντο,
 Δάδεκα τὰι πρῶται πάλιος μέγα χρῆμα Λακωνῶν,
 Ἀνία Τυδάρειω κατακλῆζατο τὰν ἀγαπατῶν
 Μναστήσας Ἑλέναν ὁ νεώτερος Ἀρτίος υἱὸς
 Αἶδον δ' ἄρ' αἰεὶ πᾶσαι ἐς ἔν μίλος ἐγκροτοῖσαι
 Ποσσὶ περιπλίκτοις, περὶ δ' ἅχε δώμ' ὕμναίῳ.

At Sparta's palace twenty beauteous maids,
 The pride of Greece, fresh garlands crown'd their heads
 With hyacinth and twining parsley drest,
 Grac'd joyful Menelaus' marriage-feast,
 When lovely Helen, great in conqu'ring charms,
 Resign'd her willing beauty to his arms :
 They danc'd around, joy flow'd from ev'ry tongue,
 And the vast palace sounded with the song.

GREEK.

They returned again in the morning, saluted the married couple, and sung ἐπιθαλάμια ἐγερτικά, for that was the name of the morning songs, which were designed to awake and raise the bridegroom and bride; as those sung the night before were intended to dispose them to sleep, and are on that account termed ἐπιθαλάμια κοιμητικά. This custom appears from Theocritus's chorus of virgins, who conclude the fore-cited epithalamium with a promise to return early in the morning :

Εὐδ᾽επ' ἐς ἀλλήλων εἴροναι φιλότητα πνέοντες
 Καὶ πόθον ἔγρεισθε δι' ἄλλ' αἶψ' ὅττι λάθησθε·
 Νεύμεθα καὶ ἄμμις ἐς ὄρθρον, ἐπεὶ κε πρῶτος αἰοιδὸς
 Εἰς ἐνᾶς κελαδήσῃ ἀνασχὼν εὐτρίχα δειρήν'
 Ὑμᾶν, ὦ Ὑμέναιε, γάμῳ ἐπὶ τῷδε χαρῆς.

Sleep in each others arms, and raise desire,
 Let ardent breathings fan your mutual fire,
 But rise betimes, forget not, we'll return
 When first the crowing cock shall wake the morn,
 When through his feather'd throat he sends his voice :
 O Hymen, Hymen, at this feast rejoice.

GREEK.

The solemnity lasted several days. The day before the marriage was termed προαύλια, as preceding that whereon the bride did ἀνλίζεσθαι τῷ νυμφίῳ, lodge with the bridegroom. The marriage-day was called γάμοι; the day following, according to Pindar, ἐπέδης, which word signifies a day added to any solemnity; Hesychiusⁿ calls it παλία, which may perhaps be derived from πάλιν, because the former day's mirth was, as it were, repeated, whence the Romans called it *reposita*; unless for παλία we might be allowed to read παλαιά, and then it would be the same with Athenæus's ἑωλος ἡμέρα^o; for ἑωλος denotes any thing that has ceased to be new; whence Tully calls a book ἑωλον, when men's first and eager inquiry after it is cooled: and Athenæus, in another place, has opposed τὰς ἀκμαίας γάμον ἡμέρας [to the τὸ ἑωλον τῆς συμποσίας^p: others

ⁿ Γάμοι.

• Lib. lii. cap. 15.

P Lib. iv.

call the second day *ἐπαύλια*, or *ἐπαυλία*. The third day was termed *ἀπαυλία* or rather *ἀπαύλια*: because the bride, returning to her father's house, did *ἀπαυλίζεσθαι τῷ νυμφίῳ*, lodge apart from the bridegroom, though some place this upon the seventh day after marriage; others will have it so called, because the bridegroom lodged apart from his bride at his father-in-law's house. It is possible both may be in the right, and that both bridegroom and bride might lie at her father's house, but in different beds. Others make *ἀπαύλια* to be the same with *ἐπαύλια*: whence a seeming difficulty arises, since those two words import contraries, one seeming to denote the bride's lodging apart from the bridegroom, the other with him; but this may be easily solved, by applying *ἐπαύλια* to her lodging with her husband, and *ἀπαύλια* to her departure from her father's house^q. On the day called *ἀπαύλια* (when-ever that was,) the bride presented her bridegroom with a garment called *ἀπαυλητηρία*. Gifts were likewise made to the bride and bridegroom, by the bride's father and friends, called sometimes *ἀπαύλια*, sometimes *ἐπαύλια*: these consisted of golden vessels, beds, couches, plates, ointment-boxes, combs, sandals, and all sorts of necessities for house-keeping, which were carried in great state to the house by women, who followed a person called *κνηφόρος*, from carrying a basket in the manner usual at processions, before whom went a boy in white apparel, with a torch in his hand. It was also customary for the bridegroom and his friends to give presents to the bride, which they called *ἀνακαλυπτήρια*^r; and Hesychius will have the third day to be called *ἀνακαλυπτήριον*, because then the bride first appeared publicly unveiled. Suidas tells us the gifts were so called, because she was then first shewn to her bridegroom. For the same reason they are sometimes called *θεώρητρα*, *ἐπτήρια*, *ἀθρήματα*; and *προσφθεγκτήρια*, because the bridegroom had then leave to converse freely with her; for virgins before marriage were under strait confinement, being rarely permitted to appear in public, or converse with men; and, when allowed that liberty, wore a veil over their faces; this was termed *κάλυπτρον*, or *καλύπτρα*, and was not left off in the presence of men till this time; whence some think the bride was called *νύμφη ἀπὸ τῆς νέον*, i. e. *πρώτως φαίνεσθαι*, that being the first time she appeared in a public company unveiled^s:

^q Vide Pollucem, lib. iii. cap. 5. Hesychium, Suidam, Etymologici Auctorem, Phavorinum, &c. in ν. *ἀπαύλια* et *ἐπαύλια*.

^r Suidas.

^s Phurnutus de Natura Deorum in Neptuno.

hence the poet speaks of Pluto's gifts to Proserpina, when she unveiled herself, as we read in those verses of Euphorion, cited by the scholiast upon Euripides^t:

Τῇ ῥα πότε Κρονίδης δῶρον πόρε Περσιφονείῃ
Εἰνὶ γάμοις, ὅτε πρῶτον ὀπωπήσασθαι ἔμιλλε,
Νυμφιδίῳ σπείρειο παρακλίνουσα καλύπτραν.

Pluto to Proserpine a present gave,
When first she laid aside her maiden veil,
And at the marriage shew'd herself uncover'd.

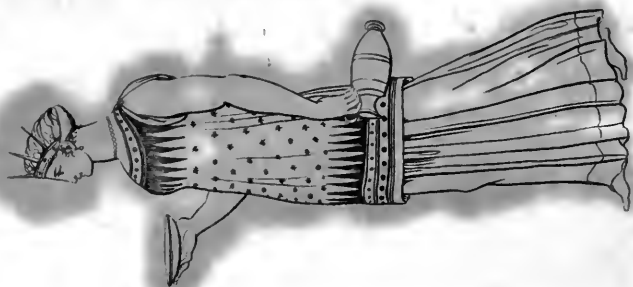
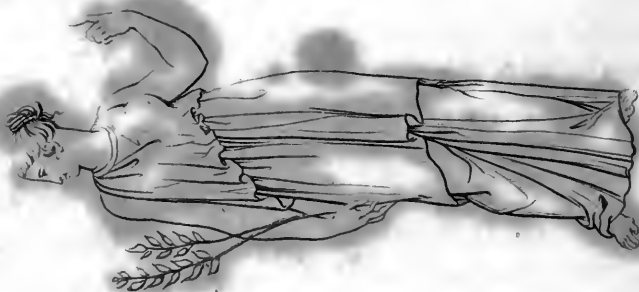
There is a story of the sophister Harmocrates, relating to this custom, that having a woman not very agreeable imposed upon him by Severus the Roman emperor, and being asked his ἀνακαλυπτήρια, when she took off her veil, he replied, ἐγκαλυπτήρια μὲν ἔν τοιαύτῃν λαμβάνων, *it would be more proper to make her a present to keep her veil on, unless her face was more agreeable.*

The ceremonies of the Spartan marriages being different from all others, I have reserved them for this place, and shall set them down in Plutarch's own words^u: 'When the Spartans had a mind to marry, their courtship was a sort of rape upon the persons they had a fancy for, and those they chose not tender and half children, but in the flower of their age, and full ripe for an husband. Matters being agreed between them, the Νυμφευτρία, or woman that contrived and managed the plot, shaved off the bride's hair close to her skin, dressed her up in man's clothes, and left her upon a mattress; this done, in comes the bridegroom in his every-day clothes, sober and composed, as having supped at his ordinary in the common-hall, and steals as privately as he can into the room where the bride lay, unties her virgin-girdle, and takes her into his embraces; thus, having staid a short time with her, he returns to the rest of his comrades, with whom he continues to spend his life, remaining with them as well by night as by day, unless he steals a short visit to his bride, and that could not be done without a great deal of circumspection and fear of being discovered. Nor was she wanting (as may be supposed) on her part to use her woman's wit in watching the most favourable opportunities for their meeting, and making appointments when company was out of the way. In this manner they lived a long time, insomuch that they frequently had children by their wives before they saw their faces by day-light. The interview being thus difficult and rare, served not only for a continual exercise of their temperance, and

^t Phœnissis.

^u Lycurgo, p. 48. edit. Paris.





FEMMININI ORNAT'US.

furthered very much the ends and intentions of marriage, but was a means to keep their passion still alive, which flags, and decays, and dies at last, by too easy access and long continuance with the beloved object.'

CHAP. XII.

Of their Divorces, Adulteries, Concubines, and Harlots.

THE Grecian laws concerning divorces were different: some permitted men to put away their wives on slight occasions: the Cretans allowed it to any man that was afraid of having too great a number of children; the Athenians likewise did it upon very small grounds, but not without giving a bill, wherein was contained the reason of their divorce, to be approved (if the party divorced made an appeal) by the chief magistrate^v. The Spartans, though marrying without much nicety in choice, seldom divorced their wives; for we read that Lysander was fined by the magistrates called ephori, on that account: and though Aristo, one of their kings, put away his wife with the approbation of the city, yet that seems to have been done rather out of an earnest desire to have a son to succeed in his kingdom, which he could not expect by that woman, than according to the custom of his country^w. But whatever liberty the men took, their wives were under a greater restraint; for it was extremely scandalous for a woman to depart from her husband: hence we find Medea in Euripides^x complaining of the hard fate of her sex, who had no remedy against the men's unkindness, but were first under the necessity of buying their husbands with large portions, and then to submit to their ill-usage without hopes of redress:

Πάντων δ', ὅς' ἐς' ἐμψυχᾶ, καὶ γνώμην ἔχει,
 Γυναῖκες ἰσὺν ἀθλιώτατον φυτὸν
 Ἄς πρῶτα μὲν δεῖ χρημάτων ὑπεβολῇ
 Πόσιν πρίασθαι, δισπότην τε σώματος
 Λαβεῖν· κακῇ γὰρ τῷδ' ἔτ' ἄλγιον κακὸν
 Καὶ τῷδ' ἀγὼν μίγιστος, ἥ κακὸν λαβεῖν,
 Ἢ χρυσόν· ἢ γὰρ εὐκλείεις ἀπαλλαγαὶ
 Γυναῖξιν, ἐδ' οἷονά τ' ἀνῆνασθαι πόσιν.

Thus is it, of all beings that have life
 And sense, we women are most wretched: first

^v Genial, Dier. lib. iv. cap. 8.

^w Herodotus, lib. vi. cap. 65.

^x Medea, v. 250.

With all our dearest treasures we must buy
 A husband, and in him receive a lord :
 A hardship this : a greater hardship yet
 Awaits us ; here's the question, if this lord
 Prove gentle or a tyrant ; if the worst,
 To disunite our nuptials hurts our fame,
 Nor from the husband may our sex withdraw
 The plighted hand.

POTTER.

The Athenians were somewhat more favourable to women, allowing them to leave their husbands upon just occasions ; only they could not do it without making appeal to the archon, and presenting him a bill of their grievances with their own hands. Plutarch ^y has a story of Hipparete, Alcibiades's wife, ' who (he tells us) was a virtuous lady, and fond of her husband, but at last growing impatient of the injuries done to her bed by his continual entertaining of courtezans, as well strangers as Athenians, she departed from him, and retired to her brother Calias's house. Alcibiades seemed not at all concerned at it, living on still his former lewd course of life ; but the law requiring that she should deliver to the archon in person, and not by a proxy, the instrument whereby she sued for a divorce, when, in obedience to it, she presented herself before him, Alcibiades came in, took her away by force, and carried her home through the forum, no man daring to oppose him, or take her from him, and she continued with him till her death. Nor was this violence to be thought a crime ; for the law, in making her who desires a divorce appear in public, seems to design her husband should have an opportunity of discoursing with her, and endeavouring to retain her.' Persons that divorced their wives were obliged to return their portions, as has been observed in the foregoing chapter ; if they failed to do that, the Athenian laws obliged them to pay her nine oboli a month for alimony, which the woman's guardian was empowered to sue for at the court kept in the Odeum ^z. It may be observed, lastly, that the terms expressing men and women's separation from each other were different ; men were said ἀποπέμπειν, ἀπολείπειν, *dimittere*, to dismiss their wives, or loose them from their obligation ; but wives, ἀπολείπειν, *divertere, discedere*, to leave or depart from their husbands.

It was not unusual to dissolve the marriage-tie by consent of both parties ; and that done, they were at liberty to dispose of themselves how they pleased in a second match ; an instance

^y Alcibiade.^z Demosthenes Orat. in Neæram. Vide caput. præcedens.

hercof we find in Plutarch, who reports, that when Pericles and his wife could not agree, and became weary of one another's company, he parted with her, willing and consenting to it, to another man ^a. There is somewhat more remarkable in the story of Antiochus, the son of Seleucus, who falling desperately in love with Stratonice his mother-in-law, married her with his father's consent ^b. The Romans had the same custom, as appears from Cato's parting with his wife Martia to Hortensius, which, as Strabo assures us, was a thing not unusual, but agreeable to the practice of the old Romans ^c, and some other countries.

What may appear more strange, is, that it was frequent in some parts of Greece to borrow one another's wives. At Athens, Socrates lent his wife Xantippe to Alcibiades ^d, and the laws of that city permitted heiresses to make use of their husband's nearest relation, when they found him deficient. And we have the following account of the practice of the Spartans from Plutarch ^e : ' Lycurgus, the Spartan lawgiver, he tells us, thought the best expedient against jealousy, was to allow men the freedom of imparting the use of their wives to whom they should think fit, that so they might have children by them : this he made a very commendable piece of liberality, laughing at those who thought the violation of their bed such an insupportable affront, as to revenge it by murders and cruel wars. He had a good opinion of that man, who, being grown old, and having a young wife, should recommend some virtuous, handsome young man, that she might have a child by him to inherit the good qualities of such a father, and should love this child as tenderly as if begotten by himself. On the other side, an honest man, who had love for a married woman, upon the account of her modesty, and the well-favouredness of her children, might with good grace beg of her husband his wife's conversation, that he might have a scion of so good a tree to transplant into his own garden ; for Lycurgus was persuaded that children were not so much the property of their parents as of the whole commonwealth, and therefore would not have them begotten by the first comers, but by the best men that could be found. Thus much (proceeds my author) is certain, that so long as these ordinances were observed, the women were so far from that scandalous liberty, which hath since been objected

^a Pericle.

^b Plutarchus Demetrio, Valerius Maximus, lib. v. cap. 7.

^c Geograph. lib. vii.

^d Tertullianus Apolog. cap. 59.

^e Lycurgo.

ed to them, that they knew not what the name of adultery meant.' We are farther told by others, that strangers, as well as citizens of Sparta, were allowed the same freedom with their wives, provided they were handsome men, and likely to beget lusty and vigorous children^f: yet we find their kings were exempt from this law, that the royal blood might be preserved unmixed, and the government remain in the same lineal descent.

Notwithstanding this liberty, which was founded upon mutual consent, they accounted all other adulteries the most heinous crimes in the world, and whilst they kept to their ancient laws, were wholly strangers to them; for we are told by Plutarch^g, 'that Geradas, a primitive Spartan, being asked by a stranger, *what punishment their law had appointed for adulterers?* replied, *there were no adulterers in his country: but, returned the stranger, suppose there were one, and the crime were proved against him, how would you punish him?* He answered, *that the offender must pay to the plaintiff a bull, with a neck so long, as that he might reach over the mountain Taygetus, and drink of the river Eurotas, that runs on the other side.* The man, surprised at this, said, *why, it is impossible to find such a bull.* Geradas smilingly replied, *it is just as possible to find an adulterer in Sparta.'*

The punishments inflicted upon adulterers in Greece were of divers sorts, some of which are these that follow:

To begin with the heroic ages: if the rapes of women may be allowed room in this place, we shall find they were revenged by many cruel and bloody wars. Herodotus makes them to have given the first occasion to that constant enmity that was kept up for many ages between Greece and Asia, and never allayed till the latter was conquered, and became subject to the former^h. Lycophron agrees with Herodotus, and makes the rape of Io by the Phœnicians to have incensed the Grecians against the inhabitants of Asia; and after frequent injuries committed, and wars waged on both sides, to have reduced the Asian empire under the dominion of the Europeans, under Alexander of Macedon: the poet's words run thusⁱ:

Ολοιντο ναῦται Καρνίται κύνες,
Οἱ τὴν βοῶσιν ταυροπαρβίνον κέρην
Λίγνης ἀνηρείψαντο φορητοὶ λύκοι,
Πλάστιν περιῦσαι κῆρα Μιμφίτη πρόμῳ,
Ἐχέρας δὲ πυρσὸν ἔραν ἡπίροις διπλαῖς.

^f Nicolaus de moribus apud Stobæum.

^h Lib. i. initio.

^g Loco citato,

ⁱ Cassandra. v. 1287.

May those Phœnician sailors be accurst
That Io did convey from Lerna first,
Those savage mariners that forc'd the maid
To be the partner of Osiris' bed,
And the two empires thus to warfare led.

H. H.

He goes on to enumerate the continual quarrels between the two continents, till Alexander's time. But, however, the truth of this may be questioned, there being in those early ages no distinction of the world into Greeks and barbarians, nor any common association of those amongst themselves, or against the others; yet we have a remarkable instance (to omit several others) of a long and bloody war, occasioned by Paris's rape of Helen. But to bring some instances which may seem more pertinent to our present design: what sentence the heroic ages passed upon adultery may appear, as from the revenge of Atreus upon his brother Thyestes, who was entertained at a banquet with the flesh of his own son, for defiling Aerope, Atreus's wife; and other examples of the cruelty of the men of those times, against such as committed adultery with their wives, or other near relations; so more clearly from the punishments inflicted by laws or magistrates upon such offenders, who were usually stoned to death; whence Hector in Homer tells Paris his crime, in stealing another man's wife, deserves no less a punishment than *λάϊνος χιτῶν*, a stone coat, which, if he had received his demerits, he should have put on, meaning that nothing but this death could expiate so black an action:

Λάϊνον ἔσσο χιτῶνα κακῶν ἔνεκ' ὅσσα ἔργας ἰ.

For these your crimes you had been ston'd to death.

The same punishment seems to have been frequent in more eastern countries: the Jews were particularly obliged to inflict it both on men and women, as appears from the express words of their law k. Rich adulterers were sometimes allowed to redeem themselves with money, which was called *μοιχάγρια*, and paid to the adulteress's husband: whence Mars being taken with Venus, Homer's gods all agree that he must pay his fine to Vulcan †:

*Οὐκ ἀρίστα κακὰ ἔργα, κιχάνει τοι βραδὺς ὤκυν
Ὡς ἐ νῦν Ἡφαιστος ἰὼν βραδὺς εἴλεν Ἀρηα,
Ὡκυτάτον περ ἔοντα θιῶν οἱ Ὀλυμπον ἔχουσι,
Χωλὸς ἰὼν, τίχησι· τὸ δ' μοιχάγρι' ὀφίλλεται.*

Then mutual thus they spoke: Behold, on wrong
Swift vengeance waits, and art subdues the strong!
Dwells there a god on all th' Olympian brow
More swift than Mars, and more than Vulcan slow?
Yet Vulcan conquers, and the god of arms
Must pay the penalty for lawless charms.

POPE.

† Iliad, γ'.

‡ Deuteronom. cap. 22.

† Odys. 9. v. 529, ubi Græcus Scholiastes consulendus.

Nor would Vulcan consent to set his prisoner at liberty, till Neptune had engaged for the payment of it ^m :

Τὸν δ' αὖτε προσέειπε Ποσειδάων ἐνοσίχθων
 Ἥφαισ', ἔπειρ γὰρ κεν Ἀρης χρεῖσθ' ὑπαλύξας
 Οἴχηται φεύγων, αὐτὸς τοι ἐγὼ τὰδε τίσω.
 Him answer'd then the shaker of the shores ;
 I tell thee, Vulcan, that if Mars by flight
 Shun payment, I will pay, myself, the fine.

COWPER.

It appears from the same place to have been customary for the woman's father to return all the dowry he had received of her husband : whence Vulcan is introduced threatening to secure both Mars and Venus in chains till that was done ⁿ :

Σφῶς δόλος ἔ' δεσμός, ἐρύξει,
 Εἰσόκε μοι μάλα πάντα πατὴρ ἀποδώσει ἔδνα,
 Οσσα οἱ ἐγγυάλιξα κυνώπιδος εἵνεκα κέρης,
 Οὐνέκα οἱ καλὴ θυγάτηρ, ἅτ' ἀρ' ἔκ' ἐχέθυμος.
 But there remain, ye guilty, in my power
 Till Jove refunds his shameless daughter's dower,
 Too dear I priz'd a fair enchanting face ;
 Beauty unchaste is beauty in disgrace.

POPE.

Some think this sum was refunded by the adulterer, because it was reasonable he should bear the woman's father harmless, since it appears not that Mars's mulct was a distinct sum ; for, upon Neptune's becoming surety for it, Vulcan loosed him from his bonds, without farther scruple.

Another punishment, was putting out the eyes of adulterers, which seems to have been no less ancient than the former, and may be thought just and reasonable, as depriving the offender of that member which first admits the incentives of lust. Fabulous writers tell us, that Orion having defiled Candiope, or Merope, had his eyes put out by Oenopion, whom some will have to be the lady's husband, others her father ^o. Phoenix, Achilles's guardian, suffered the same punishment for defiling Clytia, his father's concubine ^p, which is thus expressed by Lycophron ^q:

Τὸν πατρὶ πλεῖστον ἐσυγχεμένον βροτῶν,
 Ὀμηρον ὅς νιν θῆκε τετρήνας λύχνους,
 Ὅτ' ἔς νόθον τρήρωνος πῦν' ἀσθη λείχος.
 The object of Amyntor's greatest hate,
 And whom, since he his Clytia had defil'd,
 He most inhumanly deprived of sight.

Homer indeed has no mention of this punishment, but only informs us, that his father having discovered him, prayed that he

^m Odyss. S'. v. 354.

ⁿ V. 317.

^p Apollodorus, lib. iii.

^o Natalis Comes Mytholog. Servius
 in Æneid.

^q Cassandre, v. 421.

might never have any children^r, which Tzetzes^s thinks is meant by losing his eyes, because children are dearer to parents, and afford them greater comfort than their most necessary members; but this interpretation is forced, and contrary to the sense of mythologists, ancient as well as modern, who relate the story agreeably to the literal meaning of Lycophron's words. The Locrians observed this custom in later ages, being obliged thereto by Zaleucus their lawgiver, whose rigour in executing this law is very remarkable; for having caught his own son in adultery, he resolved to deprive him of sight, and remained a long time inexorable, notwithstanding the whole city was willing to remit the punishment, and requested him to spare the youth: at length, unable to resist the people's importunity, he mitigated the sentence, and redeemed one of his son's eyes by another of his own^t, so at once becoming a memorable example of justice and mercy.

At Gortyn, in Crete, there was another method of punishing adulterers; they were covered with wool, an emblem of the softness and effeminacy of their tempers, and in that dress carried through the city to the magistrate's house, who sentenced them to ignominy, whereby they were deprived in a manner of all their privileges, and their share in managing public business^u.

It would be endless to enumerate all the penalties ordered for these offenders; I shall therefore pass to the Athenian laws, when I have first acquainted you, that if credit may be given to Pausanias^v, the first who made a law, and constituted punishments against adulterers, was Hyettus, an inhabitant of Argos, who having caught Molurus, the son of Arisbas, too familiar with his wife, slew him, and fled to Orchomenus, the son of Minyas, then king of that city of Bœotia which bore his name: the king received him kindly, and gave him part of his territories, where he called a village Hyettus, after his own name, and established severe laws against adultery.

The Athenian punishments seem to have been arbitrary, and left to their supreme magistrate's discretion; whence we find Hippomenes, one of Codrus's posterity, and Archon of Athens, pronouncing a very odd sentence upon his own daughter Limone, and the man caught in adultery with her: he yoked them to a chariot till the man died, and afterwards shut up his daughter

^r Iliad, i. v. 455.

^s In Lycophron. loc. citat.

^t Valerius Maximus, lib. vi. cap. 5.

^u Coelius Rhodiginus, lib. xxi, cap. 45.

^v Bœoticis, 597, 598, ed. Hanov.

with an horse, and so starved her to death ^w. Some time after, Draco being invested with power to enact laws, left adulterers at the mercy of any man that caught them in the act, who had free license to dismember, murder, or treat them in what other manner he pleased, without being called to account for it; which punishment was the same that had been before appointed for this crime by Hyettus ^x, and was continued afterwards by Solon ^y. Several other punishments were ordered by Solon against the same crime, when proved by evidence in lawful judicature. A man that ravished a free woman was fined 100 drachms, one that enticed her 20 ^z, or (as some say) 200, it being a greater injury to a woman's husband and her family, to corrupt her mind than her body; but he that forced a free virgin, was to pay 1000, and whoever deflowered one, was obliged to marry her; whence Plutus introduces one who had corrupted a man's daughter, speaking to her father thus ^a:

*Siquid ego erga te imprudens peccavi, aut gnatam tuam,
Ut mihi ignoscas, eamque uxorem des, ut leges jubent.*

If, sir, I've iniur'd you, I crave your pardon;
And since I've wrong'd your daughter's chastity,
The laws command it, and I'll marry her.

But if the virgin, or her mother, had accepted any present from her gallant, he was not obliged to make her his wife, but she was looked on as a common strumpet: whence Sostrata in Terence has these words, after her daughter had been defiled ^b:

*Pejore res loco non potis est esse, quam in hoc, quod nunc sita est;
Primum indotata est; tum præterea, quæ secunda ei dos erat,
Perit, pro virgine dari nuptum non potest: hoc reliquum est,
Si inficias ibit, testis mecum est annulus, quem amiserat:
Postremo, quando ego conscia mi sum, a me culpam esse hanc procul,
Neque pretium, neque rem ullam intercessisse illa, aut me indignam, Geta,
Experiar. —*

Whatever happens,
The thing can't be in a worse state than now.
In the first place my daughter has no portion,
And that which should have been her second dowry,
Is also lost; and she can ne'er be given
In marriage as a virgin. For the rest
If he denies his former commerce with her,
I have the ring he lost to vouch the fact.
In short, since I am conscious to myself
That I am not to blame in this proceeding,
And that no sordid love of gain, nor aught
Unworthy of my daughter or myself,
Has mixt in this affair, I'll try it, Geta.

COLMAN.

When a man was clapped up on suspicion of adultery, he was

^w Heraclides de Polit. Athen.

^z Plutarchus, loc. cit.

^x Pausanias, loc. cit. Demosthenes in Aristocratem.

^a Aulularia.

^y Plutarchus Solone, Lysias Orat.

^b Adelph. act. iii, sc. 2.

allowed to prefer his appeal to the magistrates called thesmothetæ, who referred the cause to proper judges; and these, in case the crime was proved against him, had power to lay on him, death only excepted, what punishment they pleased^c. There was another remarkable punishment for adulterers, called παρατίλμος, or ῥαφανίδωσις, the part being put for the whole; for having plucked off the hair from their privities, they threw hot ashes upon the place, and thrust up a radish, mullet, or some such thing, into their fundament, whence they were ever after termed εὔπροικτοι. Juvenal mentions this usage^d:

— Quosdam mæchos et mugilis intrat.

And some adulterers a mullet bores.

But poor men were only thus dealt with, the rich being allowed to bring themselves off with paying their fine, as the Greek scholiast has observed from the following passage of Aristophanes, wherein Chremylus upbraids poverty for exposing men to this disgraceful punishment:

Ο δ' ἄλγες γε μοιχὸς διὰ σέ πε παρατίλλεται^e.

Women thus offending were treated with great severity. Plutarch tells us, that if any person discovered his sister or daughter, whilst unmarried, in this crime, he was allowed by Solon's laws to sell her for a slave. Adulteresses were never after permitted to adorn themselves with fine clothes; and in case they appeared to do so, were liable to have them torn off by any that met them, and likewise to be beaten, though not so as to be killed or disabled: the same liberty was permitted to any that found them in the temples, which were thought polluted by the admission of persons so infamous and detestable. Lastly, their husbands, though willing to do it, were forbidden to cohabit any longer with them, upon pain of ignominy, ἀτιμία^f; but persons that prostituted women, were adjudged to die^g.

We have seen what the Greeks thought of adultery; but they appear to have had a more favourable opinion of concubinage; it being permitted everywhere, and that without scandal, to keep as many concubines as they pleased; these they styled παλλακίδες. they were usually women taken captives, or bought with money, and always inferior to lawful wives, whose dowry, or noble parentage, or some other excellency, gave them pre-eminence.

^c Demosthenes in Neæram.

^d Sat. x. 317.

^e Plut. act. i. sc. 2.

^f Demosthenes Orat. in Neæram.

^g Vide Leges Atticas, fine lib. i. p. 161, 162.

There is continual mention of them in Homer: Achilles had his Briseis, and in her absence Diomede; Patroclus his Iphis; Menelaus and Agamemnon, and to mention no more, the wisest, gravest, and eldest of them all, such as Phoenix and Nestor, had their women. Nor is it to be wondered that heathens should run out into such excesses, when the Hebrews, and those the most renowned for piety, such as Abraham and David, allowed themselves the same liberty: yet the Grecian wives always envied their husbands this freedom, looking on it as an encroachment upon their privileges: whence we find in Homer, that Laërtes, though having a great respect for his slave Euryclea, never took her to his bed for fear of his wife's displeasure ^h:

Ἰσα δὲ μὲν κεδνῇ ἀλόχῳ τίεν ἐν μεγάροισιν,
Εὐνῇ δ' ἔποτ' ἐμικτο, χόλον δ' ἄλεινε γυναῖκός.

In rosy prime with charms attractive grac'd,
Honour'd by him, a gentle lord and chaste,
With dear esteem: too wise with jealous strife
To taint the joys of sweet connubial life.

POPE.

Phoenix's mother persuaded him to defile his father's concubine, to free her of so troublesome a rival, as himself relates the story ⁱ:

Δίππον Ἑλλάδα καλλιγύναικα,
Φεύγον νέκρεα πατρὸς Ἀμύντορος Ορμενίδου,
Ὅς μοι παλλακίδος πέρι χόσατο καλλικόμοιο,
Τὴν αὐτὸς φιλείσκειν, ἀτιμάζεσκε δ' ἄκοιτιν,
Μητιρ' ἐμήν· ἢ δ' αἶν' ἐμὲ λισσέσκετο γένων
Παλλακίδι προμιγῆναι, ἵν' ἐχθήρει γέροντα,
Τῇ πύθμεν, ἔξ ἑρῆα.

As when from Hellas for her women fam'd
I fled, escaping from Amyntor's wrath
My father's, son of Ormenus, who loved
A beauteous concubine, and for her sake
Despis'd his wife, and persecuted me,
My mother suppliant at my knees, with prayer
Perpetual importun'd me to embrace
The damsel first, that she might loath my sire.
I did so.

COWPER.

More instances may be collected, but it will suffice to add that of Clytemnestra, who, having slain her husband Agamemnon, wreaked her malice upon Cassandra his concubine: whence Seneca has introduced her speaking these words ^j:

At ista pœnas capite persolvat suo
Captiva conjur, regii peller tori;
Trahite, ut sequatur conjugem ereptum mihi.

My rival too, his concubine, shall share,
The sad effects of rage for injur'd love;
Drag out the captive harlot, she that dar'd
Lewdly to violate the royal bed,
That she may follow him she tore from me.

II. II.

Harlots were no less common than concubines, being tolerated in most of the Grecian and other commonwealths. Nor was the

^h Odys. 4. v. 433.ⁱ Iliad. 4. v. 447,^j Agamemnon, v. 995.

use of them thought repugnant to good manners : whence the Latin comedian, speaking of Athens, saith :

Non esse flagitium scortari hominem adolescentulum.
For youth to wench and whore is not a sin.

The wisest of the heathen sages were of the same mind. Solon allowed common whores to go publicly to those that hired them^k, and encouraged the Athenian youth to empty their lust upon these, to hinder them from making attempts upon the wives and daughters of his citizens. Philemon has elegantly expressed that lawgiver's design in the following fragment^l :

Εὖ δ' εἰς ἅπαντας εὔρις ἀνθρώπους, Σόλων·
Σὲ γὰρ λίγισσι τῶν ἰδῶν πρῶτον βροτῶν,
Δημοτικὸν, ὦ Ζεῦ, πρῶγμα, καὶ σωτήριον,
(Καί μοι, λίγειν τῶν ἔστιν ἄρμος, Σόλων)
Μισθὸν ὀρώμεν τὴν πόλιν νεώτερον,
Τάττω; τ' ἔχοντες τὴν ἀναγκαίαν φύσιν,
'Αμαρτάνοντάς τ' εἰς ὃ μὴ προσήκον ἦν,
Σπῆσαι προιάμενον γυναῖκας μετὰ τόπῳ;
Κοινὰς ἅπασιν κατεσκευασμένας
Εἰσὶν γυμναί, μὴ ἕσταται θῆς, πάνθ' ὅρα·
Οὐκ εὖ σεαυτῷ συγχάνας ἔχων; ἔχεις
Πῶς ἡ θύρα σοι ἔσται ἂν ἀνεργμένη;
Εἰς ὁβολός· εἰσπύδῃσον· ἔκ' ἔσ' ἄδεις
Αἰκισμὸς, ἐδὲ λῆρος, ἐδ' ὑφαρπαγή·
Ἀλλ' εὐθύς ὡς βάλει σὺ, καὶ συχρὸν τρόπον.
Εἰσὶν ὁβολός· οἰμώζειν λεγ', ἀλλοτρία ἔσ' σοι.

Cato, the Roman censor, was of the same opinion, as appears from the known story, that meeting a young nobleman of Rome coming out of the common stew, he commended him for diverting himself in that place, as we read in Horace^m :

*Quidam notus homo, cum exiret fornice, macte
Virtute esto, inquit, sententia dia Catonis,
Nam simul ac venas inflavit tetra libido,
Huc juvenes æquum est descendere.*————

When from the stews a certain noble came,
This, says he, was the heav'nly Cato's theme,
'Go ou brave youth, and may you o'er succeed,
And never be abash'd to own the deed;
When lust and burning love swell every vein,
'Tis lawful to come here, and quench the flame.'

H. H.

I forbear to mention other instances, the testimony of Cicero being sufficient to confirm what I have said, when he challenges all persons to name any time wherein *men were either reprov'd for this practice, or not countenanced in it*ⁿ. Nor can it be wondered that heathens allowed themselves this liberty, when the Jews looked on it as lawful; they were indeed forbidden to commit adultery, and

^k Plutarchus Solone.

^l Delphis.

^m Lib. i. Sat. ii. v. 51.

ⁿ Orat. pro M. Cælio.

fornication also was prohibited under severe penalties ; but these (as Grotius^o observes) were thought to concern only women of their own nation, their law not extending to foreigners ; and we find accordingly that public stews were openly tolerated amongst them, and women residing there taken into the protection of the government, as appears from the two harlots that contended about a child, and were heard in open court by king Solomon^p. But the Jewish women were not permitted to prostitute their bodies ; and therefore strange or foreign women are sometimes taken for harlots, as when Solomon advises his son to embrace ‘ wisdom and understanding, that they may keep him from the strange woman, from the stranger, which flattereth with her words^q ;’ and to arm him against the allurements of harlots, he tells him ‘ the lips of a strange woman drop as an honey-comb, and her mouth is smoother than oil, but her end is bitter as wormwood, sharp as a two-edged sword^r.’ The Athenians, as in many other things, so here, had the same custom with the Jews ; for though severe penalties were laid on such as defiled women that were citizens of Athens, yet foreigners had the liberty of keeping public stews, and there harlots were, for that reason, like those among the Jews, called *ζέλαι*, *strange women*.

The harlots of the primitive ages were not so wholly divested of modesty as afterwards, for they never went abroad barefaced, but, as was the custom of other women, covered themselves with veils or masks ; nor were they allowed (as some think) to prostitute themselves within the cities^s ; which custom seems to have been derived from the eastern nations ; for we find Tamar in Genesis^t, when she had a mind to appear like a harlot, ‘ covering herself with a veil, and sitting in an open place by the way to Timnath ;’ but it may be her design, in placing herself there was only, that she might meet with Judah or his son, whom she desired to entice to her embraces. We find, however, that in after ages, when harlots were certainly permitted to reside in cities, they used to post themselves in the highways, as places of resort. In Solomon’s reign they frequented the cities : for, speaking of an harlot, he saith, ‘ she is loud and stubborn, her feet abide not in her house ; now she is without, now in the streets, and lieth in wait in every

^o In Mathæi cap. v. 37.

^p 1 Reg. iii. 16.

^q Proverbs, vii. 4. 5.

^r Proverbs, v. 3, 4.

^s Chrysippus citante Grotio in Mat. cap. v. 27.

^t Cap. xxxviii. 15.

corner ^u. Yet some ages after, when it is certain they were no more restrained from abiding in cities than in Solomon's days, they resorted to places of general concourse out of them, such as highways, especially where several ways met, and had tents erected to wait in for custom; hence (to omit other instances) those words of Ezekiel: 'thou hast built thy high place at every head of the way, and hast made thy beauty to be abhorred, and hast opened thy feet to every one that passed by, and multiplied thy whoredoms ^v.' Again, 'thou buildest thine eminent place in the head of every way, and makest thy high place in every street ^w.' At Athens, the harlots chiefly frequented the Ceramicus, Sciros, and the old forum, in which stood the temple of Venus πάνδημος, where Solon permitted them to prostitute themselves. They also very much frequented a certain forum in that part of the haven Piræus which was called (σοὰ μακρὰ) *the long portico*, the parts whereof are thus described by Julius Pollux, δειγμα, ἐμπορίον· ἐμπορίαι δὲ μέρη, καπηλεία, καὶ πορνεία. And in other ports there were commonly great numbers of stews, as hath been observed in the preceding book.

In some places, harlots were distinguished from other women by their apparel; whence those words of Solomon ^x, 'there met him a woman with the attire of an harlot, and subtile of heart.' What sort of habit this was, is not certain; but if the Athenian custom was in this, as in many other things, taken from the Jews, we may conclude that their whores wore flowered garments; for the Athenian lawgiver thinking it necessary to distinguish women of innocent conversation from harlots, by some open and visible mark, ordered that those should never appear abroad but in grave and modest apparel, and that the rest should always wear flowered garments. Hence Clemens of Alexandria hath remarked, that as *fugitive slaves are known by their stigmata*, ἔγω τὴν μοιχαλίδά δείκνυσσι τὰ ἀνθίσματα, so *flowered garments are an indication of a harlot* ^y. The same law was enacted among the Locrians by Zaleucus, as we are told by Diodorus the Sicilian, and was also observed at Syracuse, as we learn from Phylarchus in Athenæus ^z; for, though harlots were tolerated in the Grecian commonwealth, yet they were generally infamous, and consisted chiefly of captives and other slaves. Hence it was forbidden by the laws of Athens to derive the name of an harlot from any of the sacred

^u Proverbs, vii. 11.

^v Ezekiel, xvi. 25.

^w Ibid. com. 31.

^x Proverbs, vii. 10.

^y Pædag. lib. iii. cap. 2.

^z Deipnosoph. lib. xii.

games, as Athenæus hath observed from Polemo's description of the Acropolis; whence that author seems to wonder how it came to pass that a certain harlot was called Nemea, from the Nemean games ^a.

Corinth is remarkable for being a nursery of harlots, there being in that city a temple of Venus, where the readiest method of gaining the goddess's favour, was to present her with beautiful damsels, who from that time were maintained in the temple, and prostituted themselves for hire. We are told by Strabo ^b, that there were no less than a thousand there at that time. Hence κορινθιάζειν, *to act the Corinthian*, is ἐταιριεῖν, *to commit fornication*, according to Hesychius. Λεσβιάζειν, λεσβιάζν, and φοινικίζειν, are used in the same sense, the Lesbians and Phœnicians being infamous for this vice. Λεσβιάζειν also signifies an impure way of kissing, whence it is interpreted by the same author, πρὸς ἄνδρα στοματεύειν, and λεσβιάς is expounded λαικάστρια, *an harlot*. The Corinthians were a genteeler sort of harlots, and admitted none to their embraces but such as were able to deposit a considerable sum, as we learn from Aristophanes ^c:

Καὶ τὰς δ' ἐταίρας φασὶ τὰς Κορινθίας,
Ὅταν μὴν αὐτὰς τις πένης ᾖν τύχη,
Οὐδὲ προσέχκειν τὸν νῦν ἰὰν δὲ πλῆσως,
Τὸν πρωκτὸν αὐτὰς εὐθὺς ὡς τῦτον τρέπειν.

This gave occasion to the proverb,

Ὅν παντὸς ἀνδρὸς ἐς Κόρινθον ἔσθ' ὁ πλῆς.

Which Horace hath thus translated,

Non cuivis hominum contingit adire Corinthum.

To Corinth ev'ry person cannot sail.

Some rather refer it to the famous Corinthian strumpet Lais, and others assign other reasons. Their occupation indeed was very gainful, insomuch that those whom beauty and parts recommended, frequently raised great estates. A remarkable instance hereof we have in Phryne, who offered the Thebans to rebuild the walls of their city, when demolished by Alexander, on condition they would engrave on them this inscription:

ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΣ ΑΝΕΣΚΑΨΕΝ ΑΝΕΣΤΗΣΕ ΔΕ ΦΡΥΝΗ Η ΕΤΑΙΡΑ.

i. e. *These walls were demolished by Alexander, but raised by Phryne the harlot.*

To render their conversation more agreeable to men of parts and quality, they frequently employed their vacant hours in the study

^a Vide Archæolog. hujus, lib. i. cap. de Servis.

^b Lib. viii.

^c Plut. act. i. sc. 2.

of mathematics, and other sciences, frequenting the schools and company of philosophers. Aspasia, Pericles's beloved mistress, used to converse with Socrates, and arrived at such a pitch in learning, that many of the Athenians resorted to her on account of her rhetoric and abilities of discourse. The most grave and serious amongst them frequently went to visit her, and carried their wives with them, as it were to lecture, to be instructed by her conversation. Pericles himself used her advice in the management of public affairs; and after his death, one Lysicles, a silly and obscure clown, by keeping her company, came to be a chief man at Athens^d. Several other examples of this sort occur in authors, as of Archianassa the Colophonian, who was Plato's mistress; Heppyllis, who conversed with Aristotle till his death, and bore him a son called Nicomachus; lastly (to mention no more), Leontium, who frequented Epicurus's gardens, there prostituting herself to the philosophers, especially to Epicurus^e.

CHAP. XIII.

Of the Confinement and Employments of their Women.

THE barbarous nations, and amongst them the Persians especially, saith Plutarch^f, were naturally jealous, clownish, and morose towards their women, not only their wives, but their slaves and concubines, whom they kept so strictly, that never any one saw them beside their own family; when at home, they were cloistered up; when they took a journey, they were carried in coaches or waggons, close covered at the top, and on all sides: such a carriage, my author tells us, was prepared for Themistocles, when he fled into Persia, to keep him secret; so that the men who conveyed him told all they met and discoursed with upon the road, that they were carrying a young Grecian lady out of Ionia to a nobleman at court.

By the manner of Plutarch's relating this story, it may be perceived that neither he, nor his countrymen the Greeks approved of the severity used by barbarous nations towards their women; yet themselves, though remitting something of the Persian rigour,

^d Plutarch. Pericle.^d Athenæus, lib. xiii. cap. 5. sub finem.^f Themistocle.

kept their women under strict discipline, and were no less excelled by the Romans in their behaviour to them, than themselves surpassed the barbarians; for, whereas the Roman women were allowed to be present at public entertainments, and to converse with the guests, and were complimented by their husbands with the best rooms in their houses, those of Greece rarely or never appeared in strange company, but were confined to the most remote parts of the house^g.

To this end the Grecian houses were usually divided into two parts, in which the men and women had distinct mansions assigned. The part wherein the men lodged was towards the gate, and called *ἀνδραν*, or *ἀνδρανίτις*. The part assigned for the women was termed *γυναικῶν*, *γυναικωνίτης*, or *γυναικωνίτις*; it was the farthest part of the house, and behind the *αὐλή*, before which there were also other parts, called *πρόδομος*, and *προαύλιον*. The sons of Priam in Homer were all placed by themselves, and separated from his daughters, who lived in more remote places^h:

Ἀλλ' ὅτε δὴ Πριάμοιο δόμον περικαλλέ' ἵκανε,
Ξεστῷ αἰθυσέσσι τετυγμένον, αὐτὰρ ἐν αὐτῷ
Πεντήκοντ' ἔνεσαν θάλαμοι ξεστοῖο λίθοιο,
Πλησίον ἀλλήλων δεδμημένοι ἐνθα δὲ παῖδες
Κοιμῶντο Πριάμοιο παρὰ μνηστῶν ἀλόχοισι.
Κεράων δ' ἐτίρωθεν ἐναντίοι ἐνδοθεν αὐλῆς,
Δώδεκ' ἔσαν τίγιοι θάλαμοι ξεστοῖο λίθοιο
Πλησίοι ἀλλήλων δεδμημένοι.

But now he reach'd the palace of his sire,
Faced with bright porticoes that over-arch'd
The fifty chambers lin'd with polish'd stone,
And mutually adjoin'd, in which the sons
Of Priam with their wedded wives repos'd,
And opposite were built, within the court,
Twelve other chambers lin'd with polish'd stone
And mutually adjoin'd, in which repos'd
Priam's chaste daughters with his sons-in-law.

COWPER.

Where it may be observed, that the women's chambers are called *τίγιοι θάλαμοι*, as being placed at the top of the house; for the women's lodgings were usually in the uppermost rooms, as Eustathius remarks upon this passageⁱ, which was another means to keep them from company; hence Helen is said to have had her chamber in the loftiest part of the house^j:

Ἡ δ' εἰς ὑψόροφον θάλαμον κίε δῖα γυναικῶν
Into the upper chamber Helen went.

Penelope appears to have lodged in such another place, to which she ascended by a *κλίμαξ*; whence the same poet:

^g Cornelius Nepos, præfat. in vitas excellent. Imperatorum.

^h Iliad. ζ'. v. 242.

ⁱ P. 409. ed. Basil.

^j Iliad. γ. v. 425.

Κλίμακα δ' ὑψηλὴν κατιβήσατο οἷο δόμοιο.

By a long ladder came down from her room.

This word signifies a stair-case, but in this place may as well denote a ladder, which seems to have been used in those days, when, architecture was not much understood; whence Antigone in Euripides calls out to her guardian to help her up^k:

*Οριγς νῦν, ὄριγι γεραιᾶν
Νία χεῖρ' ἀπὸ κλιμάκων,
Ποδὸς ἵχνος ἱπαντίλλων.

Stretch forth thy hand, thy aged hand; support
My youth, assist me whilst I mount these steps.

These upper rooms were sometimes, especially at Lacedæmon, called ὤα, ὠία or ὑπερῶα, which words being distinguished only by the accent (the use whereof seems not to have been known by the ancient Grecians) from ὠά, eggs, are thought by some to have ministered occasion to the inventors of fables, to feign that Castor, Pollux, Helena, and Clytemnestra, were hatched out of eggs, when they were born in one of these lofts or upper chambers.

The women were straitly confined within their lodgings, such especially as had no husbands, whether virgins or widows^l, whereof the former were most severely looked to, as having less experience in the world. Their apartment, which was called παρθενῶν, was usually well guarded with locks and bolts; whence Agamemnon in Euripides, desiring Clytemnestra to go home and look after the virgins, who, he tells her, were by no means to be left in the house alone, receives this answer^m:

Οχυροῖσι παρθενῶσι φρουρῶνται καλῶς.

They're close kept up in their well-guarded lodgings.

Sometimes they were so straitly confined, that they could not pass from one part of the house to another without leave; whence Antigone in Euripides obtains her mother's leave to go to the top of the house to view the Argian army that besieged Thebes; notwithstanding which, her guardian searches the passage, for fear any person should have a sight of her, which, he says, would be a reflection upon her honour, and his own fidelity. The old man's words are thus addressed to the young princessⁿ:

Ω κλεινὸν οἶκος, Αντιγόνη, θάλλ' πατρὶ,
Ἐπεὶ σε μήτηρ παρθενῶνας ἐκλιπῆν
Μεθῆκε, μελάρων δ' ἐς διήρης ἵσχατον
Σπράττειμ' ἰδεῖν Ἀργεῖον, ἱεσίσαισι σαῖς.
Ἐπίσχε, ὡς ἂν προξερυνήσω εἶβον,
Μή τις πολιτῶν ἐν τοίῳ φαντάζεται,
Κάμοι μὲν ἔλθαι Φαῦλος ὡς δόλω ψόγ',
Σοὶ δ' ὡς ἀνάσση.

^k Phœniss. v. 105.

^l Harpocration.

^m Iphiger. in Aulid. v. 758.

ⁿ Euripid, Phœniss. v. 88.

But you, Antigone, my royal charge,
 The blooming glory of your father's house,
 Stir not, though suffer'd by your mother's leave
 Sometime from your apartment to withdraw,
 And to ascend the house's lofty top,
 From thence the Argian forces to survey;
 But stay till first I see the way be clear,
 That by a citizen you be not seen,
 For that would much reflect upon my care,
 And from your royal honour derogate.

New married women were almost under as strict a confinement as virgins. Hermione is severely reproved by the old woman that waits on her, for appearing out of doors, which was a freedom, she tells her like to endanger her reputation ° :

Ἀλλ' εἰσὶ εἰσω, μὴδὲ φαντάζεσθαι δόμων
 Πάροισι τῶνδε, μὴ τιν' αἰσχύνῃ λάβεης
 Πρόσθεν μελάρων τῶν δ' ὀρωμένη, τέκνον.
 Go in, nor stand thus gazing at the doors,
 Lest you lament the scandal you'll incur,
 Should you be seen before the hall t' appear.

Menander, as cited by Stobæus ^p, says expressly, that the door of the αὐλή was the farthest a married woman ought to go, and reproves one for exceeding those limits :

Τὰς τῶν γαμιτῶν ὄρας ὑπερβαίνεις, γύναι,
 Διὰ τὴν αὐλάν' πέρας γὰρ αὐλῆς ἔδρα
 Ελευτέρα γυναικὶ νενόμισ' οἰκίας.
 You go beyond the married women's bounds,
 And stand before the hall, which is unfit;
 The laws do not permit a free-born bride
 Farther than to the outer door to go.

But when they had once brought a child into the world, they were no longer under so strict a confinement; whence μήτηρ, a mother, is by some derived ἀπὸ τῆς μὴ τηρεῖσθαι, from her being no longer under keepers ^q; yet what freedom they then enjoyed was owing wholly to the kindness of their husbands; for such as were jealous kept their wives in perpetual imprisonment: whence a woman in Aristophanes makes this complaint of the severe treatment the Athenian wives met with ^r :

——— Ταῖς γυναικωνίτισιν
 Σφραγίδας ἐπιβάλλουσιν ἥδη, καὶ μοχλῶς,
 Τηρῦντες ἡμᾶς, καὶ προσέτι Μολοτικῶς
 Τρίφρασι, μορμολύκεια τοῖς μοιχοῖς, κύνας.
 But strictly us poor women they confine
 Within our chambers, under lock and key,
 Make use of mastiffs, goblins, any thing
 That may adulterers affright. —————

H. H.

However husbands might be of a better temper, yet it was looked

° Andromache, v. 876.

^p Serm. lxxij.

^q Etymolog. Auctor.

^r Thesmophor. p. 774. ed. Amstelod.

on as very indecent for women to gad abroad : whence we find several proverbial speeches and allusions, intimating the duty of wives to stay at home : such is that cited by Eustathius out of Euripides ^s :

Εὐδὸν γυναικῶν ἔ παρ' οἰκίταις λόγος.

Women should keep within doors, and there talk.

To the same purpose was Phidias's emblem, representing Venus treading upon a tortoise ^t, which carries its house upon its back.

When they went abroad, or appeared in public, they covered their faces with veils ; as we find of Penelope, when she descended from her apartment to converse with the young gentlemen that courted her ^u :

Ἥ δ' ὅτε δὴ μνηστῆρας ἀφίκετο διὰ γυναικῶν,
Στῆ ῥα παρὰ σταβρὸν τέγες πύκα ποιητοῖο,
Λυτὰ παρειάων σχομένη λιπαρὰ κρηδεῖμνα.

Then from her lodging went the beauteous dame,
And to her much expecting courtiers came,
There veil'd before the door she stood.

The veil was so thin as that they might see through it, which appears from these words of Iphigenia ^v :

Εγὼ δὲ λεπτῶν ὄμμα διὰ καλλυμμάτων
Εχρσ', ἀδελφὸν τῷτον εἰλόμην χερσῶν,
Ὅς νῦν ὄλωλεν.

But, o'er mine eyes the veils' fine texture spread,
This brother in my hands, who now is lost,
I saw but clasp'd not.

To prevent all private assignations, Solon enacted, that no wife or matron (for he took not so much care of virgins, who were always strictly confined) should go from home with more than three garments, nor should carry with her a larger quantity of meat and drink than could be purchased for one obolus, nor a basket of more than a cubit in length. He farther ordered, that she should not travel in the night without a lighted torch before her chariot. Afterwards, it was decreed, at the instance of Philippides, that no woman should appear in public undressed, under the penalty of paying 1000 drachmas. This law was carefully put in execution by the officers called γυναικονόμοι, and γυναικοκόμοι, and a tablet, containing an account of the mulcts thus incurred, was publicly exposed in the Ceramicus ^w, upon a plane-tree (πλάτανος) which stood there.

^s Iliad. i. p. 429. ed. Bas.

^t Plutarchus de præcept. connub.

^u Odys. i. v. 208.

^v Euripid. Iphigen. Taur. vi. 572.

^w Athenæus, lib. vi. cap. 9. Pollux, lib. viii. cap. 9. Hesychius, voce πλάτανος. Eustathius in Iliad. κ'.

It was likewise customary for women to have attendants. Penelope has two maids with her in Homer^x:

Ὡς φασμένη, κατέβαιν' ὑπερώϊα σιγαλόεντα,
Οὐκ οἷη' ἄμα τῇ γε ἔ' ἀμφίπολοι δ' ἔποντο.

She said, and from her chamber straight descends,
Two maids upon her person wait.————

These seem to have been women of age and gravity; whence Homer presently subjoins:

Ἀμφίπολος δ' ἄρα οἱ κενὴν ἐκάτερθι παρέστη.

A maid, whose years a riper judgment shew'd,
On either side t' attend the lady stood.

Nor did these women attend their ladies when they went abroad only, but kept them company at home, and had the care of their education when young, and are therefore called *τροφοί*. Nor were women only appointed to this charge; for Antigone, in the fore-cited tragedy of Euripides, has an old man for her governor. It was likewise frequent to commit women to eunuchs, who performed all the offices of maids, and were usually entertained by persons of quality: whence Phædria speaks thus to his mistress^y:

———— *Eunuchum porro dixi velle te,
Quia solæ utuntur his reginæ.*

An eunuch boy was your peculiar choice,
Since on great ladies they do chiefly wait.

The first that made eunuchs was Semiramis^z. The barbarous nations were ordinarily much fonder of them than Greeks^a, who looked upon it as an inhuman piece of cruelty to use man after that manner. Phocylides has left a particular caution against it^b:

Μηδ' αὖ παιδογόνον ποτὶ τίμνειν ἄρσενά κῆρον.

Nor ever castrate a brisk vigorous youth.

The primitive ages used their women agreeably to the simplicity of their manners; they accustomed them to draw water, to keep sheep, and feed cows or horses. The rich and noble were taken up with such employments, as well as those of inferior quality. Rebecca, the daughter of Bethuel, Abraham's brother, carried a pitcher, and drew water^c; Rachel, the daughter of Laban, kept her father's sheep^d; Zipporah, with her six sisters, had the care of their father Jethro's flocks, who was a prince, or, which in those times was an honour scarce inferior, priest of Midian^e. The

^x Odyss. loc. cit.

^y Terentii Eunuch. act. i. sc. 2.

^z Ammianus Marcell. Hist. lib. xiv.

^a Philostratus vit. Apollonii Tyanci,
lib. i. cap. 21.

^b V. 175.

^c Gen. xxiv. 15.

^d Ibid. xxix. 6.

^e Exod. ii. 16.

like may be observed of Andromache, Hector's lady, in Homer ^f, where that hero thus bespeaks his horses :

Ξάνθε τι, καὶ σὺ Ποδάργε, καὶ Αἴθων, Λάμπει τι δῖε,
 Νῦν μοι τὴν κομιδὴν ἀποτινίσκων, ἣν μάλα πολλὰν
 Ἀνδρομάχῃ, θυγάτηρ μεγαλήτορος Ἡπείωνος,
 Ὑμῖν παρ' προτέρουσι μιλίφρονά περὸν ἔθηκεν,
 Οἶόν τ' ἐγκιρᾶσασα πείνῃ ὅτι θυμὸς ἀνώγει.

Now Xanthus, Aethon, Lampus! urge the chase,
 And thou, Podargus, prove thy generous race;
 Be fleet, be fearless, this important day,
 And all your master's well-spent care repay.
 For this high-fed, in plenteous stalls ye stand,
 Serv'd with pure wheat, and by a princess' hand;
 For this my spouse, of great Aëtion's line,
 So oft has steep'd the strengthening grain in wine.

POPE.

The most common employments of women were spinning, weaving, and making all sorts of embroidery and needle-work. Instances of this nature are too numerous to be recited in this place; for so constantly were they taken up in these businesses, that most houses, where there was any number of women, had rooms set apart for this end, which seems to have been near the womens apartments, if not the same; for Pollux, enumerating the different rooms in houses, after he has mentioned *γυναικεῖον*, presently adds, *ἱερῶν θάλαμος ταλασιεργὸς οἶκος*, &c.

Women had likewise several other employments, the provision of all necessities within doors being usually committed to them. I shall not insist on particulars, but only observe, in the last place, that their usage was very different, according to the temper of their husbands or guardians, the value of their fortunes, and the humour of the place or age they lived in.

The Lacedæmonian women observed fashions quite different from all their neighbours; their virgins went abroad barefaced, the married women were covered with veils; the former designing (as Charilus replied to one that enquired the reason of that custom) to get themselves husbands, whereas the latter aimed at nothing more than keeping those they already had^h. We have a large account of the Spartan women's behaviour in the following words of Plutarchⁱ: 'in order to the good education of their youth, which is the most important work of a lawgiver, Lycurgus went so far back as to take into consideration their very conception and birth, by regulating their marriages; for Aristotle wrongs the memory of this excellent person, by bearing us in

^f Iliad. ℔. v. 183.

^g Vide Comment. nostrum in *Lycophron*, v. 91.

^h Plutarchus *Apophthegmat. Lacedæmonicis*.

ⁱ Lycurgo.

hand, that after he had tried all manner of ways to reduce the women to more modesty and subjection to their husbands, he was at last forced to leave them as they were, because that in the absence of their husbands, who spent a great part of their lives in the wars, their wives made themselves absolute mistresses at home, and would be treated with as much respect as if they had been so many queens ; but, by his good leave, it is a mistake, for Lycurgus took of that sex all the care that was possible : for an instance of it, he ordered the maidens to exercise themselves with running, wrestling, throwing quoits, and casting darts, to the end that the fruit they conceived might take deeper root, grow strong, and spread itself into healthy and vigorous bodies, and withal, that they might be more able to undergo the pains of child-bearing ; and to the end he might take away their over-great tenderness and nicety, he ordered they should appear naked as well as the men, and dance too in that condition at their solemn feasts and sacrifices, singing certain songs, whilst the young men stood in a ring about them, seeing and hearing them : in these songs they now and then gave a satirical glance upon those who had misbehaved themselves in the wars, sometimes sung encomiums upon those who had done any gallant action, and by these means inflamed young men with an emulation of their glory ; for those that were thus commended, went away brave and well satisfied with themselves : and those that were rallied, were as sensibly touched with it as if they had been formally and severely reprimanded ; and so much the more, because the kings and whole senate saw and heard all that passed. Now, though it may seem strange that women should appear thus naked in public, yet was true modesty observed, and wantonness excluded ; and it tended to render their conversation free and unreserved, and to beget in them a desire of being vigorous and active, and filled them with courage and generous thoughts, as being allowed their share in the rewards of virtue as well as men. Hence came that sense of honour, and nobleness of spirit, of which we have an instance in Gorgo, the wife of king Leonidas, who being told in discourse with some foreign ladies, that the women of Lacedæmon were the only women of the world who had an empire over the men, briskly reparteed, that there was good reason, *for they were the only women that brought forth men*. Lastly, these public processions of the maidens, and their appearing naked in their exercises and dancings, were provocations and baits to stir up and allure the

young men to marriage, and that not upon geometrical reasons, as Plato calls them (such are interest and equality of fortune,) but from the engagements of true love and affection.'

Afterwards, when Lycurgus's laws were neglected, and the Spartans had degenerated from the strict virtue of their forefathers, their women also were ill-spoken of, and made use of the freedom which their lawgiver allowed them to no good purposes; inso-much that they are censured of unlawful pleasures, and branded by Euripides, as cited by Plutarch ^j, with the epithet of *ἀνδρομανεῖς*, i. e. *possessed with furious love of*, and, as it were, running mad after men.

CHAP. XIV.

Of their Customs in Child-bearing, and managing Infants.

THOSE who desired to have children, were usually very liberal in making presents and offerings to the gods, especially to such as were thought to have the care of generation. I shall not trouble the reader with a particular account of the names of these deities, and the manner they were worshipped in; but it may be requisite to observe, that the Athenians invoked, on this account, certain gods called *Τριτοπάτορες*, or *Τριτοπάτρες*. Who these were, or what the origination of their name, is not easy to determine: Orpheus, as cited by Phanodemus, in Suidas, makes their proper names to be Amaclides, Protocles, and Protocleon, and will have them to preside over the winds. Demo makes them to be winds themselves; but what business winds or their governors have in generation, is difficult to imagine. Another author, in the same lexicographer, tells us their names were Cottus, Briareus, and Gyges, and that they were the sons of *Οὐρανός* and *Γῆ*, i. e. *Heaven* and *Earth*. Philocrus likewise makes Earth their mother; but instead of Heaven, substitutes the Sun or Apollo for their father; whence he seems to account as well for their being accounted the superintendants of generation, as for the name of *Τριτοπάτορες*, for being immediately descended from two immortal gods. themselves (saith he) were thought *τρίτοι πατέρες*, *the third fathers*, and therefore might well be esteemed the common parents of mankind, and

from that opinion derive those honours which the Athenians paid them as the authors and presidents of human generation ^k.

The goddess who had the care of women in child-bed was called Εἰλείθυια, or Εἰλήθυια, sometimes Ελευθῶ, as in the epigram :

———Μόχθον Ελευθῶς

Εκφύγες.———

You're past the pangs o'er which Eleutho reigns.

She is called in Latin, *Lucina*. Both had the same respects paid by women, and the same titles and epithets. Elithyia is called by Nonnus ^l,

———Αρήγων Δηλυτηράων.

The succouring deity in child-birth.

Ovid speaks in the same manner of the Latin goddess ^m :

———*Gravidis facilis Lucina puellis.*

Lucina, kind to teeming ladies.

The Roman in Theocritus invokes Elithyia ⁿ :

Ἐνθα γὰρ Εἰλείθυιαν ἰώσατο λυσίζωναν.

Thy mother there to Elithyia prays,

To ease her throes.———

The Roman women called for Lucina's assistance : whence Ovid :

———*Tu voto parturientis ades.*

You kindly women in their travail hear.

Several other things are common to both. As Elithyia was styled ὠδίνων ἐπαγωγός, Δηλειῶν σώτειρα, &c. so likewise Lucina was graced with various appellations, denoting her care of women. Their names, indeed, appear to have distinct originals, yet both have relation to the same action ; for Εἰλήθυια is derived ἀπὸ τῆς ἐλεύθειν, from *coming*, either because she came to assist women in labour, or rather, from her being invoked to help the infant ἐρχεσθαι εἰς τὸ φῶς, to *come into the light*, or *the world*. Lucina is taken from *lux*, light, for the same reason, according to Ovid :

———*Tu nobis lucem, Lucina, dedisti.*

Lucina, you first brought us into light.

The Greek name φωσφόρος, sometimes attributed to this goddess, is of the same import with the Latin, *Lucina*, being derived ἀπὸ τῆς φῶς φέρειν, from *bringing light* ; because it was by her assistance that infants were safely delivered out of their dark mansions, to enjoy the light of this world. In allusion to this, the Greek and Latin goddesses were both represented with lighted torches in their hands ; which reason seems far more natural than that which some

^k Vide Suidam, Etymologicum Auctorem, Phavorinum, Hesychium, &c.

^l Dionysiacis.

^m Fast. lib. ii.

ⁿ Idyll. ζ'.

assign, viz. ὅτι γυναιξὶν ἐν ἴσῃ καὶ πῦρ εἰσιν αἱ ὠδίνες, *that the pain of bearing children is no less exquisite than that of burning* °.

Who this Elithyia is, authors are not well agreed: some will have her to be an Hyperborean, who came from her own country to Delos, and there assisted Latona in her labour: they add, that this name was first used of Delos, and thence derived to other parts of the world^p. Olen, the first writer of divine hymns in Greece, makes her the mother of Cupid, whence it might be inferred she was the same with Venus, were not Pausanias, who cites this passage of Olen, against it, when he brings this as a different account of Cupid's descent, from that received one, of his being Venus's son^q. The same poet, cited by the same author^r, will have her to be more ancient than Saturn, and the self same with πεπρωμένη, which is the Grecian name for *fate*. Others make her the same with Juno, Diana, the moon, &c. What appears most probable, is, that all the θεοὶ γενέθλιοι, i. e. those deities who were thought to have any concern for women in child-bed, were called Elithyia, and Lucina; for these are general names, and sometimes given to one deity, sometimes to another.

Juno was one of these goddesses; whence the woman thus invokes her:

Juno Lucina, fer opem. ———

Juno Lucina, help, assist the labour.

There are several remarkable stories concerning Juno's power in this affair, whereof I shall only mention that about Alcmena, who having incurred this goddess's displeasure, by being Jupiter's mistress, and being with child by him, Sthenelus's wife being likewise with child at the same time, but not so forward as the other, Juno first obtained that he who should be first born should rule over the other, then altered the course of nature, caused Eurystheus to be born of Sthenelus's wife, and afterwards Hercules of Alcmena; whence Hercules was always subject to Eurystheus, and undertook his famous labours in obedience to his commands.

The daughters of this goddess were employed in the same office, and dignified with the same title, as we find in Homer^s:

᾽Ως δ' ὅταν ὠδίνουσας ἔχῃ βέλος ὅξ' ὃ γυναιῖκα,
Δριμὺ τό, τε προΐησι μογροσόκοι Εἰλείθυιαι,
Ἥρης θυγατέρες πικρὰς ὠδίνας ἔχουσας
᾽Ως ὅξ' ἰ' ὀδύναι δύνον μένος Ατρεΐδας.

^o Pausanias Arcadicis, p. 445. edit. Hanov.

^p Idem. Atticis, p. 5.

^q Bæoticis, p. 251.

^r Arcadicis, p. 437.

^s Iliad. λ'. v. 269.

As when a lab'ring woman's arrowy throes
Seize her intense, by Juno's daughters dread
The birth presiding Ilithyæ deep
Infixt, dispensers of those pangs severe ;
So, &c.

COWPER.

The moon was another of these deities, insomuch that Cicero will have *luna*, the moon's name in Latin, to be the same with *lucina* ; nor was it without reason that the moon was thought one of the deities that had the care of child-bearing, since, as several philosophers are of opinion, her influences were very efficacious in carrying on the work of generation ^t.

Diana being commonly reputed the same with the moon, was likewise thought to bear the same office, as we find in Horace, who having invoked celestial Diana, proceeds thus ^u :

*Rite maturos aperire partus
Lenis, Ilithyia, tuere matres,
Sive tu Lucina probas vocari,
Seu Genitalis :
Diva, producas sobolem, patrumque
Prosperes decreta super jugandis
Fæminis, prolisque novæ feraci
Lege marita.*

O Ilithyia, kind to ease
The labours of the pregnant fair,
Or if Lucina better please,
Or Genetalis suit your ear,
Our teeming matrons gracious hear :
With lenient hand their pangs compose,
Heal their agonizing throes ;
Give the springing birth to light,
And with every genial grace,
Prolific of an endless race,
Oh ! crown our marriage-laws, and bless the nuptial rite.

The same poet, in another place, has attributed the same care to this goddess, not in her celestial capacity, and as bearing the same character with the moon, but as frequenting these lower regions, and traversing the woods ^v :

*Montium custos, nemorumque virgo,
Quæ laborantes utero puellas
Ter vocata audis, adimisque letho,
Diva triformis.*

Of groves and mountains guardian maid,
Invok'd by three mysterious names ;
Goddess three-form'd, whose willing aid,
With gracious pow'r appears display'd
From death to save our pregnant dames.

FRANCIS.

Hence she is called in Theocritus, *μογοςόκος*, the common epithet of Elithyia :

Ἀλλὰ τὴν βασίλεια, μογοςόκος Ἀρτιμίδις ἔστι.

^t Cicero de Nat. Deor. lib. ii.^u Carmine Seculari.^v Lib. iii. Od. 25.

Orpheus gives her divers other titles relating to this affair ^w :

Πασιφάης, δαδῶχι, Διὰ δίκτυνα, λοχέη,
 Ὀδίνων ἱπαρωγή, ἔ ὠδίνων ἀμνητὶ,
 Λυσίζωνι, &c.

The epithets *Πασιφάρος*, *Φερέσσιος*, &c. which denote the giving of life and light, being likewise attributed to Proserpina, make it seem that she was also thought to be concerned for women in labour; which cannot appear strange, if we consider her as the same goddess with Diana, who being in three different capacities, as conversant in heaven, earth and hell, has three distinct names; in heaven she is *Σελήνη* the *Moon*; upon the earth, *Ἀρτεμις*, *Diana*; in hell, *Περσεφόνη*, *Proserpina*; whence are those epithets, whereby the poets denote her threefold character, as *τρίμορφος*, *triformis*, *tergemina*, with several others.

One end of invoking these goddesses was, that the women might be delivered without pain, which was thought an infallible token of the divine favour: whence Theocritus, in his encomium of Ptolemy, reckons it as an extraordinary blessing that his mother Berenice brought him into the world without pain ^x :

—Σὲ δ', αἰχμητὰ Πτολεμαῖε,
 Αἰχμητὰ Πτολεμαίᾳ ἀριζήλος Βερενίκα
 Καί σε Κόως ἀτίταλλε, βρέφος νεογνὸν ἰόντα
 Δεξιὰ μιν παρὰ μᾶτρός, ὅτε πρῶταν ἴδες ἄω
 Ἐνθα γὰρ Εἰλείθυιαν ἰώσατο λυσίζων
 Ἀντιγόνας θυγάτηρ βεβαρημένα ὠδίνεσσιν,
 Ἡ δὲ οἱ εὐμένεισα παρίστατο, καδδ' ἄρα πάντων
 Νωδυνίαν κατέχευε μελῶν.

But Berenice had these births outdone,
 She brought great Ptolemy as great a son;
 First Coos danc'd thee, thee, mankind's delight,
 She took thee at the first approach to light;
 For thee thy mother to Lucina pray'd
 To ease her throes, and found a speedy aid;
 She came, stood by, and gently loos'd her pain:
 Thy very birth was easy as thy reign.

GREEK.

Nay, so great an opinion had they of this favour, that the gods were believed to vouchsafe it to none but the chaste and the virtuous; whence it came to be looked on as a convincing proof of a woman's honesty: thus we find in Plautus ^y, that when Amphitryon expresses his jealous thoughts concerning Alcmena, this argument is offered to allay his passion :

BR. ——— *uxorem tuam*

*Neque gementem, neque plorantem nostrum quisquam audivimus,
 Ita profecto sine dolore peperit.*

Your wife is brought to-bed with ease, since none
 Hath heard so much as groan or sign come from her.

^w Hymno in Dianam.

^x Idyll. ζ'. v. 56.

^y Amphitryone, act. 5. sc. 1.

Another token of divine favour was thought to be conferred when they brought forth twins, which happening to Alcmena, was urged as another proof of her innocence ^z :

BR. ——— *ego faciam, tu idem ut aliter prædices,
Amphitryo, piam et pudicam esse tuam uxorem ut scias ;
De ea re signa atque argumenta paucis verbis eloquar :
Omnium primum, Alcumena geminos peperit filios.*

AM. *Ain' tu geminos ?* BR. *Geminos.* AM. *Dii me servant !* BR. *Sine me dicere.*
Ut scias tibi, tuæque uxori Deos esse omnes propitios.

BR. I'll wipe away aspersions, and declare
By a sure token, sir, my lady's chaste,
You'll not then falsely in the least suspect
That she hath injur'd or defil'd your bed :
Sir, she hath brought forth twins. AM. Twins say you ? BR. Yes.

AM. Bless me ! BR. I'll this protest, to shew that you
And my good mistress are the care of heaven. J. A.

They had likewise other means to procure an easy delivery ; one of which was, to hold in their hands palm branches, tokens of joy and conquest, and used as emblems of persons raised from great afflictions to prosperity ; it being observed of that tree, that the hanging of heavy weights upon it, is a means to cause it to branch out to a greater height. Latona, when brought to bed with Apollo, made use of this expedient to ease her pain : whence Theognis thus bespeaks that god ^a :

——— *Σὶ θεὰ τέκε πότνια Ἀητῶ,
Φοῖνικος ῥαδινῆς χερσὶν ἱφάψαμένη*

When handling palm Latona brought you forth.

Homer likewise mentions Latona's travelling near a palm tree ^b :

*Χαῖρε, μάκαιρ' ὦ Ἀητοῖ, ἐπεὶ τέκες ἀγλαὰ τέκνα,
Ἀπόλλανά π' ἄνακτα ἔξ Ἀρτιμιν ἰοχέαιραν
Τὴν μὲν ἐν Ὀρτυγίῃ, τὸν δὲ κραναῇ ἐνὶ Δῆλῳ,
Κεκλιμένη πρὸς μακρὸν ὄρος ἔξ Κύνθιον ὄχθον
Ἀγχοτάτῳ φοῖνικος, ὅπ' Ἰνωποῖο ῥέεθροις.*

What tides of bliss do sport about thy throne ;
What joys there in eternal circles run,
Latona who hast such a daughter, such a son !
Diana, queen of woods, she there bears sway,
Apollo's reign great empires do obey ;
Her birth Ortygia boasts, the god was born
Under a palm-tree, Delos to adorn ;
Inopus nigh, peep'd up with swelling tide,
And bid his curling surges smoothly glide.

J. A.

It is observable, that the ancient Athenians used none but men-midwives, it being forbidden by one of their laws, that women or slaves should have any concern in the study or practice of physic. This proving very fatal to many women, whose modesty suffered them not to intrust themselves in the hands of men, one Agnodice

^z Amphitryone, act. v. sc. 1.

^a Gnom. v. 5.

^b Hymn. in Apollin. v. 14.

disguised herself in man's clothes, and studied physic under a certain professor, called Herophilus, where, having attained to a competent skill in that art, she revealed herself to her own sex, who agreed with one consent to employ none beside her; hereupon the rest of the physicians, enraged at their want of business, indicted her before the court of Arcopagus, as one that corrupted men's wives. To obviate this accusation, she discovered what sex she was of; upon this the physicians prosecuted her with great eagerness, as violating the laws, and encroaching upon the men's prerogative; when, to prevent her ruin, the principal matrons of the city came into court, and addressed themselves to the judges, telling them, 'that they were not husbands, but enemies, who were going to condemn the person to whom they owed their lives.' Upon this the Athenians repealed the old law, and permitted free women to undertake this employment c.

No sooner was the child brought into the world but they washed it with water: whence Callimachus, speaking of Jupiter's nativity, has these words d:

Ενθά σ' ἐπεὶ μήτηρ μεγάλων ἀπεθήκατο κόλπον,
 Αὐτίκα δίξητο ῥόον ὕδατος, ᾧ κε τόκοιο
 Λύματα χυτλώσαιτο, τὸν δ' ἐνὶ χρῶτα λοίσσαι.
 As soon as you were born, and saw the light,
 Your mother's grateful burden and delight,
 She sought for some clear brook to purify
 The body of so dear a progeny.

Lycophron also designing to express the murder of Cilla and her son Munitus, which was effected as soon as the child was born, says she died before the boy was washed or suckled e:

Ἐν' ἄλμυ πάππῳ, ἧ χαμεινάδος μόρου
 Τῆς λαβρονύμφης πόρτιος μεμιγμένοι
 Σκύμνῳ κέχυνται, πρὶν λαφύξασθαι γάνος,
 Πρὶν ἐκ λοχίας γυνὴ χυτλώσαι δρόσῳ.
 A stol'n embrace sent Cilla to the fates
 With her the fruit of her unhappy love,
 Who both were kill'd near to the tomb of Ilus,
 Her grandfather, before the child had been
 Cleans'd from the issue of the spurious birth.

The Lacedæmonians bathed their new-born infants, not in water, as was the custom of all other countries (saith Plutarch, in his Life of Lycurgus,) but wine, to prove the temper and complexion of their bodies; for they had a conceit that weakly children would fall into convulsions, or immediately faint, upon their being thus bathed; on the contrary, those who were of a strong and vigor-

c Hyginus, Fab. 274.

d Hymno in Jovem, v. 14.

e Cassandræ, v. 519. ubi consulendus Meursii commentarius.

ous constitution, would acquire a greater degree of firmness by it, and get a temper in proportion like steel in the quenching.

The next action observable, is cutting the child's navel, which was done by the nurses, and called ὀμφαλοτομία [†], whence arose the proverbial saying, ὀμφαλὸς σὲ ἐ περιετμήθη, i. e. *thy navel is not cut*; which is as much as if we say, you are an infant, and scarce separated from your mother. There was a place in Crete called Omphalium, from ὀμφαλός, *a navel*, because Jupiter's navel-string was cut there: whence Callimachus speaks to him thus [‡]:

Τατάκι τοι πέσει, δαῖμον, ἀπ' ὀμφαλός· ἔνθεν ἐκείνο
Ὀμφάλιον μετίπεται πέδον καλέεσσι Κύδωνες.

Then the nurse wrapped the child in swaddling bands, lest its limbs, being then tender and flexible, should happen to be distorted; only the Spartan nurses were so careful and experienced, that without using swaddling bands, their children were all straight and well proportioned. Their management of children differed likewise from all the rest of the Grecians in several other instances, for 'they used them to any sort of meat, and sometimes to bear the want of it; not to be afraid in the dark, or to be alone; nor to be forward, peevish, and crying, as they are generally in other countries, through the impertinent care and fondness of those who look to them. Upon this account Spartan nurses were frequently hired by people of other countries; and it is reported that she who suckled Alcibiades, was a Spartan ^h.'

To return: new-born infants were at Athens commonly wrapped in a cloth, wherein was represented the Gorgon's head, because that was described in the shield of Minerva, the protectress of that city, whereby, it may be, infants were committed to the goddess's care. Another end of it might be, to put them in mind, when arrived at men's estate, that they were to imitate such noble and generous examples as were there represented; or to be an happy omen of their future valour: for which reasons it was likewise customary to lay them upon bucklers: thus Hercules and his brother Iphiclus were placed by Alcmena ⁱ

Ἡρακλῆα δεκάμηνον ἰόντα ποχ' ἅ Μιδιάτις
'Αλκμήνα, καὶ νυκτὶ νεώτερον Ἰφικλῆα,
Ἀμφοτέρως λήσασσα, καὶ ἐμπλήσασσα γάλακτος,
Χαλκείαν κατέθηκεν ἐπ' ἀσπίδα, τὴν Πτεριλάω
Ἀμφιτρεύων καλὸν ὄπλον ἀπισκύλλουσι πισόντος.
Alcides ten months old, a vigorous child,
Alcmena fed, and laid him on a shield,

[†] Suidas in ista voce.

[‡] Hymno in Jovem, v. 44.

^h Plutarchus Lycurgo.

ⁱ Theocriti, Idyll. καὶ initio.

(The shield from Pterelus Amphitryo won,
A great auspicious cradle for his son,)
With younger Iphiclus of human race,
No part of him was drawn from Jove's embrace.

CREECH.

The Lacedæmonians religiously observed this ceremony: whence
Nonus^j:

——— Λακωνίδες οἶα γυναῖκες
Τῆσας ὠδίνουσιν ἐπ' εὐκύκλοις βοείας.

On a round buckler the Laconian dames
At parturition lay their burden down.

In other places they placed their infants in a thing bearing some resemblance to whatever sort of life they designed them for. Nothing was more common than to put them in vans, or conveniences to winnow corn, in Greek *λίκνα*, which were designed as omens of their future riches and affluence^k. This was not always a real van, but commonly an instrument bearing the figure of it, composed of gold, or other materials: thus Callimachus tells us Nemesis placed young Jupiter in a golden van^l:

——— Σὶ δὲ κοίμεισιν Ἀδρήστεια
Λίκνῳ ἐνὶ χρυσέῳ.

In a gold van Nemesis laid you to sleep.

One thing more is to be observed concerning the Athenians, before we dismiss this head, viz. that it was a common practice among them especially in families of quality, to place their infants on dragons of gold; which custom was instituted by Minerva, in memory of Erichonius, one of their kings, who had feet like those of serpents, and being exposed to the wide world when an infant, was committed by that goddess to the custody of two vigilant dragons. Euripides has largely accounted for this ceremony, when he speaks of Creusa's son, whom she bore to Apollo^m:

——— Ὡς δ' ἔλθε χρόνος,
Τεκῶσ' ἐν οἴκοις παῖδ', ἀπὴννεγκε βρέφος
Εἰς ταῦτ' ἄντρον, ἔπερ νύνασθη θεῶ,
Κρέεσσαν κῆκτίθησιν ὡς θανύμενον
Κοίλῃς ἐν ἀντίπηγος εὐτρόχῳ κύκλῳ,
Προγόνων νόμον σῶζεσσαν, πᾶς τε γεγενῆς
Εριχθονίῃ· κείνῳ γὰρ ἡ Διὸς κόρη
Φερῶν παραζεύξατο φύλακος σώματος,
Δισσῶ δράκοντες, παρθέναι· Ἀγλαυρίσσι
Δίδωσι σῶζειν ὅθεν Ερεχθίδαις ἐκεί
Νόμος τίς ἐστιν ὅφρ' ἐστιν ἐν χρυσηλάτοις
Τρέφειν τέκνα.

Her growing burden to her sire unknown;
Such was the pleasure of the god she bore,

^j Dionysiakis, lib. xli.

^k Etymologici Auctor. Callimachi

Scholiastes in versum sequentem.

^l Hymno in Jovem.

^m Ion. x. 15.

Till in her secret chamber to a son
 The rolling months gave birth : to the same cave,
 Where by th' enamoured god she was compress'd,
 Creusa bore the infant ; there for death
 Expos'd him in a well compacted ark
 Of circular form, observant of the customs
 Drawn from her great progenitors, and chief
 From Erichonius, who from th' Attic earth
 Deriv'd his origin : to him as guards
 Minerva gave two dragons, and in charge
 Consigned him to the daughters of Aglauros :
 This rite to th' Erecthidæ hence remains,
 Midst serpents wreath'd in ductile gold to nurse
 Their children.

POTTER.

The poet has likewise given us the same account of this custom towards the latter end of the tragedyⁿ.

On the fifth day after the birth, the midwives having first purified themselves by washing their hands, ran round the fire-hearth with the infant in their arms, thereby as it were, entering it into the family, and putting it under the protection of the household gods, to whom the hearth served instead of an altar : hence the day was called *Δρομιάφιον ἡμαρ*, or (which was the more usual name) *Αμφιδρομία* ; it was celebrated as a festival, with great expressions of joy ; they received gifts from their friends. If the child was a male, their doors were decked with an olive garland ; if a female, with wool, in token of the work women were to be employed about. The cheer consisted of divers sorts of things, among which *κράμβη*, *colewort*, was always one, which the Athenian midwives used to administer to women in child-bed, as conducing to create milk. The whole ceremony is described in the following verses of Ephippus, cited by Athenæus^o, most of which, some varieties in the reading excepted, the same author cites in another place out of Eubulus^p :

—————ἵπειτὰ πῶς
 Οὐ σίφαν^q ἔδ' εἰς ἐσι πρόσθε τῶν θυρῶν,
 Οὐ κνίσσα κρέβει ῥινὸς ὑπεροχᾶς ἀκρας
 Αμφιδρομίων ὄντων, ἐν οἷς νομίζεται
 Οπταῖν τε τύρε Χιρρόνησίτη τόμας,
 Ἐψεν τ' ἱλαίη βάφανον ἡγλαίσμηνην,
 Πνίγειν τε παχέων ἀρνεῶν σπένδινα,
 Τίλλειν τε φάττας ἔ κιχλας ὁμῆ σπίνους,
 Κοινῇ τε χναυέιν τιυβίσιν σηπίδια,
 Πιλεῖν τε πολλὰς πλεκτάνας ἐπιστόφως
 Πίνειν τε πολλὰς κύλικας ὑζωρεσίρας.

But what's the reason that no crown is plac'd
 Before the doors, nor grateful victim slain,
 Whose frying fat delights the smelling sense,
 When th' joyful Amphidromia are kept,
 In which is toasted Chersonesian cheese,
 And colewort ty'd in bundles seeth'd in oil,

ⁿ Ion. v. 1427.^o Lib. ix. cap. 2. p. 370. edit. Casaub.^p Lib. ii. cap. 25. p. 65.

And linnets, doves, thrushes, and cuttle-fish,
And calamary dress'd and eat in common,
And polypus's claws with care procur'd,
To drink 'em down amidst their less mix'd cups.

The seventh day was likewise honoured with festival solemnities, that being the time the child was commonly named; to celebrate this day was called *ἑβδομεύσθαι*. The reason why the child's name was imposed on this day, was, *ὅτι ἐπίσειον τῇ σωτηρίῳ*, because by this time they began to conceive hopes that it would live; for weakly infants, *τὰ πλεῖστα ἀναιριῖται πρὸ τῆς ἑβδομῆς*, commonly die before the seventh, as we are informed by Aristotle in Harpocration^q.

Some kept the eighth day after the infant's birth, calling that the *γενέθλιος ἡμέρα*, *natalis*, birth-day, because solemnized in memory of the child's nativity. The same day was kept every year after, during the child's life. The same day was also observed by the Jews for their circumcision, as hath been remarked by the ancient interpreter upon the following passage of Terence^r:

—porro autem Geta
Ferietur alio munere, ubi hera pepererit :
Porro alio autem, ubi erit puero natalis dies.
Geta, moreover, shall be struck for more :
Another gift when Madam's brought to-bed ;
Another too when Master's birth-day's kept,
And they initiate him.

COLMAN.

Others named their children upon the tenth day after their birth, on which also they invited their friends to an entertainment, and offered sacrifices to the gods: Euripides mentions this custom^s:

Τίς σε μήτηρ ἐν δεκάτῃ τόπον ἀνόμασιν ;
What mother on the tenth day nam'd you?

The same is also mentioned by Aristophanes^t.

—θύω τὴν δεκάτην ταύτης ἐγὼ,
Καὶ τᾶνομ' ὥσπερ παιδίῳ νῦν δὲ θέμην.
On the tenth day I offer'd sacrifice,
And, as a child's, her name impos'd.

Some will have the tenth to be the same with *Ἀμφιδρόμια*, but (how^uever some persons might join the two solemnities) they were commonly distinct; to celebrate this day was called *δεκάτην θύειν*, *δεκάτην ἀποθύειν*, *δεκάτην ἐσιάσαι*^u.

It may be observed, that when the child received its name, whether upon the tenth, or any other day, a considerable number of friends were present. This custom was not only observed by the Grecians, but at Rome, and in most other parts of the world;

^q Vide *ἑβδομεύμενον*.

^r Phormion. act. i. sc. 1.

^s *Ægri* fragment. v. 14.

^t Avibus, p. 564. edit Amstelodam.

^u De his diebus videndi Pollux, lib. i, cap. 1. Aristoteles Hist. Animal. lib. vii. cap. 12. Hesychius, Suidas, Harpocration, Etymologici Auctor. Phavorinus in vv.

the chief end whereof seems to have been, to prevent controversies that might afterwards arise, when the child came into business, and was under several civil relations, if his name was not certainly known.

The child's father usually imposed the name. There was a law at Athens, whereby fathers were authorised to give names to their children, and to alter them as often as they pleased ^v. In imposing names, they observed no constant rule; yet it was common to choose some of their most eminent ancestors whose name they desired should be continued to posterity, as an honour to themselves and their family, and a perpetual remembrance to stir up their children to the imitation of great examples: thus we find the names of Pyrrhus, Philip, Ptolemy, &c. preserved in several of their successors. Ulpian speaks of Proxenus descended from one Harmodius, and the father of another ^w. Plutarch says, Thucydides was the son of Oloros, who derived his name from one of his ancestors ^x. Aristophanes makes Callias both the father and son of Hipponicus ^y:

Ἰππόνικος Καλλίης, καὶ Ἰπποῖκος Καλλιῆας.

Lastly (to trouble you with no more instances) we are assured by Eustathius that this was a custom of very great antiquity ^z; The same seems to have been frequent in most other nations. Few of the Roman families but what afford continual instances of this nature. Hannibal the Carthaginian bore his grandfather's name; and we find Zachary's friends, in St. Luke's gospel strangely, surprised, when his son the Baptist was called John, because none of his relations were known by that name.

The actions of parents were frequently perpetuated by the names of their children, as Eustathius observes ^z: so Cleopatra, or rather Marpissa (for Eustathius and the old scholiast are of different opinions herein), was called Halcyone, because when she was ravished by Apollo, her mother was no less afflicted than the halcyon is wont to be for the loss of her young ^b.

*Τὴν δὲ τότε ἔν μεγάροισι πατὴρ ἔ ποτνια μήτηρ
Ἀλκυόνην καλίσκον ἰπώνυμον, ἔνεκ' αὐτῆς
μήτηρ, Ἀλκυόνος πολυπενθέος οἶτον ἔχουσα,
κλαῖ' ὅτι μιν ἰκάεργος ἀνέρεπαι Φαῖσος Ἀπόλλων.
Her therefore, Idas and Marpessa nam'd
Thenceforth Alcyone, because the fate
Of sad Alcyone Marpessa shared,
And wept like her, by Phoebus forc'd away.*

COWPER.

^v Demosthenes Orat. adv. Bæotum, πρὸς ὀνόματος.

^w Schol. in Demosthenis Orat. de male obita legatione.

^x Cimone.

^y Avibus.

^z Iliad. ὁ p. 441. edit. Basil.

^a Iliad. ἰ. p. 513.

^b Iliad. ἰ. p. 537.

Hector's son Scamandrius was named by the Trojans, Astyanax, because his father was $\tau\tilde{\epsilon}$ ἄσσιος ἀναξ, the defender of the city of Troy; for the original signification of ἀναξ is no more than a saviour or defender; whence the gods are commonly called ἀνακτες. The story is in Homer^c:

ἄμα δ' ἀμφίπολος κίεν αὐτῇ
Παῖδ' ἐπὶ κόλπον ἔχουσ' ἀταλόφρονες, νήπιον αὐτῶς,
Ἐκτορίδην ἀγαπητόν, ἀλίγκιον ἄσφι καλῶ,
Τόν ῥ' Ἐκτωρ καλίσκει Σκαμάνδριον, αὐτὰρ οἱ ἄλλοι
Ἀστυάνακτ', οἷος γὰρ ἱερέτο Ἴλιον Ἐκτωρ.

The royal babe upon her breast was laid,
Who, like the morning-star, his beams display'd;
Scamandrius was his name, which Hector gave
From that fair flood which Ilion's wall did lave;
But him Astyanax the Trojans call,
From his great father, who defends the wall. DRYDEN.

Ulysses was called Ὀδυσσεύς, διὰ τὸ ὀδύσσεσθαι τὸν Αὐτόλυκον, from the anger of his grandfather Autolycus, as Homer reports, when he introduces Autolycus thus speaking to Ulysses's parents^d:

Ταμῆρὸς ἱμὸς, θυγάτηρ τε, τίθεισθ' ὄνομ' ὅτι κεν εἴπω
Πολλοῖσιν γὰρ ἔγωγε ὀδυσσάμενος τόδ' ἱκάνω
Ἀνδράσιν ἢ δὲ γυναῖξιν ἀνὰ χθόνα πελυβοτέρων,
Τῷ Ὀδυσσεὺς ὄνομ' εἶω ἐπώνυμον.

My daughter and my daughter's spouse! the name
Which I shall give your boy, that let him bear.
Since, after much success at others' cost
And much hostility provoked, I come,
Call him Odusseus. COWPER.

Men's own actions, complexions, or condition, frequently gave occasion to their names. Thus Oedipus was named διὰ τὸ οἰδεῖν τὰς πόδας; whence Seneca introduces an old man thus speaking to him^e:

Forata ferro gesseras vestigia,
Tumore nactus nomen ac vitio pedum.
Your feet were bor'd with iron, from which sore
And swelling tumour you receiv'd your name.

Achilles's son was first called Πυρρὸς, from his ruddy complexion, or the colour of his hair, afterwards Νεοπτόλεμος, from undertaking the management of the Trojan war when very young. To mention other instances is needless, wherefore I shall conclude this head with Plutarch's words, wherein we have an account of the Roman, as well as the Grecian method in imposing names^f:
'Hence (i. e. from the taking of Corioli, the chief city of the Volscians) Caius Marcius had his third name of Coriolanus; whence it is manifest that Caius was a personal proper name; that the second, or surname of Marcius, was a name in common

^c Iliad. ζ'. 399.

^e Oedip. v. 812.

^d Odyss. τ'. v. 406.

^f Marcio Coriolano.

to his family; and that the third Roman appellative was a peculiar note of distinction drawn afterwards, and imposed for some particular action, fortune, shape, feature, or virtue of him that bore it. For thus also the Grecians, in old time, were wont to fix an additional character on their great men, for any famous achievement; such as Σωτήρ, i. e. *saviour*; and Καλλίνικος, *renowned for victory*; or to express something remarkable in their shape or features, as Φύσκαων, *gorge-belly*, and Γεγυπὶς, *eagle-nosed*; as likewise upon account of their virtue and kindness, as Εὐεργέτης, *a benefactor*, and Φιλάδελφος, *a lover of his brethren*; or from their unusual felicity and good fortune, as Εὐδαίμων, *happy*, a name given to the second prince of Battus's family. Several kings had names appropriated to them in reproach and mockery, as Antigones that of Δώσων, i. e. one liberal only in the future, since he was always promising but never came to performance; and Ptolemy, who is styled Λάμυρος, for the fond opinion he had of his own wit and pleasantness. This latter kind of denomination, by way of raillery, the Romans did very much delight in; for one of the Metelli was surnamed by them Διαδήματος, because he had for a long time together walked about with his head bound up, by reason of an ulcer in his forehead. There are some who even at this day derive names from certain casual incidents at their nativity; one, for instance, who happens to be born when his father is abroad in a foreign country, they term *Proculus*; another born after his father's decease, they style *Posthumus*; and when twins come into the world, whereof one dies at the birth, the survivor is called *Vopiscus*. Nay, they used to denominate, not only their *Syllas* and *Nigers*, i. e. men of a pimpled visage or swarthy complexion, but their *Cæci* and *Claudii*, i. e. the blind and lame, from such corporal blemishes and defects; thus wisely accustoming their people not to reckon the loss of sight, or any other bodily misfortune, as a matter of ignominy and disgrace, but that they should answer to such names without shame or confusion, no otherwise than to the most familiar compellations.

Sometimes they took a more compendious way to dispose of their children, either killing them outright, or exposing them in some desert place, or elsewhere, to the mercy of fortune. To do the latter of these they termed ἐκτίθεσθαι, or ἀποτίθεσθαι: nor was it accounted a criminal or blame-worthy action, but permitted by some lawgivers, and expressly encouraged and commanded by others. The Lacedæmonians are remarkable for their behaviour

in this matter ; for they allowed not fathers to nourish their children when inclined to do it, but obliged them to carry all their new-born infants to certain tryers, who were some of the gravest men in their own tribe, and kept their court at a place called *Λέσχη*, where they carefully viewed such as were brought to them : if they found them lusty and well-favoured, they gave order for their education, and allotted a certain proportion of land for their maintenance ; but if weakly or deformed, they ordered them to be cast into a deep cavern in the earth, near the mountain Taygetus, as thinking it neither for the good of the children themselves, nor for the public interest, that they should be brought up, since nature had both denied them the means of happiness in their own particular, and of being serviceable to the public, by not enduing them with a sufficient measure of health and strength. On this account it was, that new-born infants were bathed in wine ^g, as has been already observed. The place into which the Lacedæmonians cast their infants was called *Αποθείται* : whence *ἀποτίθεται* is usually taken for exposing with a design to destroy : whereas *ἐκτίθεται* commonly bears a milder sense ; for many persons exposed their children, when they were not willing they should perish, only because they were unable to maintain them : daughters especially were thus treated, as requiring more charges to educate and settle them in the world than sons ; whence the saying cited out of Posidippus :

Τὶδὲν τρέφει τις καὶ πίνης τις ὦν, τύχη,
Θυγατέρα δὲ ἐκτίθησι καὶ ᾗ πλούσιος.

A man, though poor, will not expose his son,
But if he's rich, will scarce preserve his daughter.

The Thebans disliked this barbarous custom, having a law whereby the practice of it was made capital ; such as were not of ability to provide for their children, were ordered to carry them, as soon as born, to the magistrates, who were obliged to take care for their maintenance, and when they were grown up, used them as slaves, taking their service as a recompence for the charges and trouble they had been put to ^h.

Children were usually exposed in their swaddling-clothes, and laid in a vessel ; thus Ion was exposed by Creusa ⁱ :

——— ἀπ' ἡνεγκε βρέφος
Εἰς ταυτὸν ἄντρον, ὅπερ ἠνιάσθη Διῶ·
Κρέουσα, καὶ ἐκτίθησιν ὡς θανύμενον
Κοίλης ἐν ἀντίπηγος εὐτρέχῳ κύκλῳ.

——— to the same cave

Where by th' enamour'd God she was compress'd,

^g Plutarchus Lycurgo.

^h Ælian. Var. Hist. lib. ii. cap. 7.

ⁱ Euripides Ione, v. 16.

Creusa bore the infant; there for death
Expos'd him in a well compacted ark
Of circular form.—

POTTER.

Aristophanes calls it ὀσφῶνον, speaking of Oedipus^j:

— Ἀὐτὸν γινόμενον
Χειμῶνος ὄντος ἐξέθεσαν ἐν ὀσφῶνι.

It is sometimes termed χύτρα, whence χυτρίζειν is the same with ἐκτίθεσθαι, and χυτρισμός, with ἑκθεσις^k:

The parents frequently tied jewels and rings to the children they exposed, or any other thing whereby they might afterwards discover them, if Providence took care for their safety. Another design in thus adorning these infants was, either to encourage such as found them to nourish and educate them, if alive, or to give them human burial, if dead. The last of these reasons is assigned by Euripides, speaking of Creusaⁱ:

— Ἦν εἴχῃ παρθένος χλιδὴν
Τέκνῳ προσάψασ' ἔλιπεν, ὡς θανυμένην.

— What of ornament she had
She hung around her son, and left him thus
To perish.—

POTTER.

Terence introduces Sostrata assigning another reason for this practice, when she relates how she had caused her daughter to be exposed, to save her from her husband Chremes, who had straitly commanded that she should be put to death^m:

— Ut stultæ et miseræ omnes sumus,
Religiosæ; cum exponendam do illi, de digito annulum
Detraho, et eum dico ut una cum puella exponeret,
Si moreretur, ne expers partis esset de nostris bonis.

— As we women
Are generally weak and superstitious,
When first to this Corinthian old woman
I gave the little infant, from my finger
I drew a ring, and charg'd her to expose
That with my daughter: that if chance she died,
She might have part of our possessions with her. COLMAN.

Before the conclusion of this chapter, it will be necessary to add something concerning the purification of women coming out of child-bed, for during their lying there they were looked on as polluted; whence the Athenians enacted a law that no woman should bring forth in Delos, an island consecrated to Apollo, because the gods were believed to have an aversion to all sorts of pollution. Iphigenia in Euripides tells us, that no person who was guilty of murder, or had touched a woman in child-bed, or a dead corpse, could be admitted to Diana's altarⁿ:

— Βροτῶν μὲν ἢν τις ἀψήται φόνου,
ἢ ἔλοχέας, ἢ νεκρῷ δίχῃ χειρῶν,
Βωμῶν ἀπέργει, μυστῶν ὡς ἡγυμνήν.

^j Ranis.^k Hesychius.^m Heauton. act. iv. sc. 1.^l Loc. cit. v. 26.ⁿ Iphigen. Taur. v. 280.

Who'er of mortals is with slaughter stain'd,
Or hath at child-birth given assisting hands,
Or chanc'd to touch aught dead, she as impure
Drives from her altars.—

FOSTER.

When the fortieth day came, the danger of child-birth being then over, they kept a festival, called from the number of the day τεσσαρακοστὴς^o at this time the woman, having been before purified by washing, entered into some of the temples, most commonly Diana's, which, from her labour, till that time she was not allowed to do^o; here she returned thanks for her safe delivery, and offered sacrifices. It was likewise the custom to present her garments to Diana, who acquired hence the surname of Χιτώνη^p; and women after their first child did farther offer their ζώνη to the same goddess, who was on that account called Λυσιζώνη, and had a temple at Athens dedicated to her under that title^q.

CHAP. XV.

Of their different sorts of Children, Wills, Inheritances; the Duties of Children to their Parents, &c.

THE scholiast on Homer makes four different sorts of children: 1, Οἱ γνήσιοι or ἰθαγενεῖς, children brought in lawful marriage. 2, Οἱ νόθοι, those born of concubines or harlots. 3, Οἱ σκότιοι, whose fathers were not known, wherein they were distinguished from the former. 4, Οἱ παρθενίαι, such as were born of women, who, though vitiated before marriage, were still taken for virgins. This and other divisions of children I shall pass by, only taking notice of three sorts.

1, Γνήσιοι, lawfully begotten.

2, Νόθοι, born of harlots, which word, in a large sense, may comprehend the three latter sorts of children before mentioned.

3, Θετοὶ, adopted.

It will be necessary to add something more concerning every one of these. First, those were reputed lawfully begotten who were begotten in lawful marriage, which was measured by different rules, as the affairs of every state required. In some places whoever had a citizen for his father, though his mother was a foreigner; in others, those also who were born of free women, when

^o Censorinus de Natal. cap. 9.

^p Callimachi Scholiastes, Hymn. i.

^q Apollonii Scholiastes.

their fathers were foreigners, passed for legitimate, and inherited the freedom of the city they were born in, and all privileges consequent thereto. Most commonwealths at their first constitution, and after great losses of inhabitants by war, plagues, or otherwise, seem to have taken this course to replenish and strengthen their country with people; but when that exigence ceased, and it became necessary to restrain the too great increase of free citizens, they commonly enacted that none should be esteemed legitimate but such as were descended from parents of both citizens^r, which order was dispensed with or abrogated as oft as fresh occasions required. This may be observed at Athens in Pericles's time; for when Pericles was in a flourishing condition, and had sons lawfully begotten, he proposed that Solon's old law should be revived, whereby it was ordered that they only should be reputed true citizens of Athens whose parents were both Athenians, whereupon almost five thousand lost their freedom, and were sold for slaves. But Pericles himself afterwards having lost all his legitimate sons, so far prevailed with the Athenians, that they cancelled the law and yielded that he might enrol his natural son in the register of his own ward by his paternal name, which was a thing the *Néboi*, *natural children*, were incapable of, as having nothing to do with the name, family^s, or estate of their father, as neither were they allowed to intermeddle in sacred or civil affairs. For fear any person should insinuate such children into the city register, wherein all the citizens names were kept, they made severe scrutinies in every borough, which was termed *διαψήφισις*^t, whereby all persons not duly qualified were ejected from the city. There was also a court of justice in Cynosarges, a place in the suburbs of Athens, where examination was made concerning such persons. Nor were such as had only one parent an Athenian, though allowed the freedom of Athens, reputed equal to such as were Athenians of the whole blood; for we find in Plutarch^u, that when these performed their exercises at the schools within the city, those of the half blood, with the foreigners, were only allowed to exercise at Cynosarges, where was a gymnasium dedicated to Hercules, who himself was illegitimate, as not being descended from two immortal gods, but having a mortal woman for his mother. Themistocles, my author tells us, offended at his reproach, persuaded divers of the young noblemen to accompany

^r Aristoteles Politic. lib. iii. cap. 5.^s Aristophanes Scholiastes Avibus.^t Harpocration.^u Themistocle.

him to anoint and exercise themselves at Cynosarges, whereby he seemed (saith he) with some ingenuity to take away the distinction between the truly noble and the stranger, and between those of the whole and those of the half blood of Athens. But of this practice I have treated more largely in one of the preceding books ^v.

There was never any time that I know of (whatever some may pretend to the contrary,) when illegitimacy was not reputed a disgrace, unless in those ages wherein men lived without laws and government, allowing promiscuous mixtures, and all other sorts of uncleanness. Eustathius will have concubines and their sons to have been as honourable as their wives and sons begotten in lawful marriage, about the time of the Trojan war ^w: but the whole course of antiquity seems to be clearly against him; for I do not find one single instance, in any ancient author, which can countenance this opinion. It is possible, indeed, that concubines might sometimes have greater respect than lawful wives, bastards than legitimate children; but that was owing to the partial affections of husbands, which women, by their superior beauty, and arts of insinuation, might gain, but can by no means be attributed to the practice of those times. The chief reason Eustathius alleges, is, that Agamemnon calls Teucer Νόθος, when encouraging him to fight; at which time it would have been very improper to have given him opprobrious language. The hero's words run thus ^x:

Τεῦκε, φίλη κεφαλὴ, Τελαμώνιε, κοίρανε λαῶν,
Βάλλ' ἔτις, αἴ κέν τι φῶς Δαναοῖσι γένηαι
Πατρί τε σὼ Τελαμῶνι, ὃ σ' ἔτρεφε τυτθὸν ἔντα,
Καί σε νόθον περ ἔντα κομίσσατο ᾧ ἐνὶ οἴκῳ.

Brave Teucer! Oh my friend, heroic Prince!
Smite ever thus the foe, that hope once more
May cheer the Greeks, and Telamon rejoice
Who rear'd thee, tho' his spurious son, with care
In his own mansion.——

COWPER.

In which words Agamemnon excites Teucer, the natural son of Telamon, to behave himself with courage, by two reasons; first, that so doing, he would be instrumental in delivering the Grecians from their enemies, who daily got ground of them; the other, that such an action would be a credit to his father, whose honour he ought to have a more tender concern for, since he had received such extraordinary benefits from him, as having, notwithstanding his illegitimacy, been carefully educated, and that not in any remote place, where he might have been neglected, but under Telamon's

^v Lib. i. cap. 9.^w Iliad, 3. p. 599. edit. Basil.^x Iliad, 3. v. 281.

own eye, and in his own house. This is so far from establishing an equality between legitimate children and bastards, that it evidently shews the contrary, the particle *περ* after *Νόθον*, plainly implying that such care of bastards was something more than common in those days. Nor can the poet be blamed for making Agamemnon call him by such a name, since the thing was no secret, but known to all the Grecians, and which, no doubt, appeared every day from Teucer's submissive behaviour to Ajax, his half-brother, and the lawful son of Telamon. As a confirmation of what I have said, I shall add the words of Agamemnon in Sophocles, spoken likewise to Teucer; whence it will appear what difference there was between the sons of lawful wives and those of concubines, and in particular concerning Teucer, how great a disgrace it was to him to be the son of a captive and concubine, though his mother was of the race of kings †:

Σὺ δὲ τὰ δεινὰ ῥήματ' ἀγγέλλεσσί μοι,
 Τλήναι καθ' ἡμῶν ὧδ' ἀνοιμακτέ χανεῖν
 Σὺ τοι τὸν ἐκ τῆς αἰχμαλώτιδος λέγω
 Ἡ πε τραφεῖς ἀν' μητρὸς ἐυγενεῖς ἄπο
 Τ' φηλ' ἐκόμπεις, καὶ π' ἄκρων ἄδοιπόρεις,
 Οὐτ' ἔδιν, ὦν, τὴ μὴδὲν ἀντίστης ὕπερ,
 Κἔτε στρατηγὸς ἔτε ναυάρχης μολεῖν
 Ἡμῶς Αἰχαιῶν, ἔτε σε διαμύσσω
 Ἀλλ' αὐτὸς ἄρχων, ὡς σὺ φής. Αἴας ἔπλει
 Ταῦτ' ἐκ ἀκύνειν μέγ' ἀλά πρὸς δέλων κακά.

Thee to burst forth in rude contemptuous speech
 Against us, by our vengeance not chastis'd,
 Thee doth this daring insolence become
 Sprung from a slave, the captive of the spear?
 Had she who gave thee birth, been high in rank,
 How proudly wouldst thou vaunt, and rear thy crest,
 Since, nothing as thou art, for one who now,
 Is nothing, thou hast dar'd to scorn our rule,
 Asserting that we came not o'er the host
 Or fleet of Greece commanders, nor o'er thee;
 And Ajax, such thy descant, plough'd the sea
 Lord of himself. How shameful from a slave
 To hear such arrogance?

POTTER.

Some will have only the natural children of kings and persons of quality to have been equal to those who were lawfully begotten. It may be true that such children were above the legitimate ones of private persons; but that they were of the same dignity with the legitimate issue of princes, does not appear; nay, the contrary is manifest from the fore-mentioned example of Teucer, both whose parents were princes. The same might be proved by other instances, whereof I shall only mention one; it is that of

† Ajace, v. 1250.

Ion, who had Apollo for his father, and Creusa, the wife of an Athenian king, for his mother, and yet is introduced by Euripides complaining of his hard fortune in being illegitimate ^a :

Εἶναι φασὶ τὰς αὐτόχθονας
Κλεινὰς Ἀθῆνας, ἐκ ἐπίστακτον γένος,
Ὅ' εἰσπισσύντα δύο νόσω κεκτημένους
Πατρός τ' ἰπακτῆ, καὶ τοὺς ἄν νοθογενῆς;
Καὶ τῷτ' ἔχων τῷναιδός, ἀσθενῆς μὲν ἄν,
Μηδὲν ἔ' ἔδιν ἐνθάδ' ἄν κεκλησόμεαι.

Proud of their high race
Are your Athenians, natives of the land,
Not drawn from foreign lineage; I to them
Shall come unwelcome, in two points defective,
My father not a native, and myself
Of spurious birth: loaded with this reproach,
If destitute of pow'r, I shall be held
Abject and worthless.

FOTTER.

It may indeed be objected, that (as Servius observes) natural children sometimes succeeded in their father's kingdoms; but that only happened, as the same author tells us, for want of legitimate issue; nor was it always allowed in such cases. In some places, the bastards of private persons likewise inherited the estates of their fathers, having no lawful children or relations, as appears from an Athenian law cited by Demosthenes ^a: but where there were relations, bastards had no share, as is plain from a dialogue between Pisthetærus and Hercules, in Aristophanes, where Hercules having been persuaded by Neptune that he was heir-apparent to Jupiter, is undeceived by Pisthetærus, who tells him, that being illegitimate, he had no right of inheritance; and to confirm what he said, repeats Solon's law concerning this affair. The passage is long, but being pertinent to this place, and containing a true account of the Athenian practice, must not be omitted ^b :

ΠΕ. Οἱμοὶ τάλας γ' οἶόν σε περισσοφίζεσαι;
Δεῦρ' ὡς ἐμ' ἀποχώρησον, ἵνα τί τοι φράσω
Διαβάλλεται σ' ὁ θεός, ὃ πόνηρι σὺ,
Τῶν γὰρ πατρῶν ἐδ' ἀκαρεῖ μέτεσί σοι
Κατὰ τοὺς νόμους νόθος γὰρ εἶ, καὶ γνήσιος.
ΗΡ. Εγὼ νόθος; τί λήγεις; ΠΕ. Σὺ μὲν τοι νῆ Δία,
Ὡν γε ξένης γυναικὸς ἢ πῶς ἂν ποτε
Επὶ κληρον εἶναι τὴν Ἀθηναίαν δοκῇς,
Οὐδ' ἂν θυγατέρ' ὄντων ἀδελφῶν γνησίων;
ΗΡ. Τί δ' ἦν ὁ πατήρ ὁμοὶ διδῶ τὰ χρήματα
Τὰ νοθεῖ ἀποσπένδων; ΠΕ. Ὁ νόμος αὐτὸν ἐκ ἐξ,
Οὗτος ὁ Ποσειδῶν πρῶτος, ὃς ἐπαίρει σε νῦν,
Ανθίσταται σε τῶν πατρῶν χρημάτων,
Φάσκων ἀδελφὸς αὐτὸς εἶναι γνήσιος.
Εγὼ δὲ δὴ καὶ τὸν Σόλωνα σοὶ νόμον,

^a Ione, v. 589.^a Orat. in Macartatum.^b Avibus, haud longe a fine.

‘ Νόθῳ δὲ μὴ εἶναι ἀγχι-
 σίαν, παίδων ὄντων γνη-
 σίων· ἰὰν δὲ παῖδες
 Μὴ ᾧσι γνήσιοι, τοῖς
 Εγγυτάτῳ τῷ γένει
 Μιστεῖναι τῶν χρημάτων,’

PI. Alas! how strangely he comes over you!
 But hark you in your ear; thus much I'll say,
 Your uncle, though you know it not, would trick you;
 And truly, if the tenour of the laws
 Were now consulted, you'd not have an ace
 Of that estate your father leaves behind;
 For you're a bastard, not legitimate.

HER. How's this you say? Am I a bastard, then?

PI. Jove of a stranger, by a stol'n embrace
 Begot you; but why do you suspect it,
 Since if but any of his sons were born
 Of lawful birth, Pallas were not an heiress?

HER. What if he leave all to his bastard son?

PI. The law won't suffer that; but Neptune first,
 Who now so much extols you, all will seize,
 Being his lawful brother. But the law
 Which Solon made I'll willingly recite:
 ‘ Bastards shall not be number'd in the roll
 Of kindred, whilst the lawful children live,
 And for defect of such, the next a-kin
 Shall then enjoy the goods of the deceas'd.’

H. H.

Where, though Pisthetærus tells Hercules that the law would not permit him to have νοθεῖα χρήματα, yet that must be interpreted of an equal portion of the inheritance, which he could not have whilst his father had relations, who were heirs by law; for even bastards were allowed some share in their father's estate. Abraham is said to have given portions to the sons of his concubines, reserving the inheritance for his legitimate son Isaac^c; and the Athenian lawgiver allowed them 500 drachms, or five Attic pounds, which were termed νοθεῖα, a bastard's portion^d: this was afterwards raised to 1000 drachms, or ten Attic pounds. In some places the fortune of bastards depended on their father's pleasure, who had liberty to take them into their own family, and make them equal sharers with their legitimate children, the privilege of dividing the estate only reserved to the latter. An example here-of we have in two sons, one of which being begotten in lawful marriage, the other of a slave, the division of their common inheritance belonged to the former, who placed on one side the whole estate, on the other his half-brother's mother, so reducing him to a necessity of letting his mother continue in slavery, or depriving himself of his whole portion^e:

^c Genes. cap. xxv. 6.

^d Aristoph. Schol. in loc. cit. Suidas v.

^e Sopater.

Those who had no legitimate sons, were obliged by the Athenian laws to leave their estates to their daughters, who were confined to marry their nearest relations, otherwise to forfeit their inheritance, as we find to have been practised likewise by the Jews, many of whose laws seem to have been transcribed by Solon: these virgins, whether sole heiresses, or only co-heiresses, were called by Solon himself *περικληρίτιδες*, by others *πατρῷχοι*, or (which is the most common name of all) *ἐπικληροί*, and sometimes, as Eustathius reports ^f, *μάνδαι*: these and their nearest relations were empowered to claim marriage from one another, which, if either party refused, the other preferred an action, which was termed *ἐπιδικάζεσθαι*, which word was applied to all sorts of law-suits; whence inheritances, about which they went to law, were termed *κληρονομία ἐπιδίκαι*: those which they had a quiet possession of, *ἀνεπιδίκαι*. Others report, that whether there was any dispute or not, the nearest relation was obliged to claim his wife with her inheritance in the archon's court, if he was a citizen; in the polemarchus's, if only a sojourner; and that this was termed *ἐπιδικάζεσθαι*, and might be done any month in the year, except Schirrophorion, the magistrates being then busy in making up and returning their accounts ^g. The fore-mentioned law concerning the marriages of heiresses, gave occasion to one of Apollodorus's comedies, entitled *Επιδικαζόμενος*, or, *Επιδικαζομένη*, as Donatus reads, understanding it of the virgin's suing for an husband. This was translated into Latin by Terence, and called *Phormio*, wherein we have these verses, mentioning the law I have been speaking of:

*Lex est, ut orbae qui sint genere proximi,
Iis nubant, et illos ducere eadem hæc lex jubet.*

The law commands that orphans marry those
That nearest are allied, and that the men
Consent to join with these.——

Farther, we find it ordered, that when men had given a daughter in marriage, and after that died without sons to heir their estates, their nearest relation had power to claim the inheritance, and to take the woman from her husband, which Isæus ^h reports to have been a common practice.

Persons who had no lawful issue, were allowed to adopt whom they pleased, whether their own natural sons, or (by consent of their parents) the sons of other men. But such as were not *κύριοι*:

^f *Hiad.* 4. p. 545. ed Basil.

^g *Petites in Leges Atticas, qui et alibi consulendus.*

^h *Orat. de Pyrrii hæred.*

ἑαυτῶν, *their own masters*, were excepted; such were slaves, women, madmen, infants, that is, all such as were under twenty-one years of age; for these not being capable of making wills, or managing their own estates, were not allowed to adopt heirs to them. Foreigners being excluded from the inheritance of estates at Athens, if any such was adopted, he was made free of the city. The adoption being made, the adopted person had his name enrolled in the tribe and ward of his new father; this was not done at the same time in which the children begotten of themselves were registered, but on the festival called Θαργήλια, in the month Thargelion. The Lacedæmonians were very cautious and wary in this affair, and, for the prevention of rash and inconsiderate adoptions, had a law that they should be confirmed in the presence of their kings. Adopted children were called παῖδες θετοί, or εἰσποιητοί, and were invested in all the privileges and rights of, and obliged to perform all the duties belonging to, such as were begotten by their fathers: and being thus provided for in another family, they ceased to have any claim of inheritance or kindred in the family which they had leftⁱ, unless they first renounced their adoption, which the laws of Solon allowed them not to do, except they had first begotten children to bear the name of the person who had adopted them; thus providing against the ruin of families, which would have been extinguished by the desertion of those who were adopted to preserve them^j. If the adopted persons died without children, the inheritance could not be alienated from the family into which they were adopted, but returned to the relations of the person who had adopted them. The Athenians are by some thought to have forbidden any man to marry after he had adopted a son, without leave from the magistrate. And there is an instance in Tzetzes's Chiliads^k, of one Leogoras, who being ill used by Andocides the orator, who was his adopted son, desired leave to marry. However, it is certain that some men married after they had adopted sons; and if they begot legitimate children, their estates were equally shared between those begotten and adopted. It may be observed in this place, that it was an ancient custom for legitimate sons to divide their father's estates by lots, all having equal shares, without respect to priority of birth, but allowing a small pittance to such as were unlawfully be-

ⁱ Isæus de hæreditate Astyphili.

^j Harpocration, Isæus de hæred. Aris-

tarchi. Idem. de hæred. Philoctemonis.

^k Chiliad. vi. Il. 49.

gotten : thus Ulysses in Homer tells Eumæus, that the sons of Castor the Cretan, of whom he feigns himself one, divided what he left ¹ :

Εκ μὲν Κρητῶν γένος εὐχομαι εὐρεῖσθαι
 Ἄνθρωπος ἀφνειοῖσι παῖσι· πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ ἄλλοι
 Τῆες ἐν μεγάροις ἡμὲν τράφεν ἠδ' ἐγένοντο
 Γυνῆσι ἐξ ἀλόχου, ἐμὲ δ' ἀνητὴ τέκε μῆτηρ
 Παλλακίς, ἀλλὰ μεῖσον ἰθαγενέσσιν ἐτίμα
 'Κάτωρ Τλακθης, τῷ ἐγὼ γένος εὐχομαι εἶναι
 'Ὅς ποτ' ἐνὶ Κρήτισσι θεὸς ὡς τίετο δῆμῳ
 'Ὀλέω τε, πλέω τε, καὶ ὑάσι κυδαλίμοισιν,
 Ἀλλ' ἦτοι τὸν κῆρες ἔβαν θανάτοιο φέρουσαι
 Εἰς Λίδαο δόμους, τοὶ δὲ ζῶν ἰδᾶσαντο
 Παῖδες ὑπέρθυμοι, καὶ ἐπὶ κλῆρος ἐβάλοντο,
 Αὐτὰρ ἐμοὶ μάλα παῦρα δόσαν, καὶ οἰκί' ἐνειμαν.

— Know then, I came
 From sacred Crete, and from a sire of fame :
 Castor Hylacides, (that name he bore)
 Belov'd and honour'd on his native shore ;
 Blest in his riches, in his children more.
 Sprung from a handmaid, by a bought embrace,
 I shar'd his kindness with his lawful race ;
 But when that fate which all must undergo,
 From earth remov'd him to the shades below ;
 The large domain his greedy sons divide,
 And each was portion'd as the lots decide.
 Little alas ! was left my wretched share
 Except a house, &c.

POPE.

Such as had neither legitimate nor adopted children, were succeeded by their nearest relations, as appears from the fore-cited dialogue between Hercules and Pisthetærus. This custom was as ancient as the Trojan war, being mentioned in Homer, when he relates how Diomedes slew the two only sons of Phænops ^m :

Ενθ' ὃ γε τὸς ἐν ἀνέριζε, φίλον δ' ἐξαίνυτο θυμὸν
 Ἀμφοτέρω, πατέρϊ δὲ γόον καὶ κῆδεα λυγρὰ
 Λεῖπ', ἐπεὶ καὶ ζῶντες μάχης ἐκνοσήσαντε
 Δίεζατο, χηρῶσαι δὲ διὰ κτῆσιν δατέοντο.

Cold death o'ertakes them in their blooming years,
 And leaves the father unavailing tears.
 To strangers now descends his heapy store,
 The race forgotten, and the name no more.

POPE.

Where indeed Eustathius, with the old scholiast, will have χηρῶσαι to signify certain magistrates, who had right to the estates of such as died χηρεῖοντες τῶν διαδόχων, without lawful heirs ; but it may as well be interpreted of relations ; for that these succeeding to the estates of persons without children were called χηρῶσαι, is plain from ancient grammarians ⁿ. Hesiod has used the same word, but in which of these senses is equally ambiguous ^o.

'Ὅς κε γάμον φεύγων καὶ μέριμνα ἔργα γυναικῶν
 Μὴ γῆμαι ἐβίλη, ὅλοον δ' ἐπὶ γῆρας ἵκηται,
 Χῆται γηροκόμοιο, ὃ δ' ἐβίοντι ἐπιδεινὸς

¹ Odyss. ζ. v. 200.

^m Iliad. ζ. v. 555.

ⁿ Hesychius, v. χηρῶσαι, Pollux.

^o Theogonia.

Ζῶει, ἀποφθιμένῳ δὲ κτῆσιν δατέονται,
 Χηρωσαί.————

Averse to all the troubles of a wife,
 Wedlock he loath'd, and led a single life ;
 But now, when bowing age his limbs has seiz'd,
 Justly he wants whom he before despis'd :
 He dies at length, and his remoter friends
 Share his possessions.————

H. H.

It is not worth disputing whether signification is more pertinent in these passages, since it is certain that both are agreeable enough to the practice of antiquity ; for as persons having relations were usually succeeded in their estates by them, so, when any died without lawful heirs, their possessions belonged to the prince, the commonwealth, or the supreme magistrates, as the laws of every state directed.

The Grecian practice concerning wills was not the same in all places : some states permitted men to dispose of their estates ; others wholly deprived them of that privilege. We are told by Plutarch ^p, that Solon is much commended for his law concerning wills ; for before his time no man was allowed to make any, but all the wealth of deceased persons belonged to their families ; but he permitted them to bestow it on whom they pleased, esteeming friendship a stronger tie than kindred, and affection than necessity, and thus put every man's estate in the disposal of the possessor ; yet he allowed not all sorts of wills, but required the following conditions in all persons that made them :

1. That they must be citizens of Athens, not slaves or foreigners, for then their estates were confiscated for the public use.
2. That they must be men who have arrived at 20 years of age, for women and men under that age were not permitted to dispose by will of more than one medimn of barley ^q.
3. That they must not be adopted ; for when adopted persons died without issue, the estates they received by adoption returned to the relations of the man who adopted them.
4. That they should have no male children of their own, for then their estates belonged to them. If they had only daughters, the persons to whom the inheritance was bequeathed were obliged to marry them ^r. Yet men were allowed to appoint heirs to succeed their children, in case these happened to die under twenty years of age ^s.
5. That they should be in their right minds, because testaments

^p Solone.

^q Isæus de hæred. Aristarchi.

^r Isæus Orat. de Pyrrii hæred.

^s Demosth. Orat. ii. in Stephan. testem.

extorted through the phrenzy of a disease, or dotage of old age, were not in reality the wills of the person that made them.

6. That they should not be under imprisonment, or other constraint, their consent being then only forced, nor in justice to be reputed voluntary.

7. That they should not be induced to it by the charms and insinuations of a wife; for, (says Plutarch) the wise lawgiver, with good reason, thought that no difference was to be put between deceit and necessity, flattery and compulsion, since both are equally powerful to persuade a man from reason.

Wills were usually signed before several witnesses, who put seals to them for confirmation, then placed in the hands of trustees, called *ἐπιμεληταί*, who were obliged to see them performed. At Athens, some of the magistrates, particularly the *astynomi*, were often present at the making of wills^t. Sometimes the archons were also present: hence we are told by Harpocration and Suidas, that when any thing was given in the presence of the archons, it was termed *δόσις*^u; for this word, though commonly taken for any sort of gift or present, yet was by the Athenian orators peculiarly applied to legacies, and things disposed of by will. Hence *δέναι* is equivalent to *διαθέσθαι*. Isæus^v frequently puts them together, *διαθέσθαι καὶ δέναι* and to succeed *κατὰ δόσιν καὶ κατὰ διάθεσιν*, by gift and will, is opposed to succession, *κατὰ γένος*, by natural right. Sometimes the testator declared his will before sufficient witnesses, without committing it to writing. Thus Callicias, fearing to be cut off by a wicked conspiracy, is said to have made an open declaration of his will before the popular assembly at Athens^w. The same was done in the nuncupative wills at Rome.

There are several copies of wills in Diogenes Laërtius, as those of Aristotle, Lycon, and Theophrastus; whence it appears they had a common form, beginning with a wish for life and health; afterwards adding, that, in case it happened otherwise, their will was as followed, in this manner: "Ἐσται μὲν εὖ, ἐὰν δέ τι συμβῇ, τὰῦτα διατίθεμεν.

We have seen how children enjoyed the estates of their parents, let us now pass to their virtuous and noble actions, the rewards of which we find frequently inherited by their posterity: these consisted not only in fruitless commendations and empty titles of ho-

^t Isæus de Hæred. Cleonymi.

^u Voce *δόσις*.

^v In *λόγοις κληρονομίᾳς*.

^w Plutarchus Albiciade.

nour, or expressions of respect, which yet were liberally bestowed upon the whole families of persons eminent for serving their country, but in more substantial acknowledgments thought due to the memory and relations of such men. Their children were in many places provided for, and educated suitably to their birth, at the public expence, when left destitute of estates. What regard the Athenians had of those mens' children who lost their lives in fighting for their country has been shewn in a former book; how they treated the posterity of others, who had deserved well of their commonwealth, shall now appear from one or two instances: the first is that of Aristides, who dying poor, the Athenian people bestowed upon his son Lysimachus an hundred Attic pounds of silver, with a plantation of as many acres of ground; and, upon the motion of Alcibiades, ordered farther, that four drachms a-day should be paid him; furthermore, Lysimachus leaving a daughter, named Policrite, the people voted her the same provision of corn with those who obtain victory in the Olympian games; the same Aristides's two daughters had each of them three hundred drachms out of the public treasury for their portions. Nor is it to be wondered (proceeds my author), that the people of Athens should take care of those who resided in their city, since, hearing the grand-daughter of Aristogiton was in so low a condition, in the isle of Lemnos, that she was like to want a husband, they sent for her to Athens, married her to a person of great quality, and gave with her a farm for her dowry, of which bounty and humanity the city of Athens (saith he), in this our age, has given divers demonstrations, for which she is deservedly celebrated and had in admiration ^x.

Mens' vices and dishonourable actions were likewise participated by their children; for it was thought no more than reasonable, that those who share in the prosperity and good fortune of their parents, should partake likewise of their losses and miscarriages. Agamemnon in Homer could be prevailed on by no arguments to spare Antimachus's sons, their father having endeavoured to procure Menelaus and Ulysses to be murdered when they were sent on an embassy to Troy^y:

Εἰ μὲν δ' Ἀντιμάχῳ δαΐφρονος υἱὲς ἱστὸν
 'Ὅς ποτ' ἐν Τρώων ἀγορῇ Μενέλαον ἀνωγειν
 Ἀγγελίην ἰλθόντα σὺν ἀντιθέῳ Ὀδυσσῇ
 Αὔθι κατακτείναι, μὴδ' ἔξιμιν ἄψ' ἐς Ἀχαιῆς,
 Νῦν μὲν δὴ τῷ πατρὸς αἰκία τίσις ἰε λώσῃν.

^x Plutarchus Aristide.^y Iliad, λ. v. 158.

Are ye indeed the offspring of the chief
 Antinachus, who when my brother once
 With godlike Laërtiades your town
 Enter'd ambassador, his death advis'd
 In council, and to let him forth no more?
 Now rue ye both the baseness of your sire.

COWPER.

There are many other instances to the same purpose; whence it appears this practice was not owing to the passions and prejudices of particular persons, but thought agreeable to justice and reason. It may be sufficient in this place to mention the famous Macedonian law, whereby it was ordered, that men guilty of conspiring against their king should not only suffer death, with their children, but all those who were nearly allied to them should share in the same punishment; whence we find in Curtius², that when Philotas was found guilty of treason against Alexander, of the noblemen and others related to him, some stabbed themselves, others fled into wildernesses and deserts, till the king issued his pardon for them.

It remains that I add something concerning the returns of gratitude due from children to their parents, which appear from their assiduous attendance on them in the lowest offices; whence one in Aristophanes relates how his daughter washed and anointed his feet:

—καὶ πρῶτα μὲν ἡ θυγάτηρ
 Απονίζη, καὶ τῷ πόδ' ἀλείφῃ καὶ προκύνῃ σάσα φιλήσῃ.
 First my dear child did wash her father's feet,
 Then she anointed them, and bending down,
 Gave them a sweet endearing kiss.—

They were zealous in vindicating the honour, and revenging the injuries, of their parents: whence Telemachus in Homer says, Orestes had gained the applause of all Greece, and recommended his name to succeeding ages, by taking revenge on his father's murderers².

Καὶ λῖν κῆνος μὲν ἐτίσατο, καὶ οἱ Ἀχαιοὶ
 Οὔρασι κλέος ἐχρὺν, καὶ ἰσσομένοισιν ἀειδήν.
 He a brave noble soul did then put forth,
 A soul of prowess and heroic worth,
 When he his father's bold assassins kill'd,
 And both his duty and the law fulfill'd,
 This act for ever shall in records live,
 And to his sacred name eternity shall give.

J. A.

² Lib. vi. haud procul a fine.² Odyss. γ'. v. 208.

Several other instances might be produced, wherein children shewed their gratitude to their parents, whereof I shall only mention their care in providing a comfortable subsistence for their old age, to do which was termed *γηροβοσκειν*, and performing their funeral rites when dead. Medea in Euripides expresses her earnest desire of enjoying this happiness ^b:

Ἡ μὲν ποθ' ἡ δύστυχος ἔχον ἐλπίδας
Πολλὰς ἐν υἱαῖν, γηροβοσκήσειν τ' ἐμὲ,
Καὶ κατθανῆσαν χερσὶν εὖ περιτελεῖν.

Ah! wretched me, ah! my unhappy fate!
What blooming comforts did I once presage
In your young tender years; I thought, alas!
What bless'd support I should receive when old
From you, the prop of my declining age;
How you would give me decent obsequies
When I should leave the world, and be no more.

J. A.

Admetus, introduced by the same poet, tells his father, that he being delivered over to death by him, there would be no man to take care of him whilst alive, or pay him due respect after death ^c:

Τοὶ γὰρ φυτεύων παῖδας ἐκ ἔτ' ἂν φθάνοις
Οἱ γηροβοσκήσουσι καὶ θανόντα σε
Περιτελεῖσαι, καὶ προδήσοντα νεκρὸν,
Οὐ γὰρ σ' ἔγωγε τῇδ' ἐμῇ δάψω χειρὶ,
Τίθηκα γὰρ δὴ τὰ πῖ σ'.

Other sons

Wilt thou not therefore speed thee to beget,
To cherish thy old age, to grace thee dead,
With sumptuous vests, and lay thee in the tomb?
That office never shall my hand perform,
For, far as in thee lay, I died.

FOTTER.

They were so concerned about these things, that when they undertook any hazardous enterprise, it was customary to engage some of their friends to maintain and protect their aged parents. Thus when the Thebans living in exile at Athens conspired to free their native country from the tyrants which the Lacedæmonians had imposed on it, they divided themselves into two companies, and agreed that one should endeavour to get into the city, and surprise their enemies, whilst the other remaining behind in Attica, should expect the issue, and provide for the parents and children of their associates, if they perished in the attempt ^d. Euryalus in Virgil, when going to expose his life to danger, passionately entreats Ascanius, in an elegant oration, to comfort and make provision for his mother ^e:

^b Medea, v. 1032.^c Alceste, v. 662.^d Plutarchus Pelopida.^e Æneid. ix. v. 285.

—Sed te super omnia dona

*Unum oro : Genetrix Priami de gente vetustâ
Est mihi, quam miseram tenuit non Ilia tellus
Mecum excedentem, non mania regis Aestæ ;
Hanc ego nunc ignaram hujus quodcunque pericli est,
Inque salutatam linguo ; nox et tua testis
Dextera, quod nequeam lacrymas perferre parentis ;
At tu, oro, solare inopem, et succurre relictæ ;
Hanc sine me spem ferre tui ; audentior ibo
In casus omnes.*—

This chiefly from your goodness let me gain,
(For this ungranted, all rewards are vain)
Of Priam's royal race my mother came,
And sure the best that ever bore the name ;
Whom neither Troy nor Sicily could hold
From me departing, but o'erspent and old.
My fate she follow'd ; ignorant of this,
Whatever danger, neither parting kiss,
For pious blessing taken, her I leave,
And in this only act of all my life deceive ;
By this right hand and conscious night I swear,
My soul so sad a farewell could not bear ;
Be you her comfort fill my vacant place,
(Permit me to presume so great a grace.)
Support her age, forsaken and distress,
That hope alone will fortify my breast
Against the worst of fortunes and of fears.

DRYDEN.

The provision made by children for their parents was termed τροφῖς, by the poets θρεπτήρια, or θρέπτρα, and sometimes θρέπτειν, as we find in Homer^f. To be negligent in this matter was accounted one of the greatest impieties, and most worthy of divine vengeance: whence Hesiod, enumerating the evils of the last and iron age, mentions the disobedience and disrespectful behaviour of children to their parents as one of the greatest, and which called to heaven for vengeance^g:

—Γηράσκοντας ἀτιμήσας τοκῆας,
Μίμνουνται δ' ἄρα τῆς χαλεποῖς βλάζοντ' ἐπίεσσι
Σχίτλιοι, ἔδῃ θεῶν ὅπιν εἰδότες, ἔδῃ μὲν οἷγι
Γηράντεσσι τοκεῦσιν ἀπὸ θρεπτήρια δοῖν.

Nor shall the parent, when his sons are nigh,
Look with the fondness of a parent's eye :
Nor to the sire the son obedience pay,
Nor look with rev'rence on the locks of gray,
But O ! regardless of the pow'r divine
With bitter taunts shall load his life's decline.

COOKE.

No crime was thought to be followed with more certain and inevitable judgments than this; for the furies and other infernal deities were believed always ready to execute the curse of parents injured by their children: hence Telemachus in Homer refuses to

^f Iliad, Ὀ. v. 478.

^g Oper. et Dier. lib. i. v. 13.

force his mother Penelope from his house, for fear of being haunted by the furies, and reproached by men^h :

————— ἄλλὰ δὲ δαίμων
Δώσει, ἱπὲρ μήτηρ συγγεῖας ἀρήσειτ' Ἐριννὺς
Οἴκα ἀπερχομένη, νέμεις δέ μοι ἕξ ἀνθρώπων
Ἑσσίται. —————

How from my father should I vengeance dread !
How would my mother curse my hated head !
And while in wrath to vengeful fiends she cries,
How from their hell would vengeful fiends arise !
Abhor'd by all, accurs'd my name would grow,
The earth's disgrace, and human kind my foe.

POPE.

Phoenix was remarkably punished when his father invoked the furies assistance against himⁱ :

————— πατήρ δ' ἑμὸς αὐτίκ' οἶσθεις,
Πολλὰ κατηράτο συγγεῖας δ' ἐπεκέκλειτ' Ἐριννὺς,
Μήποτε γένασιν οἷσιν ἐφίσσασθαι φίλον υἱὸν
Ἐξ ἑμίδεν γεγαῶτα· θεοὶ δ' ἐτίλειον ἱπάρας,
Ζεὺς τε καταχθόνιος, καὶ ἱπαινή Περσεφόνηα.

My sire with curses loads my hated head,
And cries, " Ye furies ! barren be his bed."
Infernal Jove, the vengeful fiends below,
And ruthless Proserpine confirm'd his vow.

POPE.

Many other instances occur in authors, as those of Oedipus, Theseus, and others produced by Plato^j, where he endeavours to make out that the gods were always prepared to hear the prayers, and revenge the injuries of parents. Nor was the punishment of this crime only left to be executed by the gods, but frequently inflicted by human appointment. Solon ordered all persons who refused to make due provision for their parents to be punished with (ἀτιμία) *ignominy*^k. The same penalty was incurred by those who beat their parents. Neither was this confined to their immediate parents, but equally understood of their grandfathers, grandmothers, and other progenitors.

When persons admitted to appear for the office of archon were examined concerning their life and behaviour, one of the first questions inquired was, whether they had honoured their parents; herein if they were found faulty, their suit was rejected.

Yet there were some cases wherein that lawgiver excused children from maintaining their parents, as when they had been bred up to no calling or profession, whereby they might be enabled to subsist in the world; for the care and trouble of parents, in educating their children, being the main foundation of those duties

^h Odysse. β', v 154.

ⁱ Iliad. ζ. v. 454.

^j De Legibus, lib. xi.

^k Laërtius Solone.

they were to expect from them, their default herein was thought to absolve the children from their allegiance. In like manner, such as were prostituted by their parents, were not compelled to maintain them^l. The sons of harlots were also declared to lie under no obligation of relieving their fathers, because they who keep company with harlots are not supposed to design the procreation of children, but their own pleasure, and therefore have no pretence to upbraid them with ingratitude, whose very birth they made a scandal and reproach to them^m.

As the unkindness of parents was made a sufficient excuse for children to deny them relief in their old age, so the disobedience or extravagance of children, whether natural or adoptedⁿ, frequently deprived them of the care and estate of their parents; yet the Athenian lawgiver allowed not fathers to disinherit their children out of passion, or slight prejudices, but required their appearance before certain judges appointed to have cognizance of such matters, where, if the children were found to deserve so severe a sentence, the public crier was ordered to proclaim, that such a person rejected the criminal, whose name was then repeated, from being his son; whence, to disinherit a son is called ἀποκηρύξαι τὸν υἱόν, and the person so disinherited ἀποκέρυκτος ο. To be disinherited was likewise called ἐκπίπτειν τῷ γένει, to be received again, ἀναλαμβάνεσθαι εἰς τὸ γένος. It may be farther observed, that parents were allowed to be reconciled to their children, but after that could never abdicate them again, lest ἀπέραντοι τῶν παιδῶν αἱ τιμωρίαι, καὶ φόβος ἀἰδίδιος, the punishments of children should become endless, and their fears perpetual, according to Lucian^p.

When any man, either through dotage or other infirmities, became unfit to manage his estate, his son was allowed to impeach him before the (φράτορες) men of his own ward, who had power to invest him with the present possession of his inheritance. There is an allusion to this law in Aristophanes, who has introduced the son of Strepsiades thus speaking^q:

Οἱ μοι τί δράσω παραφρονῶντος τῷ πατρός;
Πότερον παρανοίᾳ αὐτὸν ἐισαγαγὼν, ἢ λω.

And there is a remarkable story concerning Sophocles, who being accused by Jophon and his other sons, of neglecting his affairs through dotage, read to the judges his tragedy called *Oedipus*

^l Æschines Orat. in Timarch.

^m Plutarchus Solone.

ⁿ Demosthenes in Spudiam.

ο Hesychius, v. ἀποκέρυκτος.

^p Isæus de hæred. Cironis.

^q Nub. act. iii. sc. i.

Coloneus, which he had then lately composed ; whereupon he was acquitted^r.

CHAP. XVI.

Of their Times of Eating.

THE following account of the Grecian entertainments may not unfitly be divided into five parts, wherein shall be described,

First, The times of eating.

Secondly, The several sorts and occasions of entertainments.

Thirdly, The materials whereof those entertainments consisted.

Fourthly, The ceremonies before entertainments.

Fifthly, The ceremonies at entertainments.

As for the times of eating, they, according to Athenæus^s, were four every day. 1. *Ακράτισμα*, the morning meal, so termed because it was customary at this time to eat pieces of bread dipped in wine unmixed with water, which in Greek is called *ἄκρατον*. This meal is by Homer called *ἄρισον*, which name was either derived ἀπὸ τῆς αἰρίειν, from its being first taken away ; or rather ἀπὸ τῆς ἀριστῆν, because the heroes immediately went to the war from this meal, and there valiantly behaved themselves, as we are informed by the scholiast on that author^t ; who likewise tells us that the time of this meal was about the rising of the sun. Sometimes it was termed *διανησιμὸς*, *jentaculum*, breakfast. 2. *Δεῖπνον*, so named, as the same scholiast was of opinion, because after this meal *δεῖπνεῖν*, it was usual to return to the war, or other labours, whence τῷ ἀριστῷ συναννυμεῖ. It sometimes is synonymous to *ἄρισον*, being taken for the morning meal, as Athenæus hath observed from the following verse of Homer, in which the heroes are said to have put on their armour after the *δεῖπνον*.

Οἳ δ' ἄρα δεῖπνον ἔλονται, ἀπὸ δ' αὐτῷ θωρήσσονται.

3. *Δειλινόν*, sometimes also termed *ἐσπέρισμα*, the afternoon meal.

4. *Δόρπος*, the supper, τὸ καθ' ἡμᾶς λεγόμενον δεῖπνον, which afterwards, among the later Grecians, was termed *δεῖπνον*, according to the fore-mentioned scholiast, who will have *δόρπος* to be so named from *ιάυερος*, that meal being eaten ὅταν εἰς τὸ ἱάυειν πορευάμεθα,

^r Cicero de Senectute, Auctor vitæ Sophoclis, Aristophanis Scholiastes ad Banas.

^s Lib. i. cap. 9.

^t Iliad. β'.

the last before we go to sleep. Philemon, as he is cited by Athenæus, thus enumerates the times of eating: 1. Ἀκράτισμα. 2. Ἄρισον. 3. Ἐσπέρισμα. 4. Δείπνον. But the fore-mentioned scholiast, with whom most other authors agree as to this particular, reports, τρισὶ τροφαῖς τοὺς παλαιὸς χεῖσθαι, that the ancient Greeks had only three meals a-day, and leaves out the third meal, called δειλινόν. And they who have made δειλινόν, or ἐσπέρισμα, to be a distinct meal from the δόρπος, seem to have had no better foundation for that distinction than that verse of Homer,

——— σὺ δ' ἔρχιο δειλιήσας.

where the word δειλιήσας, by a mistaken interpretation, was understood of taking meat; whereas it was only meant of abiding or remaining in a certain place in the afternoon. And this sense of that passage was, in the opinion of Athenæus, so certain, that in another place ^u he pronounces those men to be γελοίους, οἱ φάσκοντες ἔτι τέσσαρας ἐλάμβανον τροφάς *ridiculous, who say that the ancient Greeks used to eat four meals a-day.*

Others are of opinion, that the primitive Greeks had only two meals a-day, viz. ἄρισον and δόρπος, and that the rest are only different names of these. Athenæus ^v himself affirms, that no man can be produced παρὰ τῷ ποιητῇ τρεῖς λαμβάνων τροφάς *eating thrice a-day in Homer.* Neither is it to be doubted but that in those early ages the way of living was very frugal and temperate; and it was thought sufficient if they had a moderate breakfast, and, after the business and labour of the day was over, refreshed themselves with a plentiful meal; whence Plato wondered that the Sicilians and Italians should eat two plentiful meals every day; and amongst the Grecians it was accounted extravagance to breakfast or dine to the full; neither was it thought convenient by Cicero the Roman ^w, *bis in diē saturum fieri*, twice a-day to eat to the full; and so temperate were the ancient Romans, that *viles et rusticos cibos ante ipsos focos sumserunt, eosque ipsos capere nisi ad vesperam non licuit* ^x, they lived upon very mean food, and used not to allow themselves that till the evening; whence Isidorus ^y, explaining the words *cæna* and *vesperna*, whereby the supper or evening meal is signified, adds, that *in usu non erant prandia*, dinners were not used.

^u Lib. v. cap. 4.

^v Loco citato.

^w Tusculan. Quæst. v.

^x Salvianus, lib. i.

^y Originibus.

CHAP. XVII.

Of the several Sorts of Entertainments.

IN the primitive ages, if we may believe Athenæus^z, πάντα συμποσίαι συναγωγή τὴν αἰτίαν εἰς θεὸν ἀνέφερε, all meetings at entertainments were occasioned by their devotion to the gods; neither was it usual either to indulge themselves with the free use of wines or dainties, εἰ μὴ θεῶν ἕνεκα τῷτο δρῶνται, unless they did it on a religious account, as the same author affirms^a; for on festival days they used to rest from their labours, and to live more plentifully than at other times, believing, in the words of Ovid, that the gods were present at their tables on such occasions:

—————mensæ credere adesse Deos^b.

And out of this opinion, τάς ἐορτάς σωφρόνως καὶ κοσμίως διήγον, they behaved themselves with sobriety and decency at their festival entertainments; neither did they drink to excess; but having moderately refreshed themselves, offered a libation to the gods, and then returned home, as we are again informed by Athenæus^c.

Afterwards, when a more free way of living was in use, we find mention of three sorts of entertainments, viz. εἰλαπίν^z, γάμος, and ἔρανος, which are all together enumerated in that verse of Homer:

Εἰλαπίν, ἢ γάμος, ἢ πρὶν ἢ ἔρανος τὰ δὲ γ' εἰσίν.

Whence there are commonly said to have been three distinct sorts of entertainments among the ancient Grecians; but these may be reduced to two, εἰλαπίνη and ἔρανος, under one of which, γάμος, the marriage entertainment, may be comprehended. The first of these (εἰλαπίνη) is sometimes termed εὐωχία, and ἀσύμβολον δεῖπνον, and was an entertainment provided at the expence of one man: on the contrary, ἔρανος was an entertainment made at the common charge of all present, being so named ἀπὸ τῶ συνεῶν καὶ συμφέρειν ἕκαστον, because every man contributed his proportion, as we learn from Athenæus^d, who likewise reports that this entertainment was sometimes termed θίασος: hence the guests were called συνθιασῶται, who are more commonly named ἐρανισταί. What each of the guests contributed was termed συμφορά, εἰσφορά, καταβολή, συμβολή, &c. whence the entertainment was named δεῖπνον συμφορητὸν, συμβολικαῖον,

^z Lib. v.

^a Lib. ii.

^c Lib. viii. cap. 16. sub finem.

^b Fastor. lib. v.

^d Lib. viii.

ἀπὸ συμβολῆς, καταβόλιον. Sometimes it was called τὸ ἐκ κοινῆς, &c. At Argos they called the contribution by a particular name, *χᾶν*. The persons who collected the contributions were called by the same name with the guests, *ἐρανίται*.

Hither may be referred *δειπνον συναγώγιμον*, mentioned in the Fragments of Alexis, which is by Menander termed *συναγώγιον*. Both names are derived from *συνάγειν*, which, by a particular use, signified *μετ' ἀλλήλων πίνειν*, to drink together. But whether this entertainment was the same with *ἔρανος*, Athenæus has professed himself uncertain ^c.

Here must also be mentioned *δειπνα ἐπιδόσιμα*, or *ἐξ ἐπιδομάτων*, entertainments wherein some of the guests contributed more than their exact proportion; to do which is termed *ἐπιδιδόναι*.

To this place also must be reduced τὸ ἀπὸ σπυρίδος, in Latin called *e sportula cæna*: ὅταν τις αὐτὸς αὐτῷ σκευάσας δειπνον, ἢ συνθεὶς εἰς σπυρίδα, παρὰ τινα δειπνήσων ἴη, when any man having provided his own supper, puts it into a basket, and goes to eat it at another's house, as we learn from Athenæus ^f. Different from this was the Roman *sportula*, which was an alms received by clients from their rich patrons, in a basket of that name, whereof we have frequent mention in Juvenal, Martial, and the histories of the Roman emperors. This custom is also mentioned by Hesychius, who tells us, that ἀπὸ σπυρίδος δειπνεῖν signifies τὸ ἀντὶ τῆς δειπνῆς ἀργύριον ἢ μέρη ἐν σπυρίδι λαβεῖν, to receive in a basket a piece of silver, or fragments of meat instead of a supper. Which explication of that expression, though rather taken from the writers of the Roman than Grecian affairs, gave occasion to the mistake of Meursius, who, in his learned Commentary upon Lycophron, confounds the Grecian σπυρίς with the *sportula* of Rome.

The *ἐρανοί* being provided at less expence than other entertainments, wherein one person sustained the whole charge, were generally most frequented, and are recommended by the wise men of those times, as most apt to promote friendship and good neighbourhood; whence Hesiod has left this advice ^g:

Μηδὲ πολυζεῖναι δαιτὸς δυσπρόμοιλος εἶναι
 Ἐκ κοινῆς πλέσσει τε χάρις δαπάνη τ' ὀλιγίστη.

They were also for the most part managed with more order and decency, *φειδωλῶς ἥσθιον* ὡς τὰ πολλά οἱ ἐρανισταί, ὡς ἂν ἰδίον ἐσθιοντες *ἐκκοσος*, because the guests, who only eat of their own collation, were

^c Sub finem. lib. viii.

^f Loco citato.

^g Oper. et Dier. lib. ii. v. 340.

usually more sparing than when they were feasted at another man's expence, as we are informed by Eustathius ^h; who has also in the same place mentioned several other customs at the Grecian entertainments, which do not much differ from those already described from other authors. And so different was the behaviour at their public feasts from that at private entertainments, that Minerva in Homer, having seen the intemperance and unseemly actions of Penelope's courtiers, concludes their entertainment was not ἔρματος, provided at the common charge, but εἰλαπιν', or γάμος, and furnished at the expences of a single person ⁱ:

Εἰλαπιν', ἢ γάμος, ἐπεὶ ἄκ' ἔρματος τὰ δέ γ' εἶναι,
 'Ὡς μοι ὑβρίζοντες ὑπερφιάλως δοκίεσαι
 Δαίνυσθαι κατὰ δῶμα· νημισσῆσαιτό κεν ἀνὴρ
 Αἴσχια πολλὰ ὀρέων, ὅστις πινυτός γε μετέλθοι.

But say, you joyful troop so gaily drest,
 Is this a bridal or a friendly feast?
 Or, from their deeds I rightlier may divine,
 Unseemly flown with insolence and wine;
 Unwelcome revellers, whose lawless joy
 Pains the sage ear, and hurts the sober eye.

POPE.

They who were present without contributing towards the entertainment were termed ἀσύμβολοι; in which condition were poets and singers, and others who made diversion for the company: whence that saying of Antiphanes in Athenæus ⁱ:

Ἀκαπνα γὰρ αἰεὶ ἀοιδοὶ θύομεν.

We singers always feast without smoke.

For ἀκαπνα θύειν, to feast or kill without smoke, is a proverbial phrase for such as partake of entertainments without the charge and trouble of providing them: whence in Leonides's epigram to Cæsar, there was this expression:

Καλλιόπης γὰρ ἄκαπνον αἰεὶ θύοι.

Calliope always kills without smoke.

Whereby it is meant, that the muses and their favourites, are always entertained at other men's expence: hence ἀσύμβολος is sometimes taken for an useless person, who is maintained by other men, and contributes nothing towards the charge: an example whereof we find in Plutarch ^k, where he relates the celebrated fable of Menenius Agrippa, in which the rest of the members are said to accuse the belly, ὡς μόνος ἀργῆ καὶ ἀσυμβόλῃ καθεζομένη, that when they all had some use or employment, she alone remained idle, and contributed nothing to the common service.

^h Commentario in Odyss. α. p. 50. edit. Basil.

ⁱ Odyss. α. v. 226.

^j Lib. i. cap. 7.

^k Coriolano.

Lastly, It must not be omitted, that there were in many places public entertainments, at which a whole city, or a tribe, or any other body or fraternity of men were present; these were termed by the general name of συσσίτια, πανδαισιναι, &c. or sometimes from the body of men who were admitted, δημοσύναι, δείπνα δημόσια, and δημοτικά, φρατρικά, φυλετικά, &c. according to those of the same borough (δῆμος) fraternity (φρατρία) or tribe (φυλή) met together. And the provision was sometimes furnished by contribution, sometimes by the liberality of some of the richer sort, and sometimes out of the public revenue. The design of these entertainments, which were in some places appointed by the laws, was to accustom men to parsimony and frugality, and to promote peace and good neighbourhood. They were first instituted in Italy, by king Italus, from whom that country received its name, as we are informed by Aristotle ¹. The next to these, in order of time, were those appointed by king Minos in Crete, after whose example Lycurgus instituted the public entertainments at Sparta, though the name was varied; for, as Plutarch reports, in his Life of the Spartan lawgiver, τὰ συσσίτια Κρήτες μὲν ἀνδρεία, οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ φειδίτια προσαγορεύουσιν, the Cretans term their Syssitia, or public entertainments ἀνδρεία, and the Lacedæmonians φειδίτια: yet this difference was not primitive, if we may believe Aristotle, who affirms, that τὸ γε ἀρχαῖον ἑκαλεῖτο οἱ Λάκωνες ἔ φειδίτια, ἀλλὰ ἀνδρεία, καθάσπερ οἱ Κρήτες, anciently the Lacedæmonians did not use the name of φειδίτια, but that of ἀνδρεία, which was the Cretan word. These entertainments were managed with the utmost frugality, and persons of all ages were admitted, the younger sort being obliged by the lawgiver to repair hither, as to διδασκαλεῖα σωφροσύνης, schools of temperance and sobriety, where, by the example and discourse of the elder men, which was generally instructive, they were trained to good manners and useful knowledge. The Athenians had likewise their Syssitia, as particularly that wherein the senate of five hundred, together with such men, who, for the public services, or eminent merit of themselves or their ancestors, were thought worthy of this honour, were entertained at the public expence; and many others, both at Athens and in other places, are mentioned by the Greek authors, to enumerate which would require a larger compass than our present design will admit.

¹ De Repub. lib. vii. cap. 10.

CHAP. XVIII.

Of the Materials whereof the Entertainments consisted.

IN the primitive times, men lived upon such fruits as sprung out of the earth without art or cultivation, and desired no sort of drink besides that which the fountains and rivers afforded: thus Lucretius has described the food then used^m:

*Quæ sol atque imbres dederant, quod terra crearet
Sponte suâ, satis id placebat pectora donum.*

Ælian, describing the most ancient food of several nations, reports, that at Argos they fed chiefly upon pears, at Athens upon figs, in Arcadia upon acornsⁿ; and so celebrated were the Arcadians for living upon that sort of diet, that they are distinguished in Lycophron^o by the name of βαλανηφάγοι, *acorn-eaters*. Most other nations in Greece made use also of acorns. Hence it was customary at Athens, when they kept their marriage-festivals, for a boy to bring in a bough full of acorns, and a plate covered with bread, proclaiming, "Εφυγον κακὸν, εὔρον ἄμεινον, *I have escaped the worse, and found the better*; which was done in memory of their leaving the use of acorns for that of bread, as hath been elsewhere related. At Rome, also, the *corona civica* was composed *fronde quernâ, quoniam cibus victusque antiquissimus quernus capi solitus sit*^p, of oak leaves, because that tree afforded the most ancient food: for the same reason, some of the trees which bear acorns were termed in Greek φάγοι, from φάγειν, *to eat*, and in Latin *esculi*, from *esca*, which signifies food^q; and as Macrobius^r hath observed, *Meminit vel fabulatur antiquitas glande prius et baccis alitos, sero de sulcis sperâsse alimoniam*. Ancient authors have either delivered upon their knowledge, or feigned, that in the first ages men lived upon acorns and berries, and were for a long time unacquainted with the art of ploughing the earth for corn; nevertheless, they believed, that in the golden age, when men enjoyed all sorts of plenty and prosperity, the earth produced corn without cultivation: thus Hesiod reports, in his description of those happy times^s:

^m Lib. v.

ⁿ Var. Hist. lib. iii. cap. 39.

^o V. 482. ubi. conf. commentarii.

^p A. Gellius, lib. v. cap. 6.

^q Isidorus orig. lib. xvii. cap. 7.

^r In somnium Scipionis, lib. ii. cap. 10.

^s Oper. lib. i. v. 116.

——— ἰσθλὰ δὲ πάντα
 Τοῖσιν ἔην καρπὸν δ' ἔφερε ζείδωρος ἄρουρα
 Λύτομάτη πολλὸν τι ἔϋφθονον.———

The fields, as yet untill'd, their fruits afford,
 And fill a sumptuous, and unenvied board.

But this age being expired, the earth (as they imagined) became unfruitful, and men falling into extreme ignorance and barbarity, lived, in Macrobius's language, *non multum a ferarum asperitate dissimiles*^t, not unlike to brute beasts, till Ceres taught them the art of sowing, and several other useful inventions, the memory whereof was many ages after celebrated on their festival days, as hath been elsewhere observed. The first whom Ceres taught to sow and to till the ground was Triptolemus, by whom that knowledge was communicated to his countrymen the Athenians. Afterwards, she imparted the same art to Eumelus, a citizen of Patræ in Achaia, by whom it was first introduced into that country, as it was also by Arcas into Arcadia^u. Some farther report, that the invention of making and baking bread is owing to Pan. And we must not omit, that barley was used before any other sort of corn, *πρώτην γὰρ τροφήν ταύτην ἀν' ἀνθρώποις διδόνθαι παρὰ θεῶν λόγος ἔχει* for it is reported that this was the first food which the gods imparted to mankind, as Artemidorus^v hath observed; and that it was *antiquissimum in cibis*, the most ancient sort of victual, *Atheniensium ritu*, Menandro auctore apparet, et gladiatorum cognomine, *qui hordearii vocantur*, appears both from the custom of the Athenians mentioned by Menander, which is elsewhere described, and from the name of those gladiators, who are called *hordearii*, from the Latin name of barley, as Pliny^w hath related. But in more civil ages, to use the same author's words, *Panem ex hordeo antiquis usitatum vita damnavit, quadrupedum tradidit refectionibus*, barley-bread came to be the food of beasts only; nevertheless it was still used by the poorer sort, who were not able to furnish their tables with better provision; and in the Roman camp, as Vegetius^x hath informed us, soldiers who had been guilty of any offence, *hordeum pro frumento cogeantur accipere*, were fed with barley instead of bread-corn. An example whereof we find in the second Punic war, wherein the cohorts which lost their standards had an allowance of barley assigned by Marcel-
 lus^y. And Augustus Cæsar, *Cohortes, si quæ cessissent loco, de-*

^t Oper. loco citato.

^u Vid. Pausanias Atticis, Achaicis, Arcadicis.

^v Lib. i. cap. 71.

^w Nat. Hist. lib. xviii. cap. 7.

^x De re militari, lib. i. cap. 15.

^y Plutarchus, Marcello, Lælius, lib. 27.

cimatas hordeo pavit, commonly punished the cohorts which gave ground to the enemy, by a decimation, and allowing them no provision but barley, as Suetonius reports in the life of that emperor ^z.

The first ages of men, as Plato ^a reports, *σαρκῶν ἀπείχοντο, δὲ ἐχ' ὅσιον ὄν ἐσθίειν, ἐδὲ τοὺς τῶν θεῶν βωμὲς αἵματι μιαίνειν*, wholly abstained from flesh, out of an opinion that it was unlawful to eat, or to pollute the altars of the gods with the blood of living creatures. The same is affirmed by Dicæarchus in Porphyry, who hath left us a tract concerning abstinence from animals, and by many others. Swine were used for food first of all animals, they being wholly unserviceable to all other purposes, and having, in the language of Cicero ^b, *animam pro sale ne putrescant*, their souls only, instead of salt, to keep them from putrifying. As, on the contrary, for several ages after flesh came to be eaten, it was thought unlawful to kill oxen, because they are very serviceable to mankind, and partners of their labour in cultivating the ground, as hath been elsewhere observed ^c. It was also unusual to kill young animals; whence, as Athenæus is of opinion, Priamus is introduced by Homer reproving his sons for feasting upon young lambs; the reason whereof was, either that it savoured of cruelty to deprive those of life which had scarce tasted the joys of it, or that it tended to the destruction of the species; whence, at a time when sheep were scarce at Athens, there was a law enacted to forbid *ἀπίετ' ἀρνὸς γενέσθαι*, the eating of lambs which had never been shorn, as hath been observed from Philochronus. Neither did the ancients seek for dainties or rarities, but were content with sheep, goats, swine, oxen, when it was become lawful to kill them, what they caught in hunting, what was most easy to be provided, and afforded the most healthful nourishment. Hence all the Grecians in Homer live upon a simple diet; young and old, kings and private men, are contented with the same provision. Agamemnon entertains Ajax, after his combat with Hector, with the chine of an ox, as a reward of his valour. Alcinous, king of Phæacia, who affected a more splendid and delicate way of living, feeds upon beef. Menelaus sets before Telemachus a chine of beef at the marriage-feast of his son. And the courtiers of Penelope, though given to all sorts of pleasure, are never entertained with either fish or fowl, or any delicacies. This, with

^z Cap. 24.

^a Lib. vi. de legibus.

^b Lib. ii. de natura deorum.

^c Archaeologiæ hujus lib. ii. cap. de Sacrificiis.

several other things to the same purpose, hath been observed by Athenæus^d; who has likewise remarked, that Homer's heroes neither boil their meat, nor dress it with sauces, but only roast it. This was in most places the ancient way of dressing meat, whence Servius^e also reports, that *heroicis temporibus non vescebantur carne elixa*, in the heroical ages they did not eat boiled flesh; and observes farther out of Varro, that among the Romans the primitive diet was roast, then boiled, and last of all broths came into use. Nevertheless, as Athenæus hath elsewhere taken notice, even in Homer's time, boiled meat was sometimes provided; which appears both from that entertainment in the *Odyssees*, where an ox's foot is thrown at Ulysses; it being well known, that (in that author's words) *πόδα βόειον ἔδεις ὀπτῶ*, no man ever roasts an ox's foot; and also, from the express words of the 21st *Iliad*^f:

Ὡς δὲ λίψης ζεῖ ἔνδον ἑπιγόμενος πυρὶ πολλῷ,
Κνίσσῃ μιλιδόμενος ἀπαλοτροφέος σιάλοις.

As when the flames beneath a cauldron rise,
To melt the fat of some rich sacrifice.

POPE.

This was the way of living among the ancient Greeks; neither were the Lacedæmonians of later ages less temperate than their ancestors, so long as they observed the laws of Lycurgus. They had their constant diet at the *Συσσίτια*, public entertainments, wherein the food was extremely simple, whereof each person had a certain proportion allotted. The chief part of the provision was *μέλας ζωμός*, the black broth, peculiar to that nation, which was so unpleasant, that a citizen of Sybaris happening once to be entertained at Sparta, cried out, 'that he no longer wondered why the Lacedæmonians were the valiantest soldiers in the world, when any man in his right wits would rather choose to die a thousand times than to live upon such vile food^g.' And it is reported that Agesilaus distributed certain sweatmeats, which had been presented to him by the Thasians, amongst the slaves, saying, 'that the servants of virtue ought not to indulge themselves with such delicacies, it being unworthy of men of free birth to share those pleasures whereby slaves are allured.' For which reason the cooks of Lacedæmon were *ὑποποιοὶ κρέως μόνε*, ὁ δὲ παρὰ τῆτο ἐπιστάμενος, ἐξηλαύνετο Σπάρτης, ὡς τὰ τῶν νοσέντων καθάρσια, only dressers of flesh, and they who understood any thing farther in the art of cookery were cast out from Sparta, as the filth of men, infected with the plague^h. Hence Mithæcus, a very eminent cook, de-

^d Lib. i. p. 9.

^e In *Æneid* i.

^f *Iliad*. φ'. v. 362.

^g Conf. Athenæus, lib. iv. cap. 6. p. 158.

^h *Ælianus*, lib. xiv. cap. 7.

signing to follow his profession in that city, was immediately commanded by the magistrates to departⁱ. This custom was not unlike that of the ancient heroes, who kept no cooks, but sometimes dressed their own provision, as we find done by Achilles in Homer^j:

—τάμνεν δ' ἄρα διὸς Ἀχιλλεύς,
καὶ τὰ μὲν αὖ μίτυλλε, ἔ' ἀμφ' ὀβελόσιν ἱερίῃ.

Achilles at the genial feast presides,
The parts transfixes and with skill divides.

POPE.

And sometimes the κήρυκες, *heralds*, those servants ἀνδρῶν τε θεῶν τε, *of gods and men*, as they are called by the poet, who were not only employed in civil and military affairs, but also performed many of the holy rites at sacrifices, served as cooks; whence the ancient cooks are by some authors reported to have been θυτικῆς ἔμπειροι, skilled in the art of divining by sacrifices, and, προΐσαντο γάμων καὶ θυσιῶν, had the management of marriage feasts and sacrifices^k.

But in other cities of Greece, and in later ages, the art of cookery was in better esteem, though even Heraclides, and Glaucus the Locrenian, who wrote books concerning it, affirm, ἐχ' ἀρεμότητι τοῖς τυχεῶσιν ἐλευθέρων, *that it was unworthy of the meanest person who was free born*, as we are informed by Athenæus^l. The Sicilian cooks were prized above any others, as the same author^m has proved, by examples out of Cratinus and Antiphanes. Mithæcus before mentioned was of that nation; and the Sicilians were so remarkable for their luxurious way of living, that Σικελικὴ τράπεζα, *a Sicilian table*, was a proverbial phrase, as we are informed by Suidas, ἐπὶ τῶν πάντων πολυτέλειαν καὶ τρυφῆλῶν, for one furnished very profusely and luxuriously.

Next to the Lacedæmonian tables, those of Athens are said to have been furnished most frugally, the Athenian soil being unfruitful, and such as could supply no more provision than was just necessary for the support of its inhabitants. Hence Lynceus the Samian is cited by Athenæusⁿ for contemning the Athenian entertainments:

Μάγειρ', ὁ θύων ὁ δαιρνίζων τ' ἐμὲ,
ῥήδιος ἰγὰρ δ' ὁ κυκλημίνος, Πιερίνβιος·
οὐδ' ἴτερος ἡμῶν ἤδεται τοῖς Ἀττικαῖς
Δείπνοις· ἀηδία γάρ ἐστιν Ἀττική.

And the same author goes on in his description of the meanness of the provisions at Athens, which were so exceedingly parsimonious, that Dromeas, an Athenian parasite, being asked whether the suppers at Athens or those at Chalcis were more magnificent, replied,

i Maximus Tyr. principio dissert. vii.

j Iliad. ix. v. 209.

k Athenæus, lib. xiv. cap. 22.

l Lib. xiv. cap. 23.

m Loco citato.

n Lib. iv. cap. 3.

that the (πρῶσιμον) first course at Chalcis was preferable to the whole entertainment at Athens. Hence to live *Αττικηρῶς*, like an Athenian, is to live penuriously. An example of which proverb we find cited by Athenæus out of Alexis, who has there also left us a large description of an Athenian entertainment °.

From the Grecian meat, let us, in the next place, proceed to their drink. And in the primitive times, as hath been already observed, water was the general drink, which they were supplied with from the nearest fountain. Afterwards hot fountains came into request, by the example of Hercules, who being very much fatigued with labour, refreshed himself at a hot fountain, which (as fables tell us) was discovered to him by Minerva or Vulcan; and this sort of water was thought extremely beneficial on the like occasions; whence Plato ^p commends his Atlantic island, which he describes to be the most delightful country in the world, on account of its hot as well as cold fountains; and Homer, by whom we are furnished with examples of all sorts of poetical topics, relates, that one of the fountains of the river Scamander was exquisitely cold, and the other hot ^q; yet, to use the words of Julius Pollux ^r, παρ' Ὀμήρῳ ἔχ' οἷόν τ' εὐρεῖν θερμὸν ὕδωρ ἐπὶ ποταμῷ, it will be difficult to infer from Homer, that hot waters were drank in the heroic ages; but they seem only to be used for bathing, unless prescribed by the physicians, as was usually done to old men, and others who had weak stomachs, as appears from the example of Hippocrates, produced by the same author, who, by several other instances, yet all later than the age of Homer, has here proved, that this sort of drink was used by the ancient Grecians; however, it is certain that, at least in later ages, hot waters were in request amongst the Grecians, and from them came to be used at Rome; whence the Roman authors mention the use of them as a Grecian custom. Thus Plautus ^s speaking of the Grecians:

Ubi quid surripuere, aperto capitulo caldum bibunt.

And Horace ^t:

Quo Chium pretio cadum

Mercemur? quis aquam temperet ignibus?

Where Acron explains *temperet* by *tepefaciat*, *nam tepefactis quis solebant Græci vinum temperare*. For the Greeks (saith he) used to temper their wine with warm water ^u.

° Lib. iv. cap. 5.

^p Critia.

^s Curculione.

^q Iliad. χ'. v. 147.

^t Lib. iii. Od. 19.

^r Lib. ix. cap. 6. Conf. Athenæus,

^u Conf. Athenæus, lib. ii. cap. 2,

b. iii cap. 35.

But there is more frequent mention of cold water than of hot, both in the Grecian and Roman authors; and in order to drink it exquisitely cold, it was customary to temper it with ice, which they had several methods to preserve through all the heat of summer: there is one mentioned by Plutarch^v, who relates that it was usual to wrap it in clothes and straw; to which custom St. Augustin alludes in the following words: *Quis dedit paleæ tam frigidam vim, ut obrutas nives servet; vel tam fervidam, ut poma immatura maturet?* Who has endued the straw with such a degree of cold as to preserve ice; or with so much heat as to bring unripe fruit to maturity? Chares the Mitylenean, as he is cited by Athenæus^w, reports, that when Alexander the Great besieged Petra a city of India, he filled thirty ditches with ice, which, being covered with oaken boughs, remained a long time entire. And in the same place there are described several other arts of making their drink cool. The custom of preserving ice was so common amongst the Romans, that they had shops wherein it was publicly exposed to sale; whence Seneca thus inveighs against the Roman luxury and extravagance^x: *Unguentarios Lacedæmonii expulere, et propere cedere finibus suis jusserunt, quia oleum disperderent: quid illi si vidissent nivis reponendæ officinas?* The Lacedæmonians banished the sellers of ointment, and commanded them to be gone with the utmost speed out of their country. What would have been done had they seen shops to reposit and preserve ice?

The invention of wine was by the Egyptians ascribed to Osiris, by the Latins to Saturn, and by the Greeks to Bacchus, to whom divine honours were paid on that account. It is reported by Hecataeus the Milesian, that the use of wines was first discovered in Ætolia, by Orestheus the son of Deucalion, whose grandson Oeneus, the father of Ætolus, from whom that part of Greece received its name, was so called from οἶναι, which is the old name of vines. Others derive οἶνος, the name of wine, from this Oeneus, who (as they report) was the first who discovered the art of pressing wine from grapes: thus Nicander:

Οἶνους δ' ἐν κοιλοῖσιν ἀποθλίψας δηπάσειν
Οἶνον ἔκλῃσει. —

And to the same purpose Melanippides the Milesian, in Athenæus^y;

Ἐπάνομος, ὃ δίσποσ', οἶνός Οἰνίως.

^v Sympss. lib. vi.

^w Lib. iii, cap. 36.

^x Natur. iv.

^y Initio, lib. ii.

Others will have the vine to have been first discovered in Olympia, near the river Alpheus; of which opinion was Theopompus of Chios. And Hellanicus reports, that it was first known at Plinthion, a town of Egypt; hence the Egyptians are thought to derive their immoderate love and use of this liquor, which they thought so necessary to human bodies, that they invented a sort of wine, made of barley, for the poorer sort, who wanted money to purchase that which was pressed from grapes^z.

In Greece, the matrons and virgins drank wine, as appears from the examples of Nausicaë and her companions in Homer^a. And because the same freedom was rarely allowed that sex in other countries, the Grecian women were ill thought of on that account^b. It was likewise customary to give it to children, unless the management of Achilles was different from that of other infants; for thus Homer has introduced Phoenix speaking to him^c:

Πρίν γ' ὅτε δὴ σ' ἐμοῖσιν ἐγὼ γένασσι καθίσας,
Οὔ μ' ἔσσαιμι προσημάτων, καὶ οἶνον ἐπισχάων.
Πολλάκι μοι κατέδυσσας ἐπὶ στήθεσσι χιτῶνα,
Οἶνον ἀποξέλυζων ἐν νηπιέῃ ἀλεγεινῇ.

Nor would'st thou taste thy food at home, till first
I placed thee on my knees, with my own hand
Thy viands carv'd and fed thee, and the wine
Held to thy lips; and many a time in fits
Of infant frowardness, the purple juice
Rejecting, thou hast deluged all my vest
And filled my bosom.

COWPER.

The wine was generally mixed with water, whence drinking cups were called κρατήρες, παρὰ τὸ κεράσασθαι, from the mixture made in them; which derivation is mentioned both by the grammarians and Athenæus, and there are some allusions to it in Homer; for the custom of drinking wine tempered with water obtained in the time of the Trojan war and the most primitive ages; hence the following verse^d:

Οἱ μὲν ἄρ' οἶνον ἐνὶ κρητῆρσι καὶ ὕδωρ.

Some ascribe the first use of it to Melampus^e, others to Staphylus, the son of Silenus. Philochorus is said to report^f, that Amphiclyon, king of Athens, learned to mix wine with water from Bacchus himself, on which account he dedicated an altar to that god, under the name of Ορθόος, because from that time men began to return from entertainments *sober*, and ὀρθοί, *upright*. The same

^z Conf. Athenæus sub finem, lib. i.

^a Odyss. vi.

^b Conf. Athenæus, lib. x.

^c Iliad. ix. v. 484.

^d Odyss. α.

^e Athenæus, lib. vi. cap. 2.

^f Plinius, lib. vii. cap. 56.

king enacted a law, that only wine tempered with water should be drunk at entertainments; which being afterwards disused, was revived by Solon^g. There was no certain proportion observed in this mixture: some to one vessel of wine poured in two of water; others to two of wine mixed five of water; and others more, or less, as they pleased^h. The Lacedæmonians εἰς τὸ πῦρ ἕωσι τὸν οἶνον, ἕως ἂν τὸ πέμπτον μέρος ἀφεξηθῇ, καὶ μετὰ τέσσαρα ἔτη χρῶνται, used to boil their wine upon the fire till the fifth part was consumed, and then after four years were expired, began to drink it, as we are informed by Democritusⁱ; and the same custom is also mentioned by Palladius.

Nevertheless most of the Grecians, and particularly the Lacedæmonians, sometimes did ἀκρατέστερον πίνειν, *drink wine with little or no water*, which they termed ἐπισκυθίσαι to *act like a Sythian*; for the Scythians were very much addicted to drunkenness, and used wine without water; whence ἀκρατοπιεῖν is commonly termed σκυθισὶ πιεῖν, or σκυθοπιεῖν and ἀκρατοποσία, is called σκυθικὴ πρόσις: which expressions came into vogue at Sparta, from the time that Cleomenes the Spartan, by living and conversing with the Scythians, learned to drink to excess and madness^j. The Thracians also drank their wine unmixed with water; and both they and the Scythians were generally such lovers of it, that γυναῖκες τε καὶ πάντες αὐτοὶ κατὰ τῶν ἱματίων (ἀκρατον) καταχόμενοι, καλὸν καὶ εὐδαιμον ἐπιτήδευμα ἐπιτηδέειν νενομίκασι, the women and all the men thought it a most happy life to fill themselves with unmixed wine, and to pour it upon their garments^k. Hence also by Θρακικὴ πρόσις, the Thracians way of drinking, was meant ἀκρατοποσία, drinking wine not mixed with water^l.

Some used to perfume their wines, and wine so used was termed οἶνος μυρρίνιτης, according to Ælian^m, and sometimes μυρρίνης, for that word, according to Hesychius's explication, signifies πόσιν ἣ ἐπεχίτο μύρον, a potion mixed with odours. Different from this were the Murrhina of the Romans, as also the ἐσμυρηνισμένος οἶνος, wine mingled with myrrh, mentioned in St. Mark's gospel, where-with the malefactors were commonly intoxicated before they suffered. Several other ingredients were mixed with wine, sometimes

^g Athenæus, lib. ii. cap. 2.

^h Athenæus, lib. x. cap. 8.

ⁱ Idem. lib. x. cap. 7.

^j Chamaeleon Heracleota, lib. de Te-

mulentia apud Athenæum, lib. x. cap. 7.

^k Athenæus, lib. x. sub finem, cap. 9.

^l Pollux, lib. vi. cap. 5.

^m Var. Hist. lib. xii. cap. 51.

ἀλφίτα, meal, whence οἶνος ἀπηλφισμένος, wine thickened with meal, which was very much used by the Persians^P. They had also many sorts of made wines, as οἶνος κριθίνος, *cerevisia*, wine made of barley, and οἶνος ἐψητός, palm-wine, sometimes termed ὄξος ἐψητὸν, for ὄξος was a general name for all made wines.

CHAP. XIX.

Of the Customs before Entertainments.

THE person by whom the entertainment was provided, was commonly named ὁ ἐσιάτωρ, ἐσιῶν, ξενίζων, τῆς συνεστίας ἡγεμὼν, συμποσίῃς ἄρχων, συμποσίαρχος, by the tragedians, οἰκοδεμῶν, &c.

The persons entertained by him were termed δαιτυμόνες, δαιταλεῖς, συμπόται, σύνδειπνοι, &c. also very often κλητοί, σύγκλητοι, ἐπὶ κλητοί, in which names is expressed the immediate cause of their meeting, which was κλῆσις, in Latin *vocatio*, an invitation or calling by the entertainer.

The persons employed to invite the guests were by the Romans termed *vocatores*, and by the Greeks κλήτορες, or δειπνοκλήτορες. The same men were also, though not so frequently, called ἐλειατροί and ἐλειατροί, from ἐλεός, which is the name of the table on which the provision was placed in the kitchen. Thus ἐλειατροί, according to Pamphilus in Athenæus^Q, are οἱ ἐπὶ τὴν βασιλικὴν καλόντες τράπεζαν, they who invite to the king's table. Sometimes to invite was termed καταγράφειν, to write down, from the custom of inscribing the names of the persons to be invited upon a tablet. The hour was signified at the invitation; and because they then numbered the hours by the motion of the sun, there is frequent mention of σκιά, the shade of the sun, and σοιχείον, the letter of the dial, on these occasions: thus in the following passage of Aristophanes^R:

——— σοί δὲ μιλῆσαι,
Ὅταν ἢ δικάπῃν σοιχείον λιπαρῶς χωρῶν ἐπὶ δῶπνον.

Relations often went without invitation, as hath been observed

^P Athenæus, lib. x. initio, cap. 9.

^Q Athenæus, lib. iv. cap. 21.

^R Concionatricibus, p. 744. Conf. ibi

Scholiastes, item Suidas, v. Δικάπῃς σκία, et Hesychius, v. δικάπῃν σοιχείον.

by Athenæus^s, and Eustathius, from that verse of Homer where he describes an entertainment at Agamemnon's tent^t:

Αὐτόματος δὲ οἱ ἦλθε βοὴν ἀγαθὸς Μενέλαος.

Valiant Menelaus came to him αὐτόματος, that is, ἀνευ τῆς κληθῆναι, without being invited, as the scholiast explains that word. Such as without invitation, ἐπὶ τῶν κεκλημένων ἐπὶ δεῖπνον ἀγόμενοι, were brought to the entertainment by some of those who had been invited^u, were termed σκιαί, shades, from their following the principal guests, as shades do bodies. The same persons were by the Romans called *umbræ*: thus in Horace^v:

—quos Mæcenæ adduxerat umbras.

And in another place^w:

—locus est et pluribus umbris.

They who forced themselves into other men's entertainments, were, in Greek, called μυῖαι, in Latin *muscæ*, which was a general name of reproach for such as insinuated themselves into any company where they were not welcome: thus the parasite is described by Antiphanes:

Θύρας μοχλεύειν, σεισμός· ἐσπῆδ' ἄκρ' ἰς·
Δειπνεῖν ἄκλητος, μυῖα· μὴ ἐξελεῖν, φθίαρ.

In Plautus^x, an entertainment free from unwelcome guests is called *hospitium sine muscis*, an entertainment without flies; and in another place of the same author^y, an inquisitive and busy man, who pries and insinuates himself into the secrets of others is termed *musca*. We are likewise informed by Horus Apollo^z, that in Egypt a fly was the hieroglyphic of an impudent man, because that insect, being beaten away, still returns again; on which account it is by Homer made an emblem of courage^a:

Καὶ οἱ μυῖς θάρσος ἐνὶ στήθεσσι νῆκεν,
Ἡ τε δ' ἐργομένη μάλα περ χροδὲ ἀνδρομέοιο,
Ἰσχαναία δακύνει, λαρόν τ' εἰ αἰμ' ἀνθρώπων.
So burns the vengeful hornet (soul all o'er)
Repuls'd in vain, and thirsty still of gore,
Bold son of air and heat, on angry wings
Untam'd, untir'd, he turns, attacks, and stings.

POPE.

The same persons whom they termed *muscæ* at entertainments, were called Μυκόνιοι, Myconians, from the poverty of that nation, which put them upon frequenting other men's tables oftener than was consistent with good manners; whence Pericles was re-

^s Lib. iv. cap. 26.

^t Iliad. β'. v. 408.

^b Plutarchus Sympos. lib. vii. quæst.

^v Lib. ii. sat. viii. 22.

^w Lib. i. Epist. v. 28.

^x Pœnul. act. iii. sc. 3. v. 76.

^y Mercat. act. iii. sc. 5. v. 26.

^z Hieroglyphicis.

^a Iliad. ε', v. 570'

flected upon by Archilochus, ὡς ἄκλῆτον ἐπισπαλέοντα εἰς τὰ συμπόσια Μυκονίων δίκην, as one who intruded into other men's entertainments, after the manner of the Myconians^b. But the most common appellation of such men was that of παρασίτοι, parasites; which word, as Lucian hath observed, in its primitive sense, signified only the companions of princes and men of quality; such were Patroclus to Achilles, and Memnon to Idomeneus, or those who had their diet at the tables of the gods, of whom mention has been made in another place^c; but afterwards came to be a name of reproach for those who, by flattery and other mean arts, used to insinuate themselves to the tables of other men; in which sense it was first used by Epicharmus, and afterwards by Alexis^d; nevertheless it was common for friends and men of credit to visit one another's houses at the times of entertainment, without expecting a formal invitation, as appears from that saying cited by Eustathius^e:

Ἀλλήτοι κομᾶζουσιν εἰς φίλους φίλοι.

And that other in Plato^f:

———εἰς ἄρα καὶ ἀγαθῶν ἐπὶ δαίτας ἴασιν
 Αὐτόματοι ἀγαθοί.

Which is sometimes thus cited in one hexameter verse:

Αὐτόματοι δ' ἀγαθοὶ ἐπὶ δαίτας ἴασιν.

The number of guests was unlimited: some chose to invite three or four, or five at the most: thus Archestratus in Athenæus^g:

Πρὸς δὲ μᾶλλον πάντες δειπνεῖν ἄρρῶδαισι τραπέζῃ
 Ἐσῶσαν δ' ἢ τρεῖς, ἢ τέσσαρες οἱ ξυνάπαντες,
 Ἡ τῶν πέντε γε μὴ πλείους· ἥδη γὰρ ἂν εἴη
 Μισθοφόρων ἀρπαγῆς σκηνὴ στρατιωτῶν.

And Athenæus in another place^h reports, that among the ancients μὴ συνδειπνεῖν τῶν πέντε γε πλείους, ὅτι δὲ γέ ἡμεῖς ψαμμάκοιοι ἐσμέν δῆλον, it was not usual for more than five to sup together, but that in his time the numbers were plainly infinite. Eustathius hath observed out of Jamblichus, that in the συσσίτια, common meals, not above ten were admitted; which, in his opinion, was the ordinary number of guests at entertainments in the primitive times; and hence he thinks it is, that when Agamemnon in Homerⁱ speaks of distributing the Grecian army at an entertainment, he mentions only δεκάδες, tens:

^b Conf. Athenæus. lib. i. cap. 7.

^c Lib. ii. cap. de Sacerdotibus.

^d Conf. Athenæus, lib. vi. cap. 7.

^e Pollux, lib. vi. cap. 7.

^f Commentario in Iliad, β'.

^g Symposio.

^h Lib. i. sub finem, cap. 4.

ⁱ Lib. xv. cap. 5.

^j Iliad, β' v. 126. Conf. Eustathius, p. 144. edit. Basil.

Ἡμεῖς δ' εἰς δεκάδας διακοσμηθεῖμεν Ἀχαιοὶ,
 Τρώων δ' ἄνδρα ἑκάστον ἐλοίμεθα οἰνοχοοῦν,
 Πολλαὶ κεν δεκάδες δειυῖατο οἰνοχόοιο.

So small their number, that if wars were ceas'd,
 And Greece triumphant held a general feast,
 All rank'd by tens, whole decades when they dine,
 Must want a Trojan slave to pour the wine.

ROSE.

But this must only be understood of the entertainments of private men. Princes often invited greater numbers: Agamemnon in Homer entertains all the Grecian princes together; and Alexander the Macedonian is reported, before his expedition against Persia, σκηνὴν κατασκευάσασθαι ἑκατοντάκλιον πρὸς εὐαχίαν, to have furnished a tent with 100 beds for an entertainment^j. And the same vanity by degrees crept in amongst private men, insomuch that in Athenæus's time, as hath been before observed, ψαμμακόσιοι, infinite numbers were invited. Hence it came to pass, that, partly to prevent tumult and sedition, and partly to restrain the expensiveness and prodigality of their citizens, some lawgivers thought it necessary to limit the number of guests; in particular, no person at Athens was allowed to entertain above thirty at once. In order to put this statute in execution, certain magistrates, called *Γυναικονόμοι*, were obliged to go to entertainments, and to expel thence such as exceeded that number; and the cooks who were commonly employed to dress the victuals at entertainments were obliged to give in their names every time they were hired^k.

This must farther be observed concerning the guests, that men and women were never invited together, as we are informed by Cicero^l; wherein the Greeks differed from the Romans, amongst whom the women were allowed more freedom: 'for which of the Romans,' to use the words of Cornelius Nepos, 'was ever ashamed to bring his wife to an entertainment? And what mistress of a family can be shown, who does not inhabit the chief and most frequented part of the house? whereas, in Greece, she never appears at any entertainments, besides those to which none but relations are invited, and constantly lives in the innermost part of the house, which is called *γυναικάνιτις*, the women's apartment, into which no man, except near relations, had admission^m.'

Before they went to an entertainment, they washed and anointed themselves, ἀπρεπέες γὰρ ἦν ἡκεῖν εἰς τὸ συμπόσιον σὺν ἰδρῶτι πολλῷ καὶ κνισορτῶ, for it was thought very indecent to go thither defiled with

^j Diodorus Siculus, p. 530.

^k Conf. Athenæus, lib. vi. cap. 11.

^l Orat. iii. in Verrem.

^m Cornelius Nepos præfat. in vitas Imperatorum.

sweat and dust, as Athenæusⁿ hath observed from Aristotle. They who came off a journey were washed and clothed with apparel suitable to the occasion, in the house of the entertainer, before they were admitted to the feast: thus we find in Homer, where he describes the reception of Telemachus and Pisistratus by Menelaus^o:

Ες ῥ' ἀσαμίνους βάντις ὕψίστας λύσαντο
Τὰς δ' ἐπεὶ ἐν δμῳαὶ λῦσαν, ἔχρυσαν ἐλαίῳ,
Ἀμφὶ δ' ἄρα χλαίνας ἕλας βάλλον ἠδὲ χιτῶνας,
Ες ῥὰ θρόνους ἕζοντο παρ' Ἀτρεΐδην Μενέλαον.

From room to room their eager view they bend ;
Thence to the bath, a beauteous pile, descend ;
Where a bright damsel-train attend the guests
With liquid odours, and embroider'd vests.
Refresh'd, they wait them to the bower of state,
Where circled with his peers Atrides sate.

POPE.

The same persons also washed their hands before they sat down to meat, as appears from the verses which follow in the same author^p:

Κίρινθα δ' ἀμφίπολος προχῶν ἐπὶ χεὶρὶ φέρεσσι
Καλῇ χρυσείῃ, ὑπὲρ ἀργυρέοιο λείβετος,
Νίψασθαι παρὰ δὲ ξέστην ἐτάνυσσε τράπεζαν
Σίτον δ' αἰδοίη ταμίη παρέθηκε φέρεσσι.

Thron'd next the king, a fair attendant brings
The purest product of the crystal springs ;
High on a massy vase of silver mold,
The burnish'd laver flames with solid gold.

POPE.

And, to mention the times of washing altogether, it was also customary to wash between every course, and after supper: thus Homer introduces his heroes *δειπνῶντας, ὀμιλῶντας, εἴτα ἀπονίψαμένους ποιεῖν πάλιν δειπνῶντας*, *supping, conversing, then washing, and after that again supping*. And Aristophanes^q speaks of bringing *ὕδωρ κατὰ χεῖρας μετὰ τράπεζας*, *water to wash the hands after the courses*. By them who spoke accurately, to wash the hands before supper was termed *νίψασθαι*, to wash after supper, *ἀπονίψασθαι*. Hither are to be referred the words, *ἀπομάζεσθαι, ἐναπομάζεσθαι, ἀποψῆσαι*, and the like, which signify *to wipe the hands*. The towel was termed *ἐκμαγεῖον, χειρόμακτρον*, &c. instead whereof the ancient Greeks used *ἀπομαγδαλίσι*, which were τὸ ἐν τῷ ἄρτῳ μαλακὸν καὶ σαιτῶδες, *the soft and fine part of the bread*, which afterwards they cast, *τοῖς κυσὶ*, *to the dogs*, ὅθεν καὶ Λακεδαιμόνιοι κύναδα τὴν ἀπομαγδαλίαν καλεῖσιν, whence *ἀπομαγδαλία* is by the Lacedæmonians called *κυνάς*: and, as the same author there adds, this custom is mentioned by Homer in the following verses:

ⁿ Lib. iv. cap. 27.^o Odyss. δ'. v. 48.^p Odyss. δ'.^q Vespis.

Ὡς δ' ὅταν ἀμφὶ ἄνακτα κύνας δαίτηθεν ἰόντα
Σαίνωσ', αἰεὶ γάρ τε φέρεϊ μειλίγματα θυμῷ.

It is farther to be observed, that in the washing after supper they used some sort of *σμηγμα ἀπορύχως χάριν*, *stuff to scour the hands*^r; for which use nitre and hyssop are mentioned in the Holy Scriptures. Lastly, after washing, the hands were perfumed with odours, which custom is expressed in the following verses of Antiphanis or Ephigenes in Athenæus^s:

Καὶ τότε περιπατήσεις καὶ πονίψει κατὰ τρόπον
Τὰς χεῖρας, εὐώδη λαβὼν τὴν γῆν θ' ἄμα.

It may not be improper in this place to add something farther, by way of digression, concerning the custom of washing and anointing, which in Greece and other hot countries was so frequent. To wash is, in the words of Eustathius, *ἀποθετικὸν μὲν ῥυπῶ, ἀναψυχῆς δέ τινος αἴτιον*, *a means both to cleanse the body from filth, and refresh it*; therefore, whenever they ceased from sorrow and mourning, it was usual to bathe and anoint themselves: whence Eurynome in Homer advises Penelope to leave off lamenting^t:

Χρῶτ' ἀπονυφάμενη, καὶ ἐπιχρίσασα παρειάς,

washing her body, and anointing her face. And, as we are informed by Artemidorus^u, the ancient Greeks commonly bathed *ἢ πόλεμον καταστρεψάμενοι, ἢ μεγάλης παυσάμενοι πόνου*, *after the finishing of a war, or any other great fatigue.* Thus, in Homer, Telemachus and Pisistratus are bathed and anointed at Menelaus's palace, after a long journey; Diomedes and Ulysses, after their return from discovering the manner of their enemies' encampment:

—————λοισσαμένω καὶ ἀλειψαμένω λίπ' ἱλαίῳ
Δείπνῳ ἐφιζάντην.—————

having bathed and anointed, sat down to supper. In the heroical ages, men and women, without distinction, bathed themselves in rivers; this we find done by Nausicaë, the daughter of Alcinous, king of Phæacia^v, and Europa in Moschus^w:

—————φαιδρύνοιτο χροῖα προχοῇσιν Ἀναύρου,

cleanseth her body in the mouth of Anaurus. Helena also and her fellows wash in the river Eurotas, according to Theocritus^x:

Ἀμμις γὰρ πᾶσαι συνομάλικες, ἧς δρόμος αὐτὸς
Χρυσάμιναις ἀνδρὶσι παρ' Εὐρώταο λουτροῖς,
Τετράκις ἐξήκοντα κόραι, θῆλυς νοτολαία.

^r At Athenæus, lib. x. cap. ult.

^s Lo co citato.

^t Od yss. ε'. v. 170.

^u Lib. i. cap. 66:

^v Odyss. vi.

^w Idyll. β'. v. 31.

^x Idyll. η'. v. 51.

Thrice eighty virgins of the Spartan race,
 Her equals we in years, but not in face,
 Our limbs diffusing with ambrosial oil
 Were wont on smooth Eurota's banks to toil,
 In manly sports.

FAWKES.

Though the expressions in these verses are manifestly accommodated to the institutions of Lycurgus, whereby the virgins were obliged to bathe, and accustom themselves to such exercises as in that age were only practised by the men; whence the poet observes, that it was done *ἀνδρείῃ*, after the manner of men; which would have been a very improper expression in heroical times, when it was customary for both sexes to use this diversion alike. But if the sea was within a convenient distance, they commonly bathed in it, rather than in the rivers, the salt water being thought, to use the words of Athenæus ^y, *μάλιστα τοῖς νέρους πρόσφορος*, conducive to strengthen the nerves, by drying up superfluous humours: thus, to forbear the mention of other instances, Diomedes and Ulysses in Homer, after very great fatigue,

——— ἰδρῶ πολλὸν ἀπενίζοντο θαλάσσην
 Ἐσθάντες.

went into the sea, to cleanse themselves from sweat; and they who lived at a greater distance from the sea sometimes removed thither for their health's sake. An example whereof we find in Minutius Felix, by one of the persons, in whose dialogue it is resolved, *Ostiam petere, amænissimam civitatem, quod esset corpori meo siccandis humoribus de marinis lavacris blanda et expedita curatio*, to go to the most pleasant city, Ostia, in order to enjoy the benefit of bathing in the sea, which is an easy and expeditious method of drying up the superfluous humours of the body. Hot baths were also very ancient. *Ἡράκλεια λουτρὰ*, the hot baths shewed by Vulcan, or, as others say, by Minerva to Hercules, at a time when he had undergone a very great fatigue, are celebrated by the poets. Pindar ^z speaks of *θερμὰ Νυμφῶν λουτρὰ*, the hot baths of the nymphs. Homer commends one of the fountains of Scamander for its hot water, in the twenty-second Iliad. In the same Iliad, Andromache provides a hot bath for Hector, against his return from the battle. Nestor, in the eleventh Iliad, orders Hecamede to make ready *θερμὰ λούτρα*, an hot bath; and, to mention but one instance more, the Phæacians are said in Homer's Odysseys to place their chief delight in

Εἴματα τ' ἱζημοῖδ' ἀ, λουτρὰ τε θερμὰ, ἔ ἑναι,

^y Lib. i. cap. 19.

^z Olymp. xii.

Changes of apparel, hot baths, and beds: yet hot baths do not seem to have been then so much used as in later ages; and those words of Artemidorus ^a, that *πάλαι εἰκὸς εἶναι πονηρὰ τὰ βαλανεῖα*, baths seem to have been thought hurtful by the ancients, are probably meant of hot baths only; and then the following words, which have been already cited, that baths were anciently never used but after some very great fatigue, must be understood in the same sense: however that be, it is plain from that author, that the ancient Greeks *βαλανεῖα ἐκ ἡδύσσαν* had no balneos like those of later times, but *ἐν ταῖς ἀσάμινθοις ἐλόντα*, washed in certain vessels called *ἀσάμινθοι*: which word, as explained by Phavorinus ^h, signifies *πύελον*, or *λεχάνην*, a large bason or vessel to wash in, being derived *παρὰ τὸ τὴν ἄσιν μινύθειν*, from taking away the filth of the body; whence *ἀσάμινθος* is mentioned by Pollux amongst the vessels which belong to balneos; and the ancient Romans had a vessel in their own houses wherein they washed, called *lavatrina*, or *latrina*, which was afterwards termed *balneum*; and when two baths came to be used, one hot, and other cold, in the plural *balnea* ^c. Public balneos were unknown till later times: Athenæus tells us, that in his age, *προσφάτως τὰ βαλανεῖα παρῆκται, τὴν ἀρχὴν ἔδδεν ἔνδον τῆς πόλεως εἶναι αὐτὰ*, they were but lately come into use, and that formerly no such places were allowed to be within the city ^d. The balnos commonly contained the following rooms:

1. *Αποδυτήριον*, wherein *ἀπιδύοντο τὰ ἱμάτια*, they put off their clothes.

2. *Υπόκαυσον*, or *πυργιάτῃριον*, *sudatorium*, a room most commonly round, and provided with *πῦρ ἄκαπνον*, fire, so contrived that it should not smoke, for the benefit of those who desired to sweat; it was also termed *Laconicum*, from the frequent use of this way of sweating in Laconia.

3. *Βαπτιστήριον*, a hot bath.

4. *Λετρῶν*, a cold bath.

5. *Αλειπτήριον*, the room wherein they were anointed.

After bathing, they always anointed, either *ἐμφράτοντες τὰς σωματικὰς πόρους*, to close the pores of the body, which was especially necessary after the use of hot baths, or *πρὸς τὸ μὴ ξηρανθέντος τῷ ὕδατι ἀποσκληρυνμένα γίνεσθαι τὰ σώματα*, lest the skin should become rough after the water was dried off it ^e. If we may believe Pliny ^f, they had no better ointment in the time of the Trojan war than oil

^a Lib. i. cap. 66.

^h V. *ἀσάμινθος*. Conf. id. v. *βαλανεῖον*.

^c Varro de L. L. Nonius Marcellus.

^d Lib. i. sub finem cap. 14.

^e Conf. Eustathius in Iliad. x.

perfumed with odoriferous herbs, especially roses; whence ῥοδόεν ἔλαιον, *oil mixed with roses*, is mentioned in Homer's twenty-third Iliad^s, where Venus anoints Hector's body:

——— ῥοδόεντι δὲ χεῖν ἑλαίῳ
 Ἀμβροσίῳ.

To the same ointments he elsewhere gives the epithets of ἀμβροσίον ἰδανον, and τεθυωμένον^h, speaking of Juno:

Ἀμβροσίῃ μὲν πρῶτον ἀπὸ χροῶς ἰμυρόντος
 Λυμάτα πάντα καθήρειν ἄλειψατο δὲ λίπ' ἑλαίῳ
 Ἀμβροσίῳ, ἰδανῶ, τὸ γὰρ οἱ τεθυωμένον ἦεν.

——— First, she laved all o'er
 Her beauteous body with ambrosial lymph,
 Then polish'd it with richest oil divine
 Of boundless fragrance.

COWPER.

But Athenæus is of opinion, that Homer οἶδε τὴν χεῖσιν τῶν μύρων, ἔλαια δ' αὐτὰ καλεῖ μετ' ἐπιθέτης, was acquainted with the use of more precious ointments, but calls them oil, with the addition of an epithet, to distinguish them from common oilⁱ. The same observation is made by the commentators upon that poet, when they explain those words αὐῶδες ἔλαιον, *perfumed oil*: and it is well known that the Jews called all sorts of ointments by the name of oil; the reason seems to have been, that oil was the first ointment; however, the ancient heroes never used μῦρα, *costly ointments*. Athenæus himself acknowledges, that Homer never introduces ἀλειφομένους τῶς ἡρώας, any of his heroes anointed with any ointment besides oil, except Paris, a soft and effeminate person. In more delicate ages, when very much of the primitive plainness was laid aside, it was still by many thought indecent for men to anoint themselves with precious ointments. Chryssippus would have the name of μῦρον derived ἀπὸ τῆς μετὰ πόλλ' ἡμέρας καὶ πόνου ματαίᾳ γίνεσθαι, from the vain and unprofitable labour of compounding it. And Socrates was of opinion, that the smell, as well as the garments of men and women, ought to be different; that for women it was decent enough to smell of perfumed ointments, but that men should rather smell of oil, which was used in the schools of exercise. Solon prohibited men from selling ointments; and the laws of Sparta entirely forbade any person to sell them, as we are informed at large by Athenæus^j; nevertheless women, and some effeminate men, were so curious in their choice of ointments, that they could tell very critically, ποῖόν τι ἐκάστη τῶν μυλῶν ἐστὶν ἐπιτήδειον,

^s 186.^h Iliad. ζ'. 170.ⁱ Lib. xv. cap. 11.^j Lib. xv. cap. 10.

what sort suited best with each member of the body ; an example whereof we find in the following verses of Antiphanes, which are cited by Athenæus :

Εκ χρυσοκολλήτης δὲ κάλπιδος μύρον
 Αἰγυπτίῳ μὲν τὰς πόδας ἔχ' τὰ σκέλη,
 Φοινικίῳ δὲ τὰς γνάθους ἔχ' τὰ τιτθία,
 Σισυμβορίῳ δὲ τὸν ἕτερον βραχίονα,
 Αμαρακίῳ δὲ τὰς ὀφρῦς ἔχ' τὴν κόμην,
 Ερπυλλίῳ δὲ τὸ γόνυ ἔχ' τὸν αὐχένα.

Lastly, it must not be omitted, that the feet, being most exposed to dust and filth, were oftener washed and anointed than other parts of the body ; on which account they are by some thought to be called *λιπαροὶ πόδες* in Homer. Women were generally employed to wash and anoint the feet, both in the heroical and later ages ; it was customary for them to kiss the feet of those to whom they thought a more than common respect was due ; thus the woman in the gospel kisses the feet of our blessed Saviour while she anointed them. The same ceremony was performed towards Philolean by his daughter, as himself relates in Aristophanes^k :

— ἔπρωτα μὲν θυγάτηρ με
 Ἀπινίξῃ ἔχ' τὰ πόδ' ἀλείφῃ· καὶ προσκύνουσα φιλήσῃ.

Let us from this digression return to the entertainment : and the first ceremony after the guests arrived at the house of entertainment, was the salutation performed by the master of the house, or one appointed in his place ; to do this was termed by the general name of *ἀσπάζεσθαι*, though this word *κυρίως* ἐστὶ τὸ περιπλέκεσθαι *τινα* in its strict sense, signifies to embrace one with arms around, being derived ἀπὸ τῆς ἄγαν στάσθαι εἰς ἑαυτὸν τὸν ἕτερον, from forcibly drawing another to one's self, as we are informed by the old scholiast upon Aristophanes^l ; but the most common salutation was by the conjunction of their right hands, the right hand being accounted a pledge of fidelity and friendship ; whence Pythagoras advised, *μὴ παντὶ ἐμβάλλειν τὴν δεξιάν*, that the right hand should not be given to every man, meaning that all persons were not fit to be made our friends. This ceremony was very ancient, and is mentioned in Homer^m :

Οἱ δ' ἔν ξείνους ἴδον, ἀθρόοι ἦλθον ἅπαντες,
 Χερσίν τ' ἡσπάζοντο ἔῃδριάσθαι ἄνωγον.

Hence *δεξιῶσθαι* is sometimes joined with *ἀσπάζεσθαι*, and is almost synonymous to it : thus in Aristophanesⁿ :

^k Vespis, p. 473.

^l In Plutum, p. 77.

^m Odyss. γ'. v. 55.

ⁿ Pluto.

αὐτὸν ἡσπάζοντο καὶ
ἔδειξινθ' ἅπαντες ὑπὸ τῆς ἡδονῆς.

Sometimes it is used figuratively for any sort of entertainment or reception. Thus we find δεξιῶσθαι δαιτὶ, δεξιῶσθαι τραπέζῃ, δεξιῶσθαι δώροις, δεξιῶσθαι χρηστοῖς λόγοις, καὶ ἔργοις, &c.

Sometimes they kissed the lips, hands, knees, or feet, in salutations, as the person deserved more or less respect. There was a particular sort of kiss, which is called by Suidas χύτρον, by Pollux, χύτρα, the pot, ὁπόταν τὰ παιδία φιλοῖη τῶν ὧτων λαμβανόμενα, when they took the person, like a pot, by both his ears, which was chiefly practised by or towards children. We find it mentioned by Eumicus ° :

Λαβῶσα τῶν ὧτων φιλῶσα τὴν χύτραν.

And by Tibullus ^p :

—————natusque parenti
Oscula comprehensis auribus eripiet.

As also by Theocritus, from whom it appears to have been sometimes used by men and women ^q :

Οὐκ ἔραμ' Ἀλκίππας, ὅτι μὲ πρὸν ἐκ ἐφίλασε
Τῶν ὧτων καθελοῖσ', ὅτε οἱ τὴν φάσσαν ἴδωκα.

The guests being admitted, did not immediately sit down at the table, which was accounted ill breeding, but spent some time in viewing and commending the room and furniture: this the son in Aristophanes ^r instructs his father to do :

Ἐπεῖτ' ἐπαίνεσόν τι τῶν χαλκωμάτων,
Ορεφὴν θίασαι, κρεκάδ' αὐλῆς θάυμασον.

Which observation, with others of the same nature, is taken notice of by Athenæus ^s.

CHAP. XX.

Of the Ceremonies at Entertainments.

THE ancient Grecians sat at meat. There are three sorts of seats mentioned by Homer :

1. Δίφρος, which contained two persons, as the name seems to import, and was commonly placed for those of the meanest quality.

2. Θρόνος, on which they sat upright, having under their feet a footstool, termed Θέρηνος.

° In Antia, apud Julium Pollucem.

^p Lib. ii.

^q Idyll. ε'. v. 152.

^r Vespia.

^s Lib. iv. cap. 27.

3. Κλισμός, on which they sat leaning a little backwards, as the word signifies : of these a more full and exact account may be seen in Athenæus [†].

Neither was it the custom in Greece only, but in most other countries, to sit at entertainments ; it was practised by the primitive Romans, as we are informed by Isidorus [‡] and Servius [§]. And Philo hath observed, that Joseph ordered his brethren κατὰ τὰς ἡλικίας καθέζεσθαι, μήπω τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐν ταῖς συμποτικαῖς συνεστίαις κατακλίσει χρωμένον, *to sit according to their ages, the custom of lying at entertainments not having then obtained* [¶]. But afterwards ἐπεὶ τρυφᾶν ἤρξαντο, κατεῖβον ἀπὸ τῶν δίφρων ἐπὶ τὰς κλῖνας ὡς ἀνεμίνους πίνειν, *when men began to be soft and effeminate, they exchanged their seats for beds, in order to drink with more ease ; yet then οἱ ἥρωες οἱ καθήμενοι οἰνοπότηζον, the heroes who drank sitting were still thought praise-worthy ; and some who accustomed themselves to a primitive and severe way of living, retained the ancient posture. This was done by the Cynic philosophers, as we find in Plautus* [×] :

— *potius in subsellio*
Cynice accipiemur, quam in lectis.

In Macedonia, no man was allowed to sit at meals till he had killed a boar without the help of nets, as we are informed by Hegesander in Athenæus [‡]. And Alexander the Great sometimes kept to the ancient way ; and once τετρακοσίαις ἡγεμόνας ἐσιῶν, ἐκάθισεν ἐπὶ δίφρων ἀργυρῶν καὶ κλιντήρων, ἀλυστροῖς περιτρυῖσας ἱματίοις, *entertaining 400 commanders, he placed them upon silver seats, covered with purple cloth, as we learn from Duris in the same author. And in the most luxurious and effeminate ages, children were sometimes not permitted to lie down, but had seats at the end of their father's beds. It was the custom for the children of princes, and the rest of the nobility of that age, to sit at their meals in the sight of their relations in the time of Tacitus* ². Whence Suetonius, describing the behaviour of Augustus towards his grand-children, says, that *neque cœnavit una, nisi in imo lecto adsiderent*, they always sat at the end of the bed when they supped with him ². And the same author reports, that the emperor Claudius always supped with his children, and some of the noble boys and maids, who according to ancient custom sat at the bottom of the bed ^b. The same place

[†] Lib. v. cap. 4.

[‡] Lib. xx. cap. 2. v In Æneid. viii.

[¶] Libro de Joseph. p. 555. edit. Francf.

[×] Stich. act. v. sc. 4. 22.

[‡] Lib. i. cap. 14.

² Annal. lib. xiii.

^a Augusti cap. 64.

^b Claudii cap. 32.

was commonly assigned to men of meaner condition, when they were entertained with others of better quality; whence in Plutarch ^c, the rest of the guests lie down; only Æsop is placed upon a seat next to Solon. And Donatus ^d reports, that Terence being ordered to repeat some part of his comedies to Cæcilius, went to him at the time of supper, and being in mean apparel, was placed upon a seat near the bed; but, after he had recited a few verses, was invited to lie down to supper.

The manner of lying at meat was thus: the table was placed in the middle, round which stood the beds covered with cloth or tapestry, according to the quality of the master of the house: upon these they lay, inclining the superior part of their bodies upon their left arms, the lower part being stretched out at length, or a little bent; their heads were raised up, and their backs sometimes supported with pillows. If several persons lay upon the same bed, then the first lay upon the uppermost part, with his legs stretched out behind the second person's back; the second's head lay below the navel or bosom of the former, his feet being placed behind the third's back; and in like manner the third, fourth, fifth, and the rest; for though it was accounted mean and sordid at Rome to place more than three or four upon one bed, yet, as we are informed by Cicero ^e, *Græci quini stipati in lectulis, sæpe plures fuere*, the Greeks used to crowd five, and many times a greater number, into the same bed. Persons beloved commonly lay in the bosoms of those that loved them; thus the beloved disciple in the gospel lies in the bosom of our blessed Saviour at the celebration of the passover ^f. There is another example of the like practice in Juvenal ^g:

Cana sedet, gremio jacuit nova nupta mariti.

At the beginning of the entertainment, it was customary to lie flat upon their bellies, that so their right hand might with more ease reach the table; but afterwards, when their appetites began to decrease, they reclined upon their sides; in which sense we are to understand the words of Plutarch ^h, *ἕκαστον ἐν ἀρχῇ μὲν ἐπὶ σόμα προ-
νύειν, ἀποδύεοντα πρὸς τὴν τραπέζαν ὕστερον δὲ μετασχηματίζειν ἐπὶ βάθος
πλάτους τὴν κατάκλινσιν*, or as it should be read, *κατάκλινσιν*, that at the beginning every one put his mouth forward, looking towards the

^c Symposio Sapientum.

^d Terentii Vita.

^e Orat. in Pisonem.

^f Joan. Evang. xiii. 25.

^g Sat. ii. v. 120.

^h Sympos. lib. v. quæst. 6.

table; but afterwards changes the posture of his inclination from depth to breadth. And Horace alludes to the same custom in the following versesⁱ:

*Nec satis est cara pisces avertere mensa,
Ignarum quibus est jus aptius, et quibus assis,
Languidus in cubitum sese conviva reponet.*

'Tis not enough to buy the precious fish,
But know what sauce gives flavour to the dish;
If stew'd or roasted it should relish best,
And to his elbow raise the languid guest.

It was customary, from the heroical ages downwards, for the guests to be ranked according to their quality. It is evident that in Homer, as Eustathius^j hath observed, ἐν συμποσίοις ἄκροι κάθονται οἱ ἀριστοί, the chief persons had the uppermost seats at entertainments. And afterwards, at public entertainments, there was ὀνομακλήτωρ, *nomenclator*, a person appointed to call every guest by name to his proper place. But to determine in what order they sat, and which were accounted the chief places, is more difficult. It seems probable that the heroes sat in long ranks, and that the chief persons were placed at the head of each rank, on both sides of the table, which is the meaning of the word ἄκροι, uppermost, in the fore-mentioned passage of Eustathius; thus, in the ninth Iliad^k, where Achilles entertains Agamemnon's ambassadors, he places himself uppermost in one rank, and Ulysses, as the principal ambassador, in the other:

—ἀτὰρ κρέα νῆμιν Ἀχιλλεύς,
Αὐτὸς δ' ἀντίος Ἴξεν Ὀδυσῆος θείοιο,
Τοίχῃ σὺ ἱτέρωιο.—

Achilles serv'd the guests:

Beside the tent-wall, opposite he sat
To the divine Ulysses.

COWPER.

Neptune, though coming last to an entertainment of the gods, yet

Εἴς τ' ἄρ' ἐν μίσσοισι.—

sat in the middle, that place being reserved, as a right belonging to him. Jupiter was at the head of one rank; next to him, on the same side, sat Minerva, his daughter, who, on a certain time, gave place to Thetis, probably as being a stranger^l:

Ἡ δ' ἄρα παρ Διὶ πατρὶ καθίζετο, εἴς τ' Ἀθήνη.

Juno led the opposite rank; and being wife and sister to Jupiter, neither gave place to Thetis nor any other^m. The most honour-

ⁱ Lib. ii. sat. 4. v. 57.

^j In Iliad. vi. v. 498.

^k V. 217.

^l Iliad. 4. v. 100.

^m Conf. Plutarchus Sympos. lib. i. quæst. 2.

able places in beds at entertainments were not the same in all nations. In Persia, the middle place was the chief, and always assigned to the king, or the chief guest; in Greece, the first or nearest to the table; and amongst the Heracleotæ, and the Greeks who lived about the Euxine sea, the first place of the middle bed was the most honourable. On the contrary, at Rome, the last, or uppermost place of the middle, was preferred, before any other^a. But they who affected a more free and easy way of living, were not solicitous about places. An example hereof we have in Timon^o, who having invited men of all qualities, citizens, strangers, friends, and relations, to a splendid entertainment, desired every man to lie down in that place which pleased him best; nevertheless, men of proud tempers, even on such occasions, like the Jews, on that account reproved by our blessed Saviour, affected to have the chief places; so it happened at Timon's entertainment, where many of the guests having taken their places, one in very fine apparel, and attended with a numerous retinue, came to the door of the room, viewed all the company, then presently retired; and being followed by several of those who were present, and desired to return, replied, *there was no fit place left for him*. Some disposed their guests in such an order as they thought most apt to promote good fellowship, placing men of the same years, of the same profession, or temper, next one another; or tempering the variety of humours, by placing men of angry dispositions nearest the meek and gentle, those of silent tempers nearest the talkative; but, in things of this nature, there was no certain rule; every man followed his own fancy; and it is propounded as a problem in Plutarch^p, whether was best, to assign every man his place, or leave the guests to take the places which happened to them? I shall only add, under this head, that it is said to have been a very ancient custom at Lacedæmon, for the eldest person present to go before the rest to the beds at the common-hall, unless the king gave the precedence to another, by calling him first. Thus Eustathius^q.

Let us, in the next place, proceed to the table. Now the table was accounted *ἱερὸν χρεῖμα, δι' ἧς ὁ θεὸς τιμᾶται φιλίᾳ τε καὶ ξένιος*, a very sacred thing, by means of which honour was paid to the god of friendship and hospitality^r. This god was Jupiter, who, from the protection of guests and friends, received the titles of *ξένιος* and

^a Conf. Plut. lib. cit. quæst. 5.

^o Idem ejusdem libri, quæst. 2.

^p Libro citato.

^q Eustathius in Iliad. β'. p. 186,

^r Synesius, ep. lviii.

φίλιος. Hercules also had some care of this affair; whence he is called τραπέζιος and ἐπιτραπέζιος: neither were the rest of the gods thought to be wholly unconcerned. It was customary to place the statues of the gods upon the table; whence Arnobius^s derides the Gentiles, *quod sacras faciant mensas salinorum appositu, et simulacris deorum*, for consecrating their tables, by placing on them salts, and images of their gods. They also, as will farther appear afterwards, offered libations to the gods upon their tables; whence Cleodemus in Plutarch calls it φιλίων θεῶν βωμὸν καὶ ξενίων, *the altar of the gods of friendship and hospitality*. And according to the saying of Thales, ‘as the destruction of the earth would occasion disorder and confusion in all parts of the universe, so the table being taken away, the whole house would presently be dissolved; the holy fire, and hearth, and entertainment, which are the chief endearments of life, or rather life itself, would all be destroyed:’ thus Plutarch^t. Hence we may learn why so much veneration was paid to the tables, that to dishonour them, by any dishonest or indecent behaviour, was thought a very great crime: hence that saying of Juvenal^u:

Hic verbis nullus pudor, aut reverentia mensæ.

And complaints against such as perfidiously violated the regard due to the hospitable tables, are very frequent in the poets; thus Cassandra in Lycophron^v, complains of Paris, who stole away Helena, the wife of Menelaus, by whom he had been courteously entertained:

Επλῆς θεῶν ἀλοιτὸς ἐκέῃναι δίκην,
Λάξας τραπέζαν, καὶ ἀνακυπῶσας θεῖμιν.

In the heroic age, the tables were made of wood, polished after the best manner of those times, and the feet were sometimes painted with variety of colours: hence the following epithets of tables in Homer, ξεστῇ, εὐξοος, κυανόπεζα, &c. The form was round, if we may believe Myrleanus in Athenæus^w, who reports, that the ancient Greeks made their tables, and several other things, spherical, in imitation of the world, which they believed to be of that figure. But Eustathius, who is rather to be followed, observes, from several passages in Homer, μήπω κυκλοτερεῖς εἶναι τὰς τραπέζας, ἀλλὰ τεταυμέναις εἰς μήκωσιν, *that the tables were not then round, but extended in length*; which figure is more agreeable to what hath been be-

^s Lib. ii. contra gentes.

^t Convivio septem sapientum.

^u Sat. ii. v. 110.

^v Ver. 156.

^w Lib. xi. cap. 12.

fore observed concerning the manner of their sitting in long ranks. The tables in those days were not covered with linen, but only carefully cleansed with wet sponges. Of this custom there are several examples in Homer, as that in the first book of his *Odyssey* ^x :

Οἱ δ' αὖτε σπόγγοισι πολυτρήτοις τραπέζας
Νίζον καὶ προτίθεντο, ἰδὲ κρέα πολλὰ δαίεντο.

————— With bibulous sponges those
Made clean the tables, set the banquet on,
And portion'd out to each his plenteous share.

COWPER.

The same thing is done in the twentieth book of the same poem ^y, to forbear the mention of other instances. And later authors speak of the like practice : thus Arrian ^z, ἄρον τὰς τραπέζας, σπόγγισον, *take away the tables, cleanse them with sponges*. And Martial,

Hæc tibi sorte datur tergendis spongia mensis.

In later ages, the tables of men of inferior quality were commonly supported by three feet, and made of plain and ordinary wood ; but those which belonged to men of better condition were composed of more costly materials. The most curious sorts of wood were sought, and many times fetched from foreign countries for this use. They were also adorned with plates of silver, or other metals, and supported by one or more feet, curiously wrought, and called, after the name of some of the ancient heroes, Atlantes, Telamones, &c. The most common support of these tables was an ivory foot, cast in the form of a lion, a leopard, or some other animal. Some have thought that in Homer every guest had a distinct table by himself ; whence Athenæus ^a reports, τὸ μονοφαγεῖν ἐν χρεΐσει τοῖς παλαιοῖς εἶναι, *that the ancients used to eat by themselves* ; but as that is not sufficiently proved by the instances which are produced for that end, so, in the following ages, it was certainly accounted more unsociable and inhuman to eat in that manner, as we are informed by the same author ^b, which was nevertheless practised by some of the barbarous nations, and in particular, as Tacitus reports, by the Germans.

Τράπεζα in Greek, and *mensa* in Latin, are ambiguous words, and signify not only *the tables*, but also τὰ σιτία τὰ ἐπ' αὐτῶν τιθέμενα, *the meat placed upon them*, to use the words of Julius Pol-lux ^c. Hence, by πρώτη, δεύτερη, τρίτη τράπεζαι, and in Latin by *primæ, secundæ, tertiæ mensæ*, are understood the first, second, and

^x Ver. 112.

^y Ver. 150.

^z Lib. vii. cap. 26.

^a Lib. i. cap. 8.

^b Lib. i. cap. 8. et 10.

^c Lib. vi. cap. 12.

third courses of meat; which ambiguity of signification is by some thought to have been occasioned by the custom then in use, of bringing in and taking away the tables and the meat upon them together; which opinion is confirmed by the following passage of Alexis in Athenæus ^d:

Ὡς δὲ τὴν τράπεζαν ἀνθρώπους δύο
Φέροντας εἶσαι, ποικίλων παροψίδων
Κόσμος βρούσαν. —————

There were therefore three distinct parts of the supper, which was their chief meal.

1. Δείπνε προοίμιον, *antecœnium*, *cœnae praefatio*, sometimes termed πρόπομα, which, as the names import, was rather a preparation to, than any part of the supper, and consisted of herbs of the sharpest taste; in particular, at Athens, of coleworts, eggs, oysters, οἰνόμελι, a mixture of honey, and, as it is probable, of the sharpest wines, and other things which were thought to create an appetite.

2. Δείπνον, *cœna*, the supper, which was sometimes called κεφαλὴ δείπνε, in Latin, *caput cœnae*; in this sense the following passage of Martial is by some understood:

—————mullus tibi quatuor emptus
Librarum cœnae pompa, caputque fuit.

This course was always more plentifully furnished out than the former: whence was that saying of Dromeas the parasite, who being asked whether the suppers at Chalcis or those at Athens were more splendid? replied, ‘that the preface of the supper at Chalcis was to be preferred before the whole entertainment at Athens;’ meaning, by the preface of the supper, the several sorts of shell-fish, and other provision, which was consumed before the supper, as we are informed by Athenæus ^e.

3. Δευτέρα τράπεζα; *the second course*, which consisted of sweetmeats of all kinds, which they called τραγήματα, τραγηματισμόν, ματτίνας, τρωγάλια, ἐπιδόρπισμα, ἐπιδορπίσματα, ἐπιφορήματα, ἐπίδειπνα, μεταδόρπια, &c. Also by the Dorians, who called entertainments κίκλα, and συναίκλεια, they were termed ἐπαίκλεια ^f. This course was furnished with the utmost splendour, especially in ages addicted to luxury; whence it was sometimes, by way of eminence, called τράπεζα, *the course*, as we are informed by Athenæus ^g, who has left descriptions of several of these courses. But in this sort of

^d Lib. ix. principio cap. 2.

^e Lib. iv. cap. 4.

^f Conf. Athenæus, lib. 4. cap. 8.

^g Lib. xii. cap. 11.

provision, the Grecians were very much excelled by the Persians, who used to say, Ἕλληνας σιτιομένους πινῶντας παύεσθαι, ὅτι σφίτιν ἀπὸ δείπνου παραφορέεται ἔδδεν λόγος ἄξιον, εἰ δέ τι παραφέρειτο ἐσθιόντες ἢ παύονται, *that the Grecians leave off eating while they are hungry, because nothing of any value is ever set before them after supper; and yet if any thing is produced, they still eat on*^h.

Sometimes the three forementioned provisions were called πρώτη, δεύτερα, τρίτη τράπεζα, the first, second, third course, the προσίμιον δείπνον being reckoned a part of the supper, and making the first course; and where there was a great variety of dishes, that every one of the guests might be able to choose what pleased him best, τὸ ἔθος ἦν τῷ ἐσιάτορι κατακλιθέντι παραδίδοσθαι γραμματίδιόν τι περιέχον ἀναγραφὴν τῶν παρεσκευασμένων, ἐφ' ᾧ εἶδέναι ὅ, τι μέλλοι ὄψον φέρειν ὁ μάγειρος: *a paper was delivered to the master of the feast, containing a catalogue of all the dishes which the cook had provided, and this was communicated by him to the guests, as occasion required.* But it must not be imagined, that the Grecian suppers always consisted of such a variety of dishes or courses; whatever might be the custom at the tables of princes, and others of the first quality, the rest were content with meaner provision for their ordinary diet, only upon the festivals of the gods, or upon other special occasions, they allowed themselves more freedomⁱ; and the heroical ages had rarely more than one course.

The ancients had so great a sense of the divine Providence, that they thought it unlawful to eat till they had first offered a part of their provision, as a sort of first-fruits, to the gods; which custom was so religiously observed in the heroical ages, that Achilles, though disturbed by Agamemnon's ambassadors at midnight, would not eat till an oblation was offered^{*}:

———Θεοῖσι δὲ θύσαι ἀνάγει
Πάτροκλον ὃν ἑταῖρον, ὃ δ' ἐν πυρὶ βάλλει θυηλάς.
The first fat offerings, to th' Immortals due,
Amidst the greedy flames Patroclus threw.

POPE.

And Ulysses, in another place of Homer, reports, that in Polyphemos's den, himself and his fellow-soldiers were not unmindful of this duty:

Εὐθὰδὲ πῦρ καίοντες ἐθύσαμεν, ἥδ' ἐ καὶ αὐτοὶ
Τρυῶν αἰνύμεν φάγομεν†.———
Then kindling fire, we offer'd to the Gods,
And of his cheeses eating, patient sat,

COWPER.

^h Herodotus, lib. i. cap. 133. Athenæus, lib. iv. cap. 10.

^{*} Iliad. i. v. 219.

ⁱ Conf. Athenæus, lib. xiv. initio cap. 10.

† Odyss. lib. ix. v. 251

In the entertainments of Plato and Xenophon, we find oblations made ; and, to forbear the mention of more examples, the neglect of this duty was accounted a very great impiety, which none but Epicurus, and others, who worshipped no gods at all, would be guilty of ; these, with several other observations on the same subject, we find in Athenæus^j. The first of these oblations was always made to Vesta, the chief of the household gods ; afterwards they worshipped some of the other gods ; and, last of all, offered a libation to Vesta, as we are informed by Homer^k.

——— ἡ γὰρ ἄτερ σε
Εἰλαπίναι θνητοῖσιν, ἣν ἡ πρώτη πυμάτῃτι
Εσίη ἀρχόμενος σπένδει μελιηδέα οἶνον.

The reason why this goddess had this honour paid her, was either because she, being protectress of the house, was, in Cicero's language^l, *rerum custos intimarum*, 'keeper of things most concealed from public view ;' or, according to Phurnutius, because she being the same with the earth in the esteem of the people, was the common principle out of which all bodies are produced, and into which they are again resolved ; or, lastly, according to the account of Aristocritus in the scholiast of Aristophanes^m, this privilege was conferred by Jupiter, for the service done by Vesta in his war against the giants : hence came the proverb used by Platoⁿ and others, ἀφ' Ἑτίας ἀρχεσθαι, *to begin with Vesta* ; whereby was intimated that our domestic concerns ought to be our first and chief care.

During the entertainment, all the guests were apparelled in white, or some other cheerful colour ; and, to use Cicero's words^o, *Quis unquam cœnavit atratus?* 'What person ever was found to sup in black ?' That colour was left to times of mourning. It was also customary to deck themselves with flowers, or garlands composed of flowers, which were provided by the master of the feast, and brought in before the second course, or, as some are of opinion, at the beginning of the entertainment^p. They not only adorned their heads, necks, and breasts, but often bestrewed the beds whereon they lay, and all parts of the room ; but the head was chiefly regarded, as appears from the following verses of Ovid^q, wherein he celebrates this custom :

^j Lib. iv. cap. 27.

^k Hymno in Vestam et Mercurium.

^l Lib. ii. De Natura Deorum.

^m Vespis, p. 490.

ⁿ Euthyphrone.

^o In Vatinium.

^p Conf. Athenæus, lib. xv. cap. 10.

^q Fastorum lib. v.

*Ebrius innexis philyra conviva capillis
 Saltat, et imprudens urit̃ur arte meri.
 Ebrius ad durum formosæ limen amicæ
 Cantat, habent unctæ mollia sarta comæ.
 Nulla coronata peraguntur seria fronte,
 Nec liquidæ juncto flore bibuntur aquæ.
 Donec eras mistus nullis, Acheloe, racemis,
 Gratia sumendæ non erat ulla rosæ.
 Bacchus amat flores, Baccho placuisse coronam
 Ex Ariadneo sidere nôsse potes.*

The tipsy guest, his head with garlands crowned,
 Frolicks in giddy dance his artless round :
 Before the shut door of his cruel fair
 His locks perfum'd, and scorning idle care,
 The tipsy lover sings. No solemn face
 Peeps from below the flow'ry chaplet's grace.
 None, crown'd with roses, drink th' insipid spring ;
 No joy to mortals thin potations bring.
 While you, O Achelous, could not show
 On your rich banks the purpling clusters grow,
 The blushing roses unregarded sprung,
 And on their drooping stems neglected hung.
 Bacchus loves flowers ; to Bacchus garlands dear,
 Witness the starry wreath on Ariadne's hair.

C. 5.

Garlands are by some thought to have been an invention of Prometheus, who first prescribed the use of them, that men should, by that emblem of his bonds, commemorate the punishment which he had suffered for his kindness to them. To this opinion the following verses of Æschylus, which are cited by Athenæus^r, seem to allude :

*Τῷ δὲ ξένῳ γε σέφερον, ἀρχαῖον σέφος
 Δεισμῶν ἄριστος ἐκ Προμηθέως λόγος.*

In another place^s, the same author relates, out of Draco the Corcyrean, that Janus invented garlands, ships, boats, and the art of coining money ; and thence it was customary in several cities of Greece, and also of Italy and Sicily, for the coin to bear on one side the image of two-faced Janus, and on the reverse, a boat, a ship, or a garland. Pliny will have the first garlands to have been used by Bacchus, and composed of ivy^t. And in later ages they commonly made use of ivy and amethystus, as preservatives against drunkenness ; whence the latter of them has its name from the private particle α and μέθη^u. Festus affirms, *Antiquissimum genus fuisse coronarum laneum*, ' that the most ancient garlands were made of wool : ' with one of this sort the enchantress in Theocritus adorns^v her cup

Στέφον τὰν κιλέων φοινικίῃ οἶδς ἄωτα.

^r Lib. xv. cap. 5.

^s Ejusd em libri cap. 13.

^t Lib. xvi. cap. 1.

^u Plutarch. Sympos. lib. iii. quæst. 1.

^v Idyll. ii. v. 2.

Whether garlands were commonly used at the time of the Trojan war, is not certain. Athenæus hath observed, that they are used by none of Homer's heroes, yet that the poet himself has several allusions to them, some of which are the following :

Νῆσον, ἣν περί πόντος ἀπείριτος ἐσφάνωτο.

And,

—— πάντη γὰρ εἴφανος πολέμοιο διδῆαι.

Whence he concludes that garlands were unknown in the heroical ages, but came into use before Homer's time ^w.

The flowers and greens whereof garlands were composed, were various. In the primitive times, they made no entertainments but upon the festivals of the gods ; and then the garlands, hymns, and songs, were such as the gods were thought to delight in, as we learn from Athenæus ^x. And in later ages, upon the public festival of any god, they seem to have used the particular herb or flower which was sacred to him ; but at other times all sorts were made use of, as the season would allow, or they were thought most conducive to pleasure, refreshment ^y, or health. Some were very curious in the choice of their garlands, thinking them to have a very great influence upon men's bodies ; whence Mnestheus and Callimachus, two Greek physicians, wrote books concerning garlands, as we are informed by Pliny ^z. I shall add nothing farther upon this head, only that the rose being dedicated by Cupid to Harpocrates, the god of silence, to engage him to conceal the lewd actions of Venus, was an emblem of silence ; whence, to present it or hold it up to any person in discourse, served instead of an admonition, that it was time for him to hold his peace ; and in entertaining rooms it was customary to place a rose above the table, to signify that what was there spoken should be kept private. This practice is described in the following epigram :

*Est rosa flos Veneris, cujus quo facta laterent,
Harpocrati, Matris dona, dicavit Amor.
Inde rosam mensis hospes suspendit amicis ;
Conviva ut sub ea dicta tacenda sciat.*

From the garlands, let us proceed to ointments and perfumes. The ancient Greeks, as Athenæus hath observed ^a, anointed their heads with some common and ordinary sort of ointment, thinking, by that means, to keep themselves cool and temperate, and to

^w Athenæus, lib. i. cap. 15.

^x Lib. v. cap. 4.

^y Conf. Athenæus, lib. iii. cap. 21. ^z Lib. xxi. cap. 2. ^a Lib. xv. cap. 15. ex Myronidæ libro de coronis et unguentis.

lib. xv. cap. 5.

prevent fevers, and other mischievous consequences of the too plentiful use of wine; but afterwards, as it is usual for men to improve the things which are used out of mere necessity, by the addition of others which serve for pleasure and luxury, they came to use precious ointments and perfumes. These, as also the distribution of garlands, and second courses at entertainments, with all the arts of luxury and effeminacy, were first introduced into Greece by the Ionians, who, by conversing with the Asiatics, were taught to lay aside the primitive plainness of their manners, sooner than any of the Greeks; whence *Ionicus risus* and *Ionicus motus* became proverbial expressions for profuse laughter and unseemly motions^b. The chief parts to which ointments were applied, was the head; but other parts of the body had sometimes their share both of ointments and garlands, and particularly *ἔσεφανῆτο τὰ στήθη, καὶ ἐμόρεν, ὅτι αὐτόθι ἡ καρδιά*, the breast was adorned with garlands, and anointed, as being the seat of the heart, which they thought was refreshed by these applications, as well as the brain^c. And the room wherein the entertainment was made, was sometimes perfumed by burning myrrh or frankincense, or with other odours. These customs are briefly described in the following verse of Archestratus in Athenæus^d:

Λίην δὲ σεφάνοισι κάρα παρὰ δαιτὶ πυκάζε
Παντοδαποῖς, οἷς ἂν γαίης πέδον ὄλβιον ἔνθεῖ·
Καὶ σακτοῖσι μύροις ἀγαθοῖς χαίτην θεράπειε·
Καὶ σμύρναν, λίβανόν τε πυρὸς μαλακὴν ἐπὶ τίφραν
Βάλλε πανηγύριος, Συρίης εὐώδεια καπνόν.

The officers and attendants at entertainments were these which follow:

In the first place, *συμποσίαρχος*, sometimes called *συμποσίε ἐπιμελητής*, *τραπεζοκόμος*, *τραπεζοποιός*, ὁ ἐπὶ τῆς τραπέζης, *ἀρχιτρίκλιος*, and also *ἐλέατρος*, &c. was chief manager of the entertainment. This office was sometimes performed by the person at whose charge the entertainment was provided, sometimes by another named by him; sometimes, especially in entertainments provided at the common expence, he was elected by lots, or by the suffrages of the guests.

Next, and sometimes the same with the former, was the *βασιλεὺς*, otherwise termed *τρατηγός*, *ταξίαρχος*, &c. and in Latin, *rex, modimperator*, &c. the king, whose business it was to determine the laws of good fellowship, and to observe whether every man drank his

^b Valerius Maximus, lib. ii. initio cap. 6.

^c Conf. Athenæus, lib. xv. cap. 5.

^d Lib. iii. cap. 22.

proportion, whence he was also called ὀφθαλμὸς, *oculus*, the eye : he was commonly appointed by lots ; to which custom there are several allusions in Horace :

—————quem *Venus arbitrum*
Dicet bibendi^c ?

And again^f :

Et domus exilis Plutonia ; quo simul meatis,
Nec regna vini sortiere talis,
Nec tenerum Lycidam mirabere.

When sunk to Pluto's shadowy coasts,
 Oppress'd with darkness, and the fabled ghosts,
 No more the dice shall there assign
 To thee, the jovial monarchy of wine ;
 No more shall you the fair admire,
 The virgin's envy, and the youth's desire.

FRANCIS.

The guests were obliged to be in all things conformable to the commands of the βασιλεὺς ; whence Cicero upbraids a certain person, that *qui nunquam populi Romani legibus paruisset, iis legibus quæ in poculis ponebantur, obtemperabat* ; he who never had submitted to the laws of the Roman people, should yield obedience to the laws of drinking^g. And Arrian^h reports, that the king being created by lots, commands in this manner : do you drink, do you fill the glass, do you go, do you come. The chief magistrates were not exempted from yielding obedience, if the lots gave another the pre-eminence ; whence Agesilaus, king of Lacedæmon, being present at an entertainment, was not declared *rex* till the lots had favoured him, as we are informed by Plutarchⁱ, who reports in the same place^{*}, that being asked by the cup-bearer how much wine each guest should drink, he made this reply : ‘ if there is plenty of wine, let every man have what he calls for ; if not, let every man have an equal share.’

Δαιτρός *diribitor*, was so termed ἀπὸ τοῦ δαίσεσθαι, from dividing and distributing to every guest his portion ; whence entertainments were also called δαῖτες. In the primitive times, the master of the feast carved for all his guests ; thus in Homer^j, when Agamemnon's ambassadors were entertained at Achilles's table :

—————ἀτὰρ κρία νῆμιν Ἀχιλλεύς.

Which verse is repeated in the last Iliad^k. More examples would be needless, it being the practice of those ages for men of the highest quality to descend to very mean employments. And

^c Lib. ii. od. 7. v. 25.

^f Lib. 1. od. 4.

^g Orat. in Verrem.

^j Iliad. 4. v. 217.

^h In Epictetum.

ⁱ Apophthegmat.

^{*} Conf. Plut. Sympos. lib. ii. cap. 10.

^k Ver. 626.

in later times, the same office was executed by some of the chief men at Sparta, as appears from the example of Lysander, who was deputed to it by Agesilaus^l. This custom of distributing to every guest his portion, was by some derived from the ages wherein the Greeks left off their ancient way of living upon acorns, and learned the use of corn, which being at first very scarce, gave occasion to continual quarrels: whence ἀτασθαλία, which originally signified τὰς αἰτίας ἐν ταῖς θαλίαις, *the disorders committed at feasts*, came to be a general name for all sorts of injurious and wicked behaviour. To prevent these disorders, it was agreed that a person should be named to distribute to every man his portion; whence, as some are of opinion, the phrase, δαῖς ἴση, *equal entertainment*, so frequently occurs in Homer^m. Such to whom a particular respect was due, were helped to the best parts, and very often to a larger share than the rest of the guests: thus Eumeus in Homer's Odyssey, gives the νῶτος, *chine*, which they esteemed the chief part, to Ulysses; the same is given by Agamemnon to Ajax, as a reward for his service in the war. Sarpedon, one of the Lysian kings, in the poet, is honoured,

Ἔδρη τί, κρείσιν τι, ἰδὲ πλείοις διπάισσιν,

with the first seat, the best share of meat, and full cups. In another place, Diomedes, κρείσσι καὶ πλείοις διπάισσι δεξιῖται, *is entertained with the best share of the meat, and full cups*. It appears from Herodotus, that the kings of Sparta had διπλάσια πάντα, *a double portion of every dish*. And in the sacred writings, the mess of Benjamin, the beloved brother of Joseph, was twice as large as any of the other messes^o. They who received this honour, ἰδωρῶντο ἀπὸ τῶν αὐτῶν μοίρας οἷς ἐθέλοντο, ὡς Ὀδυσσεὺς νῶτε ἀποπροταμῶν, ἔ' αὐτῷ παρέθεντο, τῷ Δημοδόκῳ^p, had the privilege of gratifying whomsoever they pleased with a part of their portion, as was done by Ulysses, who carved a part of the chine, which was set before him, to Demodocus. Afterwards, when Greece learned the arts of luxury, the primitive way of dividing to every man his portion was laid aside, ὡς ἀκοινῶνητος καὶ ἀνελεύθερος, *as covetous and illiberal*, and the guests were allowed to carve for themselves in the manner which pleased them best; nevertheless the ancient custom was retained a long time at the entertainments after sacrifices, and by some who

^l Athenæus, lib. i. cap. 10.

^m Iliad. ζ.

ⁿ Iliad. μ'. ver. 311.

^o Conf. Athenæus, lib. i. cap. 11.

Eustathius comment. in Homerum p. 557. edit. Basil.

^p Athenæus, loco cit.

preferred the primitive temperance and frugality before the modern profuse way of living; and it is observed, that whilst every man had his portion allotted, the entertainments were managed with great decency, and fewer disorders were committed, as we are informed by Plutarch, where he discourses on this question, ‘whether the ancient Greeks, who allotted every man his portion, or the modern, who set their provision in common before all the guests, were more to be commended^q?’

From the distribution of meat, let us proceed to the persons employed to distribute drink: these were commonly termed *οἰνοχοοί*, and about the Hellespont *ἐπεγγύται*^r. In the heroical entertainments, the *κῆρυκες*, heralds, commonly performed this office: thus in Homer^s:

Κῆρυξ δ' αὐταῖσιν θάμ' ἐπώχιστο οἰνοχοεύειν.

In Athenæust, Mercury, the herald of the gods, is said to be introduced by Alcæus and Sappho, filling the goblets at the celestial entertainments; and, to mention no more examples, it is very well known, and hath been elsewhere observed, that the *κῆρυκες* were deputed *πάσας ὑπηρετικὰς ἐπιτελεῖν πράξεις*, to all sorts of ministrations. It was customary for boys or young men to fill the cups; thus we find in Homer^u:

Κῆροι δὲ κρητῆρας ἐπετέψαντο ποτοῖο.

And to use the words of Eustathius^v, *φασὶν οἱ παλαιοὶ παρθένων εἶναι ἔργον τὸ οἰνοχοεῖν*, ‘ancient authors affirm, that the wine used to be filled out by virgins;’ which is agreeable to the manners of those times, wherein the guests were attended by virgins, without any suspicion of lust or immodesty; whence the daughter of Cocalus, king of Sicily, is said to have washed Minos, king of Crete; and the same is done by other virgins and women in several parts of Homer, as hath been observed by Athenæus^w; and so common it was in the primitive times for young persons of both sexes to be employed in the fore-mentioned, and all other ministrations, that, as Hesychius^x and Eustathius^y inform us, *δῦλοι*, *servants*, came to be termed by the names of *παῖδες* καὶ *παιδίσκαι*, *boys and girls*, διὰ τὸ τῆς παιδικῆς ἡλικίας ὑπηρετικὸν, because persons of that age were commonly employed to serve; neither was this done only by children of mean fortune or birth, but *ἀνοχοὺν παρὰ τοῖς ἀρχαίοις οἱ εὐγενέστατοι*

^q Sympos. lib. ii. quæst. ult.

^r Athenæus, lib. x. cap. 7.

^s Odyss. ε. v. 142.

^t Athenæus, lib. x. cap. 7.

^u Odyss. ε. v. 149.

^v Iliad. γ'. p. 333.

^w Lib. i. cap. 8.

^x V. *παῖδης*.

^y Loco citato.

παῖδες, ὡς ὁ τῷ Μενελάῳ υἱός, but, in the primitive times, those of the highest quality filled out wine, as we find done by Menelaus's son, in the following verse of Homer :

Ωἶνοχόει δ' υἱὸς Μενελάου κυδαλίμοιο .

The same custom was, in later and more refined ages, still retained at the entertainments in the temples, where many of the ancient ways of behaviour were kept up a long time after they had been laid aside in other places ; especially, at the public sacrifices of the Æolians, it was observed, that οἱ εὐγενέστατοι παιδῶν, *the boys of the chiefest quality should perform this office* ; which was also the practice at Rome, where they used πάντα τοὺς Αἰολεῖς μιμεῖσθαι, ὡς καὶ κατὰ τοὺς τόνους τῆς φωνῆς, *in all things to imitate the Æolians, even to the very tone of their voice*, as we learn from Athenæus ^a ; whence, it may be, that author came to be of opinion, that the custom of employing young persons of liberal birth and education to fill the wine, was derived from the sacrifice of the gods, at which δῆλος ἐδεῖς ἢ διακονήσων, *no slave was permitted to minister* ^b : but it is rather to be ascribed to the plainness and simplicity of the ancient Greeks, and other nations ; whence it came that the sons and daughters of kings, and others of the first quality, were employed in keeping flocks, and almost all other services, as hath been elsewhere observed. Another reason why young persons served at entertainments rather than those in years, was, because by their beauty and sprightliness they were thought more apt to exhilarate the guests, whose eyes were to be entertained as well as their other senses : on this account the most comely persons were deputed to this ministration, even in the primitive times. Amongst the gods :

——— πότνια Ἥβη
Νέκταρ ὀνοχοῦει ———

fair Hebe, the goddess of youth, and daughter of Juno, filled about nectar ^c. And Ganymedes, the most beautiful of mortal race, was translated by the gods into heaven, to serve at Jupiter's table :

——— ἀντίθεος Γανυμήδης,
Ὅς δὴ κάλλιστος γένετο θνητῶν ἀνθρώπων·
Τὸν καὶ ἀνιέρψατο θεοὶ Διὶ οἶνοχοῦειν,
Κάλλιος εἶνεκα οἴοι, ἢ θανάτοισι μετῆη ^d.

The matchless Ganymed, divinely fair,
Whom heaven enamour'd, snatch'd to upper air
To bear the cup of Jove (ætherial guest,
The grace and glory of th' ambrosial feast.)

^z Athenæus, lib. x. cap. 7.

^a Loco citato.

^b Lib. v. cap. 4.

^c Iliad. δ. v. 2.

^d Iliad. ὁ. v. 252.

Whence we may learn, that, in the most remote times, which were thought the age of the gods, as those which followed were the age of heroes, this practice was observed. And hence, by the names of places, which are said to be in use among the gods, are to be understood the first and most ancient names, as we learn from the scholiast in Homer, in whom there are several examples to this purpose ; but I shall mention only that which follows ^e, where the poet tells us, that a certain place in Troas was by the gods, that is, most anciently, called Marina's Tomb ; but by men, that is in later times, Batiea.

Τὴν ἦτοι ἄνδρες Βατίαν κικλήσκουσιν
 Ἀθανάτοί δέ τι σῆμα πολυσκάρβμοιο Μυρίνης.

On earth the mount of Batiea named,
 But Amazon Myrinna's tomb in heaven.

COWPER.

That at the time of the Trojan war, it was customary for young persons of beautiful countenances, and well dressed, to serve at entertainments, is plain from the answer of Eumæus to Ulysses, who then appearing in the habit and form of an old beggar, intended to serve the young gentlemen who made their addresses to Penelope ^f :

Οὐ τοι τοῖσδ' εἰσὶν ὑποδρηστῆρες ἐκείνων,
 Ἀλλὰ νῖοι χλαίνας εὖ ἐμύνειν ἤδ' ἑ χιτῶνας,
 Λιὰ δὲ λιπαροὶ κεφαλὰς καὶ καλὰ πρόσωπα,
 Οἳ σφιν ὑποδρῶσιν.

Them, no such servitors attend, as thou,
 But youths well-cloak'd, well-vested : sleek their heads,
 And snug their countenances ; such alone
 Are their attendants.————

COWPER.

And in modern ages, when the arts of luxury had more esteem, it was usual to give vast prices for beautiful youths : which custom is found fault with in the following passage of Juvenal, where he speaks to an indigent client who is entertained at his patron's table ^g :

—————tu Gætulum Ganymedem
 Respice, cum sities ; nescit tot millibus emtus
 Pauperibus servire puer ; sed forma, sed ætas
 Digna supercilio ; quando ad te pervenit ille ?
 Quando vocatus adest, calidæ gelidæque minister ?
 Quippe indignatur veteri parere clienti.

—————When a draught you need,
 Look for your own Getulian Ganymede ;
 A page that cost so much will ne'er, be sure,
 Come at your beck ; he heeds not, he, the poor :
 But of his youth and beauty justly vain,
 Trips by them with indifference or disdain.

^e Iliad. β'. v. 815.

^f Odyss. δ. v. 327.

^g Satir. v. ver. 60.

If call'd he hears not, or with rage inflam'd
Indignant, that his services are claim'd
By an old client, who, ye Gods, commands,
And sits at ease, while his superior stands.

GIFFORD.

But the customs which concern this part of the entertainment, are most elegantly and fully described by Philo the Jew^h, who tells us, that it was usual to procure most beautiful slaves to attend at entertainments, not so much for any service they were to do, as to gratify the eyes of the beholders: of these the younger boys (οἰνοχοῦσι) fill the wine; those of riper age (ὕδροφοροῦσι) serve up the water, being washed, trimmed, and painted, with their hair curl'd in various forms, with several other very remarkable observations relating to this custom.

The cups and drinking vessels come next to be considered; and in Homer every one of the guests seems to have a distinct cup, out of which he drank when he pleased: hence the following words of Agamemnon to Idomeneusⁱ:

— — — σὺν δὲ πλεῖον δέπας αἰεὶ
Εἴηχ' ὥσπερ ἱμοί, πείνῃ ὅτι θυμὸς ἀνώγει.

Though all the rest with stated rules we bound,
Unmix'd, unmeasur'd are thy goblets crown'd.

TOPE.

On which account the heroical cups were very capacious, as Athenæus hath proved by several examples, and particularly that of Nestor's cup, which was so weighty, that a young man had scarce strength to carry it^j: nevertheless the same author there observes, that 'though men of great estates and quality in his time used large cups, yet that was not anciently the practice of Greece, but lately learned from the barbarous nations, who being ignorant of arts and humanity, indulge themselves in the immoderate use of drink, and all sorts of dainties; whereas, it does not appear, says he, from the testimony of any of those who lived before our times, that a cup of a very large size was ever made in any part of Greece, except those which belonged to the heroes.' However, the cups which they used after supper were larger than those they drank in at supper. This appears from the following passage of Virgil^k:

*Postquam prima quies epulis, mensæque remotæ,
Crateras magnos statuunt, et vina coronant.*

Soon as the banquet paus'd, to raise their souls,
With sparkling wine they fill the massy bowls.

PITT.

In the houses of wealthy men there was commonly a large κυλικεῖον, cupboard, furnished with cups of all sorts and sizes, rather for

^h Libro de vita contemplativa,

ⁱ Iliad. 8. v. 262.

^j Lib. xi. cap. 2.

^k Æneid. i. v. 727.

ostentation than use. The cups used by the ancient Greeks were very plain, and agreeable to the rest of their furniture, being usually composed of wood or earth. Afterwards, when they began to imitate the pride and vanity of the Asiatics, their cups were made of silver, gold, and other costly materials, curiously wrought, inlaid with precious stones, and otherwise adorned; but the primitive cups seem to have been composed of the horns of animals, which persons of quality tipt with gold or silver: these are mentioned by Pindar, Æschylus, Xenophon, and several other authors: they were also used by some in later ages, and particularly by Philip the Macedonian: hence, as some are of opinion, Bacchus had the surname of Taurus, as worshipped by the Cyziceniens in the shape of a bull, and painted with horns in several other countries; and some think the words *κρατήρες*, cups, and *κείρασαι*, to mix wine with water, are derived from *κείρατα*, horns: these, and many other observations concerning this argument, may be found in Athenæus ^l and Eustathius ^m.

The cups were compassed about with garlands, and filled up to the brim. Both these customs are mentioned in the following passage of Virgil ⁿ:

*Tum pater Anchises magnum cratera coronâ
Induit.*—————

And the latter in this verse of Homer, which occurs in the first Iliad ^o, and is repeated in other places:

Κῆροι δὲ κρατῆρας ἐπέσιψαντο ποσσὶν.

For *ἐπέσιψαντο*, according to the old scholiast, signifies *ἐπλήρωσαι ἄχρι σιφάνης*, ὃ ἐστὶ τέλος, *they filled up to the brim*; and *σέφειν*, commonly *πληρωσὶν τινα σημαίνει*, signifies *a sort of fulness*; whence they always did *σέφειν κρατῆρας*, when libations were offered to the gods, ὅτι ἔδεν κολοβὸν προσφέρομεν πρὸς τοῦς θεῶς, ἀλλὰ τέλεια καὶ ὅλα, τὸ δὲ πλήρες τέλειόν ἐστι, because we offer nothing imperfect to the gods, but only things whole and entire; and that which is full is entire, saith Athenæus ^p from Aristotle; and, as we are informed by the same author ^q, the cups, *ἐπισέφονται*, are crowned with drink, that is, they are filled above the brim, so as the drink riseth in the manner of a crown, for good luck's sake.

In the heroical times, as hath been observed concerning the un-

^l Lib. xi. cap. 7.

^m Comment. in Iliad. v. p. 883. Iliad. γ'. p. 519. Iliad. ζ'. p. 591. edit. Basil.

ⁿ Æneid. iii. v. 525.

^o V. 470.

^p Lib. xv. cap. 5.

^q Lib. i. cap. 11.

equal portions of meat, οἱ κῆροι διακονέμενοι, τοῖς μὲν ἐντιμιοτάτοις αἰὶ πλήρεις παρείχον τό ποτήριον, τοῖς δ' ἄλλοις ἐξ ἴσου διένεμον, the young men who ministered always presented full cups to men of great quality, and distributed wine to the rest by equal proportions, as we are informed by Athenæus^r: thus Agamemnon entertains Idomæus king of Crete^s:

Εἴπερ γὰρ τ' ἄλλοι καρηκομόντες Ἀχαιοὶ
Δαιτρὸν πίνουσιν, σὸν δὲ πλῆθον δέπας αἰεὶ
Ἔσχη' ὥσπερ ἱμοὶ, πῖνεν ὅτε θυμὸς ἀνώγει.

For this in banquets, when the gen'rous bowls
Restore our blood, and raise the warriors souls,
Though all the rest with stated rules we bound,
Unmix'd, unmeasur'd, are thy goblets crown'd.

POPE.

Hector, in another place, reproacheth Diomedes, when he fled from him, with the enjoyment of this honour^t:

Τυδείδῃ, περὶ μὲν σε τίον Δαναοὶ ταχύπῳλοι
Ἔδρη τι, κρήσιν τι, ἰδὲ πλείοις διαπείσσι,
Νῦν δὲ σ' ἀτιμήσουσι.

Tydidēs! the Achaian heroes thee
Were wont to grace with a superior seat,
The mess of honour, and the brimming cup,
But now will mock thee.

COWPER.

This respect is also said to be paid by the Lycians to Sarpedon and Glaucus, kings of Lycia, in the same words^u. Another respect was paid to the most honourable guests, by drinking first to them; for it was customary for the master of the feast to drink to his guests in order, according to their quality, as we learn from Plutarch^v. The manner of doing this was, by drinking part of the cup, and sending the remainder to the person whom they named, which they termed προπίνειν: but this was only the modern way, for anciently they drank μετὸν τὸν σκύφον, *the whole cup*, and not a part of it, as was usual in Athenæus's time; to do which, as that author thinks, ought rather to be termed προεκπιεῖν, than by the old name προπίνειν^w. The form of salutation was various: sometimes they who drank to another used to say, χαῖρε, as in that example χαῖρε Ἀχιλλεῦ, *I send you this honey mingled with milk*; as we learn from the scholiast upon Pindar^x. Sometimes the person who sent the cup saluted his friend in this form, προπίνω σοι καλῶς: the other replied, λαμβάνα ἀπὸ σε ἡδέως: and this being a testimony of friendship to drink in this manner to another, was sometimes termed προπίνειν φιλοτησίαν. Thus Ælian explains φιλοτησία to be

^r Lib. v. cap. 4.^s Iliad. 9. v. 261.^t Iliad. 9. v. 161.^u Iliad. 6.^v Sympos. lib. i. quæst. ii.^w Lib. v. cap. 4.^x Nemeonic.

δειξίσις διὰ τῆς φιλίας, a salutation on the account of friendship; and φιλοτησίαν προπίνειν to be ἡνίκα τις ἐν ἀρίστῳ ἀπὸ τῆς δοθείσης αὐτῷ φιάλης πῶν μέρος, τὸ λοιπὸν παρὰσχη φίλῳ, καὶ τὴν φιάλην παρὰσχόμενος, when any person at dinner drinks part of a cup, and gives the rest to his friend. The person who received the cup was said ἀντιπροπίνειν, or ἀντιπροπίνειν ὅμοια· it being required by the rules of good fellowship to drink off whatever remained in the cup; or if the cup was drank off, to take another of the same bigness: an example whereof we find in Athenæus^y, where Alexander having begun a very large vessel to Proteas, a Macedonian, he drank it off, and presented his service to Alexander in another of the same dimensions.

This propination was carried about towards the right hand, where the superior quality of some of the guests did not oblige them to alter that method: hence it was termed δεξιῶσις· whence δεῖδεσθαι in Homer is interpreted προπίνων δεξιᾶσθαι: thus, in the first Iliad, at an assembly of the gods:

————— χρυσεῖοις δειπάσει
Δαΐδεχατ' ἀλλήλους —————

That is, according to Athenæus, ἰδεξιᾶντο προπίνοντες ἑαυτοῖς ταῖς δεξιαῖς. The same explication is given by him upon that verse of the ninth Iliad, where Ulysses drinks to Achilles:

Πλησάμενος δ' εἴνοιο δέπας δαΐδιντ' Ἀχιλλῆα.

That is, saith he, ἰδεξιᾶτο, ὃ ἔστι προέπινεν αὐτῷ, τῇ δεξιᾷ διδὼς τὸ ποτήριον, he drank to Achilles, delivering the cup with his right hand. The same is observed by Eustathius^z, who is beholden to Athenæus for almost all the observations which he has made on this argument. But there is express mention of drinking toward the right hand in the following passage of Homer^a, where Vulcan fills wine to the gods:

————— θεοῖς ἐνδεξιᾷ πᾶσιν
Ωινοχόει —————

That is, he filled, as the old scholiast explains it, ἀπὸ τῶν δεξιῶν μερῶν, beginning from the right hand. Another example of this custom is produced from Critia's epigram upon Anacreon:

Παῖς διαπομπύσῃ προπόσεις εἰς δεξιὸν ὤμων.

And a third, to mention no more, is cited by Athenæus^b out of the Ἀγροικοὶ of Anaxandrides. The doing this therefore, was com-

^y Lib. x. cap. 9.

^z Iliad. ἡ. p. 557

^a Iliad. ἄ. v. 597.

^b Lib. xi. cap. 3.

monly termed ἐνδίζια πίνειν^c; but it was sometimes called ἐν κύκλῳ πίνειν and the action ἐγκυκλοποσία, because the cup was conveyed round about the table, beginning from the uppermost seat; to which custom we find the following allusion in Plautus^d:

—age, puer,
A summo septenis cyathis committe hos ludos.

Yet the method of drinking was not the same in all places. The Chians and Thasians drank out of large cups to the right, the Athenians out of small cups to the right; the Thessalian drinks large cups to whom he pleaseth, without observing any certain method. At Lacedæmon, every man has his distinct cup, which a servant fills up as soon as any person has drank, as we are informed by Athenæus^e.

It was also customary to drink to persons absent. First the gods were remembered, then their friends; and at every name one or more cups of wine, unmixed with water, was drank off. This is termed by Cicero, *Græco more bibere*^f, to drink after the Greek manner; which some interpret of drinking *grandibus poculis et meracis potionibus*, draughts of unmixed wine, out of large cups, as Asconius Pedanius^g observes: whereas it was the *Græcus mos*, ut *Græci* dicunt, συμπεῖν κυαθίζομένους *cum merum cyathis libant, salutes primo Deos, deinde amicos nominatim*, Grecian method to drink wine out of small cups saluting first the gods, and then their friends by name: *nam toties merum bibebant quoties deos et caros suos nominant*, for it was their custom to drink unmixed wine as often as they named the gods or their friends; they did also ἐπιχεῖν τῇ γῇ pour forth some of the wine upon the earth, as often as they mentioned any person's name, as hath been observed by the scholiast upon the following verses of Theocritus^h:

Ἡδὲ δὲ προΐοντες, ἰδοῦς ἐπιχεῖσθαι ἄκρατον
Ὀτίνες ἤβελ' ἕκαστος, ἴδεις μόνον ὦτίνος ἐπιπῖν.

At last we voted each should crown a glass,
What health he pleas'd, but name whose health it was. CREECH.

Which being the manner of offering libations, as hath been elsewhere observed, it seems to have been a form of adoration when any of the gods were named, and of prayer for their friends, when they mentioned them: amongst their friends they most commonly named their mistresses. Examples of this custom are very common: thus in Tibullus:

^c Conf. Pollux, lib. ii. cap. 4.

^d Persa, act. v. sc. 1.

^e Lib. xi. cap. 3.

^f Orat. iii. in Verrem.

^g Comment. in locum Ciceronis.

^h Idyll. xiv. v. 18.

*Sed bene Messalam sua quisque ad pocula dicat,
Nomen et absentis singula verba sonent.*

And in Horace ⁱ :

— *dicet Opuntia
Frater Megillæ, quo beatus
Vulnere, qua pereat sagitta.*

Sometime the number of cups equalled that of the letters in their mistress's name : thus we find in Martial ^j :

Nævia sex cyathis, septem Justina bibatur.

There were also several other ways of numbering the cups to be drank off at once : thus three were taken off, because the Graces were of that number, and nine, according to the number of the Muses: the former of these customs is mentioned by Petronius, who relates, that a certain person *excusare coepit moram, quod amica se non dimisisset, tribus nisi potionibus e lege exsiccatis*, made this excuse for his delay, that his mistress would not dismiss him till he had drank three cups, as the law requires: both of them are contained in the following riddle of Ausonius ^k :

*Ter bibe, vel toties ternos : sic mystica lex est;
Vel tria potanti, vel ter tria multiplicanti,
Imparibus novies ternis contexere cubuni.*

And more clearly in this passage of Horace ^l :

*Da Lunæ præpere novæ,
Da noctis mediæ, da puer, auguris
Murenæ. Tribus, aut novem
Miscentur cyathis pocula commodis.
Qui musas amat impares,
Ternos ter cyathos attonitus petet
Vates. Tres prohibet supra,
Rixarum metuens, tangere Gratia,
Nudis juncta sororibus.*

Here's a bumper to midnight ; to Luna's first shining ;
A third to our friend in his post of divining.
Come, fill up the bowl, then fill up your bumpers,
Let three, or thrice three, be the jovial of numbers.
The poet enraptured, sure never refuses,
His brimmers thrice three to his odd-number'd Muses ;
But the Graces, in naked simplicity cautious,
Are afraid more than three might to quarrels debauch us. FRANCIS.

The Greeks thus expressed this custom, $\text{H } \tau\epsilon\iota\varsigma, \eta \tau\epsilon\iota\varsigma \tau\epsilon\iota\alpha$, either three, or three times three. There was another saying, which forbade the drinking of four cups, that being no lawful number, $\text{H } \tau\epsilon\iota\alpha \pi\acute{\iota}\nu\epsilon, \eta \mu\grave{\eta} \tau\acute{\epsilon}\tau\tau\alpha\tau\alpha$. Yet they did not always observe the number three, as appears from the following epigram, which commands to fill ten cups to Dirodice's health, as well as nine to Euphrante's ^m :

ⁱ Lib. i. od. 27.

^j Lib. i. epigram. 72.

^k Gripho ternarii numeri, v. 1.

^l Lib. iii. od. 19.

^m Antholog. lib. vii.

Εγγχε Δαιροδίκης κυάβης δίχα, τῆς δὲ ποσειδῆς
Ευφραντῆς ἵνα μοι ἤττο δίδῃ κυάβον.

Sometimes they contended who should drink most. Alexander the Macedonian is reported to have drank a cup containing two congii, which contained more than our pottle, though less than our gallon, to Proteas, who, commending the king's ability, pledged him; then called for another cup of the same dimensions, and drank it off to him. The king, as the laws of good fellowship required, pledged Proteas in the same cup; but being immediately overcome, fell back upon his pillow, letting the cup fall out of his hands, and by that means was brought into the disease whereof he shortly after died, as we are informed by Athenæusⁿ. There is also mention in ancient authors of prizes awarded to the conquerors; which custom was ingeniously inverted by Anacharsis, the Scythian philosopher, who being entertained by Periander, one of the seven sages, and king of Corinth, demanded the prize for being first drunk; that, as he said, being the end which all aim at in drinking, as racers press forward toward the goal. It is reported by Timæus, that Dionysius the Sicilian, at an entertainment, promised a crown of gold to the person who should first drink a cup of congius, and that Xenocrates the philosopher obtained the prize. And at the funeral of Calanus, the Indian philosopher, there were not only exercises and musical contentions, but also drinking matches, wherein the prize, which Alexander promised to the first conqueror, was a talent; that to the second, thirty *μναῖ*; that to the third, ten *μναῖ*. One Promachus obtained the first prize, having drank four congii of unmixed wine: thirty of the combatants died on the place, and in a short time after, six more expired in their tents, as Athenæus^o and Ælian^p have informed us in the very same words. When any person drank off a large cup *ἀμυσί*, that is *ἀπνευσί*, *ἀνευ τῆ ἀναπαύσεσθαι*, without intermission, or taking his breath, the company used to applaud him in this form; *Ζήσεις*, *long may you live* &c. At Athens there were three public officers who attended at entertainments, καὶ ἐφεώραν εἰ κατ' ἴσον πίνουσιν οἱ συνόντες, and observed whether every person drank his portion: they were called, from their business, *οἰνόπται*, and sometimes by a metaphorical name, *οφθαλμοί*, *eyes*, as hath been elsewhere observed^r. They who refused to drink were in most

ⁿ Lib. x. cap. 9.

^o Lib. x. cap. 10.

^p Var. Hist. lib. ii. cap. 41.

^q Suidas, voc. *Αμυσί πινῖν*, et v. *Ζήσεις*.

^r Conf. Athenæus, lib. ix. cap. 6 et 7.

places obliged to depart, by that celebrated law of good fellowship, *ἢ πῖθι, ἢ ἀπῖθι, drink, or be gone.* To which Cicero has this allusion^s: ‘to me (saith he) it seems but reasonable, in the affairs of life, to observe the same law which the Greeks keep at their entertainments:’ *Either let them drink, say they, or depart.* ‘Very right, for one should either partake of the pleasure of drinking and being merry, or leave the company.’

Hence it appears how much the Greeks were addicted to drinking; neither were the Romans more free from that vice: Seneca himself thought it allowable to drink, even to drunkenness, to ease the mind of any great and tormenting cares. We are told by Plutarch and others, that Cato of Utica sometimes spent whole nights in drinking. And concerning the elder Cato, as also Corvinus the stoic philosopher, to mention no more examples, we have the following testimony of Horace^t:

*Descende, Corvino jubente
Promere languidiora vina.
Non ille, quanquam Socraticis mades
Sermonibus, te negliget horridus;
Narratur et prisci Catonis
Sæpe mero caluisse virtus.*

Come—Corvinus, guest divine,
Bids me draw the smoothest wine.
Though with science deep imbued,
He, not like a cynic rude,
Thee despises; for of old,
Cato's virtue, we are told,
Often with a bumper glow'd,
And with social raptures flow'd.

DUNKIN.

Yet others found fault with the immoderate use of wine. Some lawgivers enacted laws against it, and others prohibited all comotations where more wine was used than what was necessary for health. Some of the Grecian sages allowed no more than three cups; one for health, a second for cheerfulness, and a third for sleep: thus in the following verses of Eubulus, which are cited by Athenæus^u:

*Τρεῖς γὰρ μόνος κρατῆρας ἐγκρανεύω
Τοῖς εὖ φρονέουσιν τὸν μὲν ὑγείας ἵνα,
Ὀν πρῶτον ἐκπίγουσιν· τὸν δὲ δεύτερον
Ἐρώτος, ἡδονῆς τὸν τρίτον δ' ὕπνου·
Ὀν εἰσπίοντες οἱ σοφοὶ κεκλημένοι
Οἴκαδ' βαδίζουσ'· ὃ δὲ τέταρτος ἑκίτι
Ἡμίτερός ἐστιν, ἀλλ' ὕβρις, &c.*

Panyasis allowed no more than the second cup; the first to the Graces, Hours, and Bacchus, the second to Venus and Bacchus:

^s Tusc. Quæst. lib. v.^t Lib. iii. od. 21.^u Initio lib. ii.

they who proceeded to the third cup, according to that author, dedicated it to Lust and Strife. Lycurgus, the Spartan lawgiver, prohibited τὰς ἐκ ἀναγκυίας πόσεις, αἱ σφάλλουσι μὲν σώματα, σφάλλουσι δὲ γνώμας, κὶ ἐφῆκεν ὅποτε διψῶν ἕκαστος πίνειν, unnecessary drinking, which debilitates both the body and mind, and ordered that no man should drink for any other purpose than to satisfy his thirst, as we learn from Xenophon^v. And to lay on the Spartans a necessity of keeping themselves within the bounds of sobriety, the same lawgivers enacted farther, that all men should return from entertainments without a torch to shew them the way; whence the propinations and methods of drinking which other nations observed, were unheard of at Sparta: hence the following passage of Critias^w, wherein he commends the temperate way of living in that city:

Καὶ τὸδ' ἔθος Σπάρτῃ, μιλίτημά τι κείμενόν ἐστι
 Πίνειν τὴν αὐτὴν οἶνοφθρον κύλικα·
 Μὴδ' ἀποδωρεῖσθαι προπώσεις ὀνομασὶ λέγοντα,
 Μὴδ' ἐπὶ δεξιτερὰν χεῖρα πυκλῶν θύισαν,
 Καὶ προπώσεις δαίρειν ἐπιδέξια, ἢ προκαλεῖσθαι
 Ἐξονομακλήδην ᾧ προπιεῖν ἐβέλει.

At Athens, an archon convicted of being drunk was put to death by the laws of Solon^x, as hath been elsewhere remarked; and others addicted to computations, and lovers of company, were punished by the senate of Areopagus, for consuming the time in idleness and profuseness which they ought rather to have employed in making themselves useful to the commonwealth, as we are told by Phanodemus and Philochorus in Athenæus. Lastly, to mention only one example more, the island of Mitylene abounding with wine, in order to restrain the inhabitants from the immoderate use of it, Pittacus, their lawgiver, one of the seven sages, νόμος ἔθηκε τῷ μεθύοντι, εἰὰν ἀμάρτη διπλὴν εἶναι τὴν ζημίαν, enacted, that whoever committed a crime, being drunk, should suffer double punishment^y.

There are some particular and solemn cups mentioned in ancient authors, which are next to be described; such were,

Ἀγαθὸς Δαίμονος κρατὴρ, the cup of Good Genius, by whom was understood Bacchus, the inventor of wine, in memory of which benefit, a cup full of unmixed wine was carried round the table, which all the guests tasted, at the same time raising an ejaculation to the god, that he would preserve them from committing

^v Libro de repub. Lacedæm.

^x Laërtius Solone.

^w In elegiis.

^y Laërtius Pittaco.

any indecency through the immoderate use of that liquor ; hence *ὀλιγοποτῦντες*, persons who drink very little, are in Hesychius, termed *ἀγαθοδαιμονισταί*. Whether this cup was brought in before the table on which they supped was taken away, or afterwards, is not agreed : that it was sometimes brought in before the taking away of the table, seems probable from what is related of Dionysius the Sicilian, who, being entertained in the temple of Æsculapius in Syracuse, at a table of gold, as soon as he had tasted the cup of Good Genius, commanded the table to be carried off.

Κρατὴρ Διὸς Σωτῆρος the cup of Jupiter the Saviour, which was mixed with water, and dedicated to Jupiter, president of the air, which is the most humid element, in memory of the invention of tempering wine with water.

Κρατὴρ Ὑγιᾶς, the cup of Health, is by some added, which, as also that of Jupiter, is termed *μετανιπτῆρς*, or *μετάνιπτρον*, as being drank after the washing of their hands, the entertainment being ended ; and the same names are, for the same reason, by some given to the cup of Good Genius^z.

Κρατὴρ Ἑρμῆ, the cup of Mercury, to whom a libation was offered before they went to bed, when they gave over drinking, as will be related afterwards^a.

Others report the order of the solemn cups in a different manner. Suidas has numbered them thus^b : *Τρεῖς κρατῆρας ἴσασαν ἐν τῷ δείπνῳ, α. Ἑρμῇ, β. χαρισίῳ, γ. Διὶ Σωτῆρι*, three cups were brought in at supper ; the first dedicated to Mercury, the second to Charisius, which is a surname given to Jupiter, from *χάρις* favour and grace, he being the god by whose influence men obtain the favour and affection of one another ; wherein, it is probable, respect was had to the invention of tempering wine with water, as hath been before observed ; the third to Jupiter the Saviour.

Others mention one cup of wine, mixed with water, dedicated to Olympian Jupiter, a second to the Heroes, a third and last to Jupiter the Saviour, so called on this occasion, to intimate, that the third cup might safely be taken, without any disorder of mind or body : this cup was called *τέλειος* either because it was the last, which is one sense of that word, or from the perfection of the number three, which, having a beginning, middle, and end, was reputed the first complete number, whence it was commonly ap-

^z Conf. Athenæus, lib. ii. cap. 2. Lib. xi. cap. 11. Lib. xv. cap. 5 et 14. Pollux, Suidas, &c.

^a Vid. Pollux.

^b Voce *κρατῆρ*.

plied to divine things, and particularly to human souls, which, according to the Platonic philosophy, consisted of this number; neither must it be omitted, that the first and last cups were sacred to Jupiter, who is the supreme deity, the beginning and the end of all things; the middle cup to the heroes, who were thought to be of a middle nature between gods and men. These customs are alluded to by Pindar in fourteen verses together, and more largely described in the Greek scholiast upon that passage^c. This may be farther observed, that most authors, however variously describing them in other respects, do agree in fixing the sacred cups to the number three: hence that saying in the *Mystis* of Antiphanes, cited by Athenæus^d:

Μίχρη γὰρ τρεῶν φασὶ τιμᾶν τὰς Θεούς.

The entertainment being ended, before they went to other diversions, used at such times, a libation of wine, with a prayer, was offered, and an hymn sung to the gods. Thus we are told by Xenophon, that when, at the entertainment by him described^e, 'the tables were taken away, and they had offered a libation, and sung a hymn to the gods, a certain man of Syracuse brought in a skilful minstrel, &c. Virgil describes the libation in such a manner, as it should seem to have been poured out of the cup of good genius, which is another argument that this cup was not filled till the tables were taken away, which indeed seems to have been the time of drinking all the three solemn cups. The poet's words contain a very particular account of this whole ceremony^f:

*Postquam prima quies epulis, mensæque remotæ,
Crateras magnos statuunt, et vina coronant,
Fit strepitus tectis, vocemque per ampla volutant
Atria: dependent lychni laquearibus aureis
Incensi, et noctem flammis funalia vincunt.
Hic regina gravem gemmis auroque poposcit,
Implevitque mero pateram quam Belus, et omnes
A Belo soliti. Tum facta silentia tectis:
'Jupiter (hospitibus nam te dare jura loquuntur)
Hunc lætum Tyriisque diem, Trojâque profectis
Esse velis, notrosque hujus meminisse minores:
Adsit lætitiæ Bacchus dator, et bona Juno:
Et vos, O Tyrii, cætum celebrate faventes.
Dixit: et in mensâ laticum libavit honorem:
Primâque, libato, summo tenuis attigit ore.
Tum Bitiæ dedit increpitans: ille impiger hausit,
Post alii proceres.—*

Soon as the banquet paus'd, to raise their souls,
With sparkling wine they crown the massy bowls;
'Thro' the wide hall the rolling echo bounds,
The palace rings, the vaulted dome resounds.

c Isthmionic. principio od. 6.

d Lib. x. cap. 11.

e Convivio, p. 874. edit. Francfort.

f Sub finem, Æneid, i.

The blazing torches, and the lamps display,
 From golden roofs, an artificial day.
 Now Dido crowns the bowl of state with wine,
 The bowl of Belus, and the regal line;
 Her hands aloft the shining goblet hold,
 Pond'rous with gems, and rough with sculptur'd gold.
 When silence was proclaim'd, the royal fair,
 Thus to the gods address'd her fervent prayer :
 ' Almighty Jove ! who plead'st the stranger's cause :
 Great guardian god of hospitable laws !
 Oh grant this day to circle still with joy,
 Through late posterity, to Tyre and Troy !
 Be thou, O Bacchus ! god of mirth, a guest,
 And thou, O Juno ! grace the genial feast :
 And you, my lords of Tyre, your fears remove,
 And show your guests benevolence and love.'
 She said, and on the board, in open view,
 The first libation to the gods she threw :
 She sipp'd the wine, and gave to Bitias' hand:
 He rose, obedient to the queen's command ;
 At once the thirsty Trojan swill'd the whole,
 Sunk the full gold, and drain'd the foaming bowl ;
 Then through the peers, with sparkling nectar crown'd,
 The goblet circles, and the health goes round.

FITT.

This ceremony being ended, the company was entertained with other diversions, with discourses upon various arguments, with reading authors suitable to the tempers and inclinations of those who were present, which was also very often done in time of supper, with music of all sorts, with jugglers, as we find in the description of Socrates's entertainment by Plato and Xenophon, with mimics, buffoons, or whatever beside could be thought of for the exciting of mirth and cheerfulness.

From the most ancient times, music and dancing were the diversions at entertainments : thus Homer ^g :

Μολπή τ' ὀρχησῆς τε, τὰ γάρ τ' ἀναθήματα δαίτις.

Phenius and Demodocus, two celebrated singers, are introduced at entertainments by the same poet. And, at an entertainment of the gods, Apollo is introduced playing upon the harp, whilst the Muses sing alternately ^h. Dancing was also in use among the gods: hence Apollo has the title of ὀρχηστὴς, *the dancer*, in Pindar: the same god, in Homer's hymn, plays upon his harp, and at the same time dances :

Καλὰ δ' ἐν ψῆ βιβάς. ———

And, to mention only one instance more, Jupiter himself is said to dance, in the following verse, which some ascribe to Eumelus, others to Arctinus the Corinthian :

Μίσσοισιν δ' ὠρχεῖτο πατὴρ ἀνδρῶν τε, θεῶν τε.

^g Odyss. α, v. 152.

^h Iliad, α, v. 603.

Hence Athenæus concludes, that in those ages they accounted *ὄρχησιν ἔνδοξον καὶ σοφὸν dancing a thing becoming persons of honour and wisdom*ⁱ. At Rome, the custom was quite otherwise; for there, to use the words of Cicero^j, *Nemo fere saltat sobrius, nisi forte insanit, neque in solitudine, neque in convivio honesto. Intempestivi convivii, amœni loci, multarum deliciarum comes est extrema, saltatio*. No man dances unless he is either drunk or mad, either in private, or at a modest and decent entertainment: dancing is the very last effect of luxury and wantonness. And Cornelius Nepos^k having related that Epaminondas well understood the art of dancing, of playing upon the harp and flute, with other liberal sciences, adds, ‘though, in the opinion of the Romans, these were trivial things, and not worthy to be mentioned, yet in Greece they were thought very commendable.’ The same observation is also made by that author, in his preface to the Lives of the Illustrious commanders. And these arts had so great credit among the Grecians, that, to use some of Cicero’s words^l, ‘they thought the arts of singing and playing upon musical instruments a most considerable part of learning: whence it is told of Epaminondas, who in my judgement, was the chief of all the Greeks, that he played very well upon the flute. And some time before, Themistocles, upon refusing the harp at an entertainment, passed for one unlearned and ill-bred. Hence Greece came to flourish with skilful musicians; all persons learned the art of music, and they who were ignorant of it, were thought unaccomplished with learning.’ Nevertheless, wanton and effeminate dances were thought to be indecent in men of wisdom and character; whence Hippoclidēs the Athenian, having been designed by Clisthenes, king of Argos, for his daughter’s husband, and preferred before all the young noblemen of Greece, was rejected, for his light and unbecoming dances and gestures, as we are informed by Herodotus^m. The Ionians delighted in wanton dances and songs more than the rest of the Greeks, their manners being more corrupted than those of any other nation in Greece: their way of singing was very different from the ancient, and their harmony more loose and wanton, as we are told by Theophrastusⁿ; and wanton gestures were proverbially termed *Ionici motus*, Ionian motions: thus Horace, reproving the manners of his own age^o:

ⁱ Lib. i. cap. 19.^j Orat. pro Muræna.^k Epaminonda.^l Tusc. Quæst. lib. i.^m Lib. vi. cap. 28.ⁿ Conf. Athenæus, lib. xiv. cap. 5.^o Lib. iii. od. 6.

Motus doceri gaudet Ionicos
Matura virgo.—————

In the primitive ages, the entertainments were seldom made but on the festivals of the gods, as hath been elsewhere observed; and the songs were commonly hymns in praise of the gods, the singing of which was accounted a part of divine worship; soft and wanton songs were then unknown; hence Athenæus was of opinion that music was not brought into use at entertainments for the sake of any mean and vulgar pleasure, but to compose the passions of the soul, and to better men's manners^p. And from the descriptions of entertainments which we find in Homer, it appears that the songs used about the time of the Trojan war consisted chiefly of hymns, wherein the actions of the gods and heroes were celebrated; but in later ages, it was so uncommon to sing sacred hymns at entertainments, that Aristotle was accused by Demophilus for singing a pæan every day at his meals, as an act of very great impiety^q.

The most remarkable songs at entertainments were those termed *σκόλια*, with the accent upon the first syllable, whereby it is distinguished from the adjective *σκολιά*, which is accented upon the last syllable, as we are informed by Eustathius^r; whence, in the present editions of Athenæus, which often call these songs *σκολιά*, they who will acquiesce in the judgment of that critic, must read *σκόλια*. These *scolia* consisted for the most part of short verses, whence *σκόλιον* is interpreted *μέλος τι ὀλιγόστιχον*, a certain sonnet, consisting of short verses, and derived from *σκολιδόν*, *crooked*, *difficult*, and *obscure*, which will be *ῥάδιον, κατ' ἀντίφρασιν*, *easy, by the figure antiphrasis*, as we are told by the scholiast on Aristophanes^s. Others observe, that *scolia* cannot be derived from *σκολιδός*, signifying *difficult* or *obscure*; because these songs were commonly light and cheerful; but there being three sorts of songs at entertainments, of which the first was sung by the whole company joining in a choir, the second by all the company in their turns, the third by some few who were best skilled in music: this last was termed *σκόλιον*, from the adjective *σκολιδόν*, signifying *crooked*, as being sung out of course, and not by every man in his own place, like the two former^t. The custom was thus: after the company had all

^p Conf. Athenæus, lib. xiv. cap. 6.

^q Athenæus, lib. xv. initio cap. 16.

^r In Odyss. ζ. p. 276.

^s In Ranas, p. 272. Item in Vespas, p. 519.

^t Artemon Cassandrecus, lib. ii. de usu carminum convivalium apud Athenæum, lib. xv. cap. 14. Dicæarchus, lib. de musicis certaminibus apud Aristophanis Scholiasten in Vespas, p. 519.

sung in a chorus, or one after another, a musical instrument, most commonly a harp or lute, was carried round to every person, that such as understood music might entertain the company. They who would not, or could not, play upon the instrument, were presented with a branch of laurel, or myrtle, to which, held in their hands, they sung: this was termed *πρὸς δάφνην*, or *πρὸς μυρρίνην ᾄδειν*, to sing towards the laurel or the myrtle: this account is given by Hesychius in the following words: *Μυρρίνης κλάδος ἢ δάφνης παρὰ πότον μυρρίνης ἢν σύνηθες διδόναι τοῖς κατακειμένοις ἐκ διαδοχῆς ὑπὲρ τῶ ᾄσαι ἀντὶ τῶ βαρεῖται*. Which passage ought rather to be read thus: *Μυρρίνης κλάδος, μυρρίνης κλάδον ἢ δάφνης παρὰ πότον ἢν σύνηθες διδόναι*, &c. This branch was also termed *αἶσακος*, or *ἔσακος*, *παρὰ τὸ ᾄσαι τὸν δεξιόμενον*, because the person who received it was obliged to sing, as we are informed by Plutarch ^u, who, more agreeably to the former account, and perhaps to the truth, observes, that the *σκόλια* were not sung by all who could not play upon the musical instrument, which is Hesychius's notion of these songs, but only by those who were masters of music: whence he derives the name from *σκολιός*, difficult to sing one of these songs, being what could not be done by any but good proficients in the art of music. He farther adds, that some were of opinion that the branch of myrtle was not delivered to the company in a direct order, but carried from bed to bed, so as when the first person in the uppermost bed had done singing, he delivered it to the first in the second bed, from whom it was transmitted to the first of the third bed: that the seconds in each bed delivered it to one another in the same manner, and so forward, till it had passed through the whole company; and that on this account the songs were termed *σκόλια*, from *σκολιός*, as it signifies *crooked*, by reason of the several windings in carrying about the branch of myrtle. These *scolia* were chiefly used by the Athenians, neither were they unknown in other parts of Greece, where we find several celebrated writers of *scolia* to have lived; such were Anacreon of Teos, Alcæus of Lesbos, Praxilla of Sicyon, and others ^v. Their arguments were of various kinds: some of them, to use the words of Eustathius ^w, were *σκωπτικὰ τὰ δὲ ἐρωτικὰ, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ σπερδαῖα*, *ludicrous and satirical, others amorous, and many of them serious*: those upon serious arguments sometimes contained *παράινεσιν τινὰ καὶ γνώμην χρησίμην*

^u Sympos. lib. i. quæst. 2.

^w In Odyss. 4. p. 277.

^v Conf. Athenæus, lib. xv. cap. 14.

εἰς τὸν βίον, a practical exhortation or sentence, as we learn from Athenæus^x; sometimes they consisted of the praises and illustrious actions of great men: this latter sort commonly bore the persons names whom they celebrated: thus Ἀρμόδιος μέλος, the songs of Harmodius, according to Hesychius, was τὸ ἐπὶ Ἀρμόδιος ποιηθὲν σκόλιον ὑπὸ Καλλιστράτου, the *scolium* composed by Callistratus upon Harmodius, the famed patriot, who delivered Athens from the tyranny of Hipparchus the son of Pisistratus, whom he killed: the first verse of this *scolium* is preserved in Aristophanes^y:

Ἄιδω δὲ πρῶτος Ἀρμόδιον, δέξει δὲ σύ·
Οὐδὲς πάποτ' ἀνὴρ ἐγένετ' Ἀθηναῖος.

Ἀδμήτης λόγος was a *scolium* upon Admetus king of Thessaly: it is mentioned by the same author:

Ἀδμήτης λόγον ὦ ταῦτε μαβῶν, τὰς ἀγαθὰς φίλει,
Τὴν τι λίξεις σκόλιον.

There are many examples of the ancient *scolia* preserved in the Greek authors, of which I shall only set down that one which was composed by Aristotle upon Hermias, tyrant of Atarneus, which, though Demophilus, suborned by one Eurymedon, affirmed to be a sacred pæan, in order to prove the philosopher, who daily used this song, guilty of impiety, as hath been before related, yet it is, from the very phrase and diction, plainly demonstrated to be nothing more than an ordinary *scolium*, by Democritus in Athenæus^z:

Ἀρετὰ πολύμοχος
Γίνει βροτέω,
Θήραμα κάλλιπον βίω·
Σᾶς περὶ, παρθένη, μορφᾶς
Καὶ θανεῖν ζηλωτὸς Ἑλλάδι πότμος,
Καὶ πόνους τλήναι μαλίστ' τοῖον
Ἐπὶ φρίνα βάλλεις
Καρπὸν τ' ἀθάνατον,
Χρυσὴν κρέισσω ἔχοντιαν,
Μαλακωγίτοιο δ' ὕπνου.
Σεῦ δ' ὁ Διὸς Ἡρακλῆς,
Λήδας τε κῆρυι πολλ' ἀνέτλασαν
Ἔργοις σὺν ἀγρεύοντες δύναμιν.
Σοῖς δὲ πάοις Ἀχιλλεὺς,
Αἴας τ' Αἴδαο δόμους ἤλθον.
Σᾶς δ' ἔνεκα φιλίᾳ μορφᾶς
Καὶ Ἀταρνίως ἑντροφός
Ἡλίῳ χήρωσιν αὐγάς.
Τοιγὰρ αἰδιδίμος ἔργοις
Ἀθάνατόν τε μιν αὐξήσῃσι Μῦσαι,
Μνημοσύνης θυγατέρες,
Διὸς ξένῃ σίδας αὐξήσαι,
Φιλίας τε γέρας βιβαίαις.

^x Loco citato.

^y Vespis.

^z Lib. xv. p. 695.

From the songs, let us pass to the sports and pastimes which followed entertainments. This was the ancient method, as we learn from Homer's description of an entertainment made by Alcinous, king of Phæacia, wherem the entertainment being taken away, and the music ended, the guests are invited to wrestle, leap, run races, and to other bodily exercises ^a :

Κίκλυτε Φαιήκων ἡγήτορας ἠδὲ μίδοντας,
 Ἦδη μὲν δαιτὸς κικρομήμεθα θυμὸν ἱέσης,
 Φόρμιγγός δ' ἢ δαιτὶ συνήροός ἐστι θαλαίῃ.
 Νῦν δ' ἐξέλθωμεν, ἃ ἀέθλων περὶ θάμνιν
 Πάντων, &c.

Whence Eustathius observes, ὅτι ἐκ ἔθος τοῖς ἥρωσιν ἀναπαύεσθαι μετὰ βρῶσιν κατὰ τῆς ὕστερον ἐπὶ σιτίων πέψει ^b, *that the heroes did not rest after meals, for the better concoction of their meat, as became customary in later ages* ; on which pretence the later Greeks, laying aside the violent exercises which were anciently used, diverted themselves with such sports and recreations as required less toil and labour. The several sorts of sports and games which were practised by the Greeks have been accurately described by the learned Meursius, and from him again by Bulengerus : they are too numerous to be recounted in this place ; however, the *κότταβος*, which was more peculiar to entertainments, and is on that account described by Pollux, and takes up several pages in Athenæus, must not be omitted. This pastime was first invented in Sicily, whence it was communicated to most other parts of Greece, especially to Athens, where it obtained very great repute. The form was thus : a piece of wood being erected, another was placed upon the top of it, with two dishes hanging down from each extremity, in the manner of scales ; beneath each dish was placed a vessel full of water, wherein stood a statue, composed for the most part of brass, and called *μάνης*. They who did *κοτταβίζειν*, *play at the cottabus*, stood at some distance, holding a cup of water or wine, which they endeavoured to throw into one of the dishes, that the dishes by that weight might be knocked against the head of the statue under it. The person who threw in such a manner as to spill least of his water, and to knock the dish with the greatest force upon the statue, was conqueror, and thought to reign in his mistress's affections, which was the thing to be learned by this pastime. The sound made by the projection, was by an *onomatopæia*, termed *λάταξ*, the wine projected *λατάγη*, and sometimes

^a Odyss. 9. v. 97.

^b Page 295.

λάταξ. The action, as also the cup out of which the wine was projected, was called ἀγκύλη, because τὴν δεξιὰν χεῖρα ἡγκύλευν, κυκλῶντες αὐτὴν ὡς ἐνὶν περπαδίζοντα, σεμνυνόμενοι ὡς ἐφ' ἐνὶ τῶν καλῶν, *they turned round their right hand with a sort of dexterity and art, upon which they very much valued themselves.* Hence we find mention of κότταδοι ἀγκυλητοὶ in Æschylus. The vessels were named κότταδοι, or κοττάδιδες; the prizes κοττάδια, καττάδιαι, and also κότταδοι, which were sweatmeats, kisses, or what else the company agreed upon. The play itself, to distinguish it from others of the same name, was termed κότταδος κατακτός. And so much addicted they were to this pastime, that they had not only vessels made for it with the utmost art and care, but round houses, built in such a manner, that the cottabus being placed exactly in the middle, the gamesters might stand at equal distances on all sides.

There was another sort of cottabus, wherein a vessel was placed full of water, with empty vials swimming upon it: into this they projected wine out of cups; and he that had the fortune to drown the greatest number of the vials, obtained the prize.

There was also another sort of cottabus, wherein they projected dice.

Lastly, another sort of cottabus is mentioned, which was a contention who should sit up awake the longest: the prize was commonly a cake made of honey and sesame, or wheat, as we learn from Pollux and the Greek scholiast^c upon Aristophanes, and thence termed σησαμῆς, or πυραμῆς: the latter seems to have been most common, whence it is mentioned alone by Arteni-dorus, ἣν δὲ ὁ πυραμῆς παρὰ τοῖς παλαιοῖς ἐπινίκιος: the πυραμῆς was anciently the prize^d, whence that word became a general name for any other prize: thus it is used by Aristophanes^e:

Τῷ γὰρ τεχνάζειν ἡμέτερος ὁ πυραμῆς.

And in another place^f:

Ἦν δ' ἀναιδέα παρίλθης, ἡμέτερος ὁ πυραμῆς.

And these are the most usual forms of this pastime^g.

It was also held necessary to entertain the guests with suitable discourses, as well as with sports and pastimes. In the opinion of the ancient Greeks, to use the words of Athenæus^h, 'it was more

^c Equitibus.

^d Lib. i. cap. 74.

^e Thesmophor. p. 770.

^f Equitibus, p. 505.

^g Conf. Athenæus, lib. x, xi. et præ-

cipue xv. haud procul ab initio. Pollux, lib. vi. cap. 19. Aristophanis Schol. in Pacem. Eustathius in Iliad. β'. Johannes Tzetzes Chiliad. vi. Hist. 85. et Lexicographi Græci.

^h Lib. x. cap. 5.

requisite and becoming to gratify the company by agreeable conversation than with variety of dishes.' And in the heroical ages, it was customary to consult about affairs of the greatest moment at entertainments, as hath been observed by Plutarchⁱ: hence Nestor in Homer^j persuades Agamemnon to invite the Grecian commanders to an entertainment, in order to deliberate concerning the management of the war:

Δαῖνυ δαῖτα γέρωσι, ἵοικε τοι, ἔτοι ἀεικίς.

Πολλῶν δ' ἀγρομένων, τῷ πέσαις ὅς κεν ἀρίστην
Βαλὴν βουλευέσθῃ.

Banquet the elders; it shall not disgrace
Thy sovereignty, but shall become thee well.

Thy many guests assembled, thou shalt hear
Our counsel, and shalt chuse the best.

COWPER.

It was believed, that at such times mens' invention was more quick and fruitful, according to the saying in Aristophanes^k:

Οἷνε γὰρ εὖροις ἂν τι πρακτικώτερον;

Where the Greek scholiast discourseth very largely on this argument. It was also the custom in Persia to consult at entertainments, as we find done at that of Agamemnon, as we learn from Athenæus^l; and to use the words of Ammianus Marcellinus^m, the Persians used to deliberate *inter epulas de apparatu bellico et seriis rebus apud eosdem, Graiorum more veterum*, concerning warlike preparations, and other serious affairs, at banquets, after the manner of the ancient Greeks; nay, if Strabo may be believedⁿ, they used to consult about affairs of the highest importance over their wine; and what was there determined was held more firm and inviolable than their sober resolutions. But Herodotus's account is more particular, that those things which they resolved on (νήφοντες) when they were sober, were canvassed over again when they had drank freely; and the things which they determined (μεθυσκόμενοι) in their drink, were examined again in their sober hours^o. Not unlike this is what Tacitus^p reports of the Germans, that their consultations about the reconciliation of enemies, the contracting affinities, appointment of princes, and all other affairs, whether military or civil, were, for the most part held at entertainments. The way of the syssitia in Crete was thus, according to Dosiadas^q:

ⁱ Sympos. lib. vii. cap. 9.

^j Iliad. ix. v. 70.

^k Equitibus, p. 293.

^l Lib. v. cap. 4.

^m Lib. xviii. cap. 5.

ⁿ Geograph. lib. xv. p. 734. Conf. Plutarchus Sympos. lib. vii. quæst. ix. Eustathius in Iliad. 4. p. 651, &c.

^o Lib. i. cap. 133.

^p De moribus Germanorum.

^q Rerum Creticarum, lib. iv.

supper being ended, they first deliberated upon civil affairs; then the discourse is turned to war, at which time they repeat the praises of illustrious persons, *προτρεπόμενοι τὰς νέας εἰς ἀνδραγαθίαν*, *thereby to excite the young men to courage and bravery*. The Lacedæmonian youth frequented the syssitia, *ὡς διδασκαλεῖα σωφροσύνης*, *as the schools of temperance and prudence*, where they heard discourses of public affairs, and conversed with the most liberal and best accomplished masters, as we are informed by Plutarch^r. The same author has elsewhere observed^s, that the Cretan ἀνδρεῖα, and the Spartan φειδίτια, that is, their public places of entertainment, βουλευτηρίων ἀπορρήτων καὶ συνεδρίων ἀριστοκρατικῶν τάξιν εἶχεν, *were instead of councils, where the chief men of the commonwealth met to consult about the most secret affairs*; and he adds, ὥσπερ οἶμαι, καὶ τὸ ἐνθάδε πρυτανεῖον καὶ θεσμοθέσιον, *that the prytanæum and thesmothesium, or public halls, in this city, that is, in Chæronea, which was Plutarch's native town, seem to have been put to the same use*. The same custom seems to have obtained in several other cities, and particularly at Athens, where the supreme council supped every day together in the prytaneum, as hath been elsewhere related; and, to use the words of Eustathius^t, ‘the chief magistrates at Rhodes were obliged, by an express law, every day to entertain the principal men of that city at a public table, in order to deliberate what should be done the day following.’ Hence as Plutarch was of opinion^u, Bacchus had the surname of Εὐβελής, *prudent counsellor*; and the night was called εὐφρόνη, as being the time of wise and prudent counsels: and, as the same author observes, ‘not unlike these is that assembly of most wise and excellent persons in Plato, where things of the greatest concern are discussed.’ As they who were concerned in public business used to discourse of public affairs, so the conversation of philosophers was commonly upon some argument of philosophy; grammarians disputed upon critical subjects; and others conversed in their several ways, inasmuch that every art and science was cultivated and improved upon these occasions; whence Eustathius had good reason for his remark, ‘that the Greeks did not drink to excess at their public entertainments, but only to keep up the conversation about serious affairs.’ Examples of the discourse at entertainments may be found in Plato and Xenophon, also (had they been yet extant)

^r Lycurgo.^s Sympos. lib. vii. quest. ix.^t In Iliad. l. p. 631.^u Loco citato.

in Aristotle, Speusippus, Epicurus, Hieronymus, Dio the academic, who wrote *λόγος παρὰ πότον γενομένος*, *Books of Table discourses*, as we are informed by Plutarch ^v, who imitates the fore-mentioned authors in his treatise upon the same argument.

Nevertheless, it was also customary by turns to unbend their minds, and divert them from serious affairs, by discourses upon ludicrous arguments; whence *συμπόσιον*, the Greek name of an entertainment, is defined by Plutarch ^w, *κοινωνία σπεδῆς καὶ παιδιᾶς, λόγων καὶ πράξεων*, *a mixture of seriousness and mirth, of discourses and actions*. At the fore-mentioned *syssitia* of the Lacedæmonians, where the most grave and important subjects were treated on, they also *παίζειν ἔθιζον, καὶ σκώπτειν ἄνευ βωμολοχίας, καὶ σκωπτόμενοι μὴ δυσχεραίνειν*, *used to sport and to jest, though without any of that scurrility and reflection which is apt to give offence* ^x. And from the *Table discourses* of Plutarch and others, it appears to have been the ancient custom to contrive their discourses in such a manner as would both entertain and instruct the company: nevertheless, in the time of Plutarch, they rarely discoursed upon any serious argument at public entertainments; whence a discourse being begun at Nicostratus's house, concerning a subject which was to be discussed in the popular assembly at Athens; some of the company, who had never heard of the ancient Greek custom, affirmed that it was an imitation of the Persians ^y. And this question is propounded in the same author ^z, whether it were allowable to discourse philosophy over their cups? Some delighted to tell stories, and to repeat ancient fables on these occasions; others chose to read some diverting discourse *ῥῆσιν ἐπιεῖν*, or to hear a poem repeated, which was very common amongst men of letters; but no diversion was more usual than that of propounding and answering difficult questions. Such of these as were wholly designed for amusement, were termed *αἰνίγματα*, but those which farther contained something serious and instructive, were called *γρίφοι*, which word, as we are informed by Pollux ^a, in its primary acception, signifies a fishing net; hence, to use the words of Clearchus ^b, 'the *Griphi* contained philosophical disquisitions, wherein the ancients used to give a specimen of their learning, in-

^v Sympos. principio.

^w Sympos. lib. vii. quæst. vi.

^x Conf. Plutarchus Lycurgo, et Sympos. lib. ii. quæst. i.

^y Plutarchus Sympos. lib. vii. quæst. ix.

^z Sympos. principio.

^a Lib. vi. cap. 19.

^b Libro primo de paræmiis apud Athenæum, lib. x. cap. ult.

somuch that this pastime *μῆνυμα γίνεσθαι τῆς ἐκάστω πρὸς παιδείαν οἰκίω-
τητος*, became a proof of every person's proficiency in learning.' The person who solved the question propounded was honoured with a reward; he who was not so fortunate underwent a certain punishment: the rewards were *στέφανος* καὶ *ἐνφημία*, a garland, and the applause of the company, as we learn from the same author: the punishment was, to drink, without taking breath, a cup of wine, mixed with salt, as Athenæus^c has proved out of the Ganymedes of Antiphanes: the reward, according to Pollux^d, was a dish of meat; the penalty a salt cup. Others report, that a cup of wine was the prize which was adjudged to the person who solved the riddle; or, in case no man could solve it, to the person by whom it was propounded^e. The account of Hesychius differs somewhat from all which have been hitherto mentioned: he tells us that *γρίφος* is *συμποτικὴ ζήτησις αἰνιγματώδης, καὶ πρόσμιμον τὸ μὴ λύσαντι τὸν γρί-
φον, ἐκπιεῖν τὸ συγχεῖμενον, ἥτοι ἄκρατον, ἢ ὕδωρ*, 'an enigmatical question at computations, which, whoever fails of solving, is obliged to drink that which is set before him, whether it be unmixed wine or water;' and there is no doubt but the rewards and penalties were varied, according to the disposition of the company. The common name of these, and all other questions used on the like occasions, was *κυλίκεια ζητήματα*. Theodectes the sophist termed them *μνημόνια ζητήματα*, because he had got a set of them by heart, which was usually done by such as frequented public entertainments^f. That the custom of propounding riddles was very ancient, and derived from the eastern nations into Greece, appears from the story of Samson, in the book of Judges, who propounded a riddle to the Philistines at his nuptial feast. Neither were these questions confined to entertainments, but, in the primitive times, were proposed on other occasions, by those who desired to make proof of one another's wisdom and learning. Hence there is mention of the queen of Sheba's^g question to king Solomon, of those which passed between Hiram and Solomon, and several others which are too long to be recounted in this place.

Sometimes the entertainer made presents to all his guests. Lysimachus of Babylon having entertained Himerus, the tyrant of the Babylonians and Seleucians, with 300 other guests, gave

^c Loco citato.

^d Onomast. lib. vi. cap. 19.

^e Etymologici Auctor, et Phavorinus,

v. *γρίφος*. Eustathius, *Iliad*. x. p. 785.

^f Conf. Pollux.

^g Conf. Reg. lib. iii. cap. 10. Josephus adv. Apionem, lib. i. Herodotus. Scriptor Convivii septem sapientum inter opera Plutarchi. Auctor vitæ Æsopi, &c.

every man a silver cup of four pounds weight ^h. When Alexander made his marriage-feast at Susa in Persia, he paid the debts of all his soldiers out of his own exchequer, and presented every one of his guests, who were not fewer than nine thousand, with golden cups ⁱ. From these instances, it appears that cups were commonly presented on these occasions. This was done because it was customary for the company, before they parted, to pour forth wine, as a libation to Mercury, who was accounted the president of the night, and believed to send sleep and pleasing dreams, whence he is called by Homer ^j *νυκτὸς ὀπωπητῆρ* and *ἡγήτωρ ὀνειρῶν*. To the same god they also sacrificed the tongues of the animals which had been killed for the entertainment. The reason of which rite was by some thought to be, that Mercury being the president of eloquence, was chiefly delighted with that member; others rather think that by this sacrifice he was invoked as a witness of the discourse which had passed. Some are of opinion, that by burning the tongues at the conclusion of the meeting, was intimated, that whatever had been there discoursed, should be kept secret. Several other conjectures concerning the original of this custom, which are too long to enumerate, have been made by learned men ^k. It was chiefly observed by the Athenians, Ionians, and Megarensians. And some will have it to have been begun by one of the kings of Megara, who having the tongue of a lion, which had wasted his country, brought to him by Pelops, sacrificed it at the end of an entertainment. It was certainly very ancient; whence Apollonius makes it to be observed by the Argonauts ^l:

Οὐδ' ἐπιδὴν μετέπειτα κερασσάμενοι δὴ λοιδοῶς
 Ἡ θύμης ἐστὶ, τίως ἐπὶ γλώσσησι χέοντο
 Αἰθομέναις, ὕπνῳ δὲ διὰ κνίφας ἐμνῶντο.

Forthwith the bowl they crown with rosy wine,
 And pay due honours to the pow'rs divine;
 Then on the flaming tongues libations pour,
 And wait salubrious sleep's composing hour.

FAWKES.

And it is practised by the heroes in Homer :

Γλώσσας δ' ἐν πυρὶ βύλλον, ἀνιστάμενοι δ' ἐπέλειπον.

As the ancient Greeks offered libations chiefly to Mercury, so the Greeks of later times made theirs to Jupiter, surnamed *τέλειος*, *perfect* ^m; yet several other gods often shared in these offerings;

^h Athenæus, lib. xi. cap. 3.

ⁱ Plutarchus Alexandro, p. 705.

^j Hymno in Mercurium.

^k Apollonii Scholiastes in Argon. i. v.

516. Eustathius in Odyss. γ'. p. 151.

^l Argon. lib. i. v. 516.

^m Athenæus, lib. i. principio, cap. 14.

particularly at entertainments which followed any solemn sacrifice, it was customary to remember the god to whom they had before sacrificed ; hence, at a sacrifice offered to Neptune in Homer ⁿ, Minerva, who was present, under the assumed form of Mentor, adviseth the company to sacrifice the tongues, and to pour forth libations of wine to Neptune, and the rest of the gods, before they departed.

Αλλ' ἄγε, τάμνετε μὲν γλώσσας, κεράσαβι δὲ οἶνον,
Οφρα Ποσειδάωνι, καὶ ἄλλαις ἀθανάτοισι
Επέσαντες, κοίτῳ μιδώμεθα· τοῖο γὰρ ὤρη.

Now immolate the tongues, and mix the wine,
Sacred to Neptune and the Powers divine.

POPE.

It was held unlawful to stay too long at entertainments which followed sacrifices, as Athenæus hath observed from the following words of Minerva in the same poet ^o :

Ἦδη γὰρ φάος οἴχεθ' ὑπὸ ζοφὸν, ἠδὲ ἔοικε
Δηθὰ θιῶν ἐν δαιτὶ θαασσέμεν, ἀλλὰ νύεσθαι.

The lamp of day is quench'd beneath the deep,
And soft approach the balmy hours of sleep :
Nor fits it to prolong the heavenly feast,
Timeless, indecent, but retire to rest.

POPE.

The same author reports, that till his time the company was obliged at some sacrificial entertainments to depart before sun-set ^p ; but at the common entertainments, where more liberty was allowed, the company very often staid till the morning approached : this we find done by Socrates and his friends in Plato's entertainment; and before that, in the heroical times, by Penelope's suitors, and by the Phœnicians in Homer, as also by Dido and Æneas in Virgil. It was also customary to contend who should keep awake longest ; and the prize assigned to the victor was most commonly a sort of cakes called *πυραμῆς* ^q, which word came hence to be a general name for the prize of any victory, as hath been already observed.

ⁿ Odyss. γ'. v. 332.

^o Loco citato.

^p Athenæus, lib. v. cap. 4.

^q Artemidorus, lib. i. cap. 74. Aristophanis Scholiastes ad Equites.

CHAP. XXI.

Of the Manner of Entertaining Strangers.

THE keeping of public inns, for the reception of strangers, was assigned by Plato^r to foreigners, or the meanest sorts of citizens, as an illiberal and mean employment. The ancient Greeks had no public inns, which were an invention of later ages. In the primitive times, men lived at home, neither caring to cultivate friendship with foreigners, nor to improve themselves and their estates by commerce with them. Neither was it safe to travel without a strong guard, the sea and land being both exceedingly infested with robbers, who not only spoiled all whom they caught of their valuable goods, but treated their persons with the utmost cruelty, as appears from the stories of Procrustes, Sinnes, Sciron, Periphetes, and many others. To live upon the plunder of others, was then by many thought a very honourable way of subsisting; and they placed a sort of glory in overcoming and spoiling their neighbours, believing the rules of humanity and justice to be observed by none but such as were destitute of power^s. Hence it seems to have come, that amongst the ancient Greeks, strangers and enemies were both signified by the same name, ξένος, all strangers being then accounted enemies. And the Persians, who for several ages waged continual wars with Greece, are particularly signified by that word^t. The Lacedæmonians are said to have termed the barbarous nations, whom the Greeks took for their common enemies, by the name ξένοι^u. And amongst the primitive Latins, the name *hōstis*, which was afterwards appropriated to enemies, signified strangers^v.

The sea was freed from pirates by Minos, king of Crete, who, with a strong fleet, for a long time maintained the dominion of all the seas thereabouts. The land robbers were destroyed by Hercules, Theseus, and other primitive heroes; from which times,

^r De Leg. lib. xi.^s Plutarchus Theseo, Thucydides Historiæ principio.^t Hesychius voce ξένοι.^u Herodotus Calliope, cap. 10. Polux, lib. i. cap. 10,^v Varro principio, lib. iv. de L. L. Cicero de Offic. lib. i. cap. 2. Ambrosius Offic. lib. i. cap. 29. Conf. Commentarius noster in Lycophron. Cassandra, v. 464.

Xenophon ^w reports, that till his own age, ξένος ἐδείξ' ἔτι ἀδικεῖν, no man was injurious to strangers. And in the earliest ages, all who were not entirely void of humanity, are said to have entertained all strangers with respect : it was then the custom to supply them with victuals and other necessities, before they inquired their names, or asked them any other questions. Thus Telemachus and his company are treated by Menelaus, who thus bespeaks them upon their arrival at Sparta ^x:

Σίτῃ δ' ἄπτισσον, καὶ χαίρετον αὐτὰρ ἔπειτα
Δείπνῃ πασσαμένῳ, εἰρησόμεθ' οἵτινες ἔσδν
Ἀνδρῶν.

In the same manner Telemachus is entertained by Nestor ^y, Ulysses by Eumæus ^z, and Minerva, under the form of Mentor, by Telemachus ^a. Menelaus entertained Paris the Trojan ten days, before he inquired who he was, or whence he came ; and it is said to have been ἀρχαῖον ἔθος, an ancient custom to forbear such inquiries till the tenth day, if the stranger seemed willing to stay till that time, as we learn from Eustathius's comment on the passage of Homer, where the king of Lycia is introduced demanding of Bellerophon his recommendatory letter from Prætus, upon the tenth day after he had come to his house ^b.

Εὐνήμαρ ξέειπσε, καὶ ἐννέα βῆς ἱέρυσεν
Ἀλλ' ὅτε δὴ δεκάτῃ ἐφάνη ῥοδοδάκτυλος ἠώς,
Καὶ τότε μιν ἐρέειν καὶ ἦται σῆμα ἰδεσθαι,
Ὅττι ῥὰ οἱ γαμβροῖο παρὰ Προίτοιο φέροιτο.

There Lycia's monarch paid him honours due,
Nine days he feasted, and nine bulls he slew ;
But when the tenth bright morning orient glow'd,
The faithful youth his monarch's mandate show'd,
The fatal tablets till that instant seal'd
The deathful secret to the king reveal'd.

POPE.

In later ages, Cretan hospitality was very much celebrated. In the συσσίτια public halls of Crete, there were constantly two apartments : one was termed κοιμητήριον, wherein strangers were lodged ; the other was ἀνδρεῖον, being the place of eating, where all the Cretans supped together : in the uppermost part of this room there was a constant table set apart for strangers, called τράπεζα ξενία, ξενική, or Δίος ξενία : others will have two tables appointed for this use ^c. And in the distribution of victuals, the strangers were always served before the king, or any of the Cretan nation ; and some of them were permitted to bear very considerable offices in the state ^d.

^w Απομνημ. lib. ii.^x Odyss. δ'. v. 61.^y Odyss. γ'. v. 69.^z Odyss. ξ'. v. 45.^a Odyss. α' v. 170.^b Iliad. vi. v. 174. p. 491. ed. Basil.^c Athenæus, lib. iv. cap. 9.^d Heraclides de Repub.

The rest of the Greeks, and especially the Athenians were generally courteous to strangers, except the Lacedæmonians, who are ill spoken of for their want of hospitality; hence they are described by Tzetzes ^c as most opposite to the Athenians in their behaviour to strangers.

Τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις νόμος ἦν εἰσδέχισθαι τὰς ξένους
ὅθιν' ἔ' ἀνομάζοντο φιλοξενεῖν τοῖς πᾶσιν
Τοῖς Λάκωσι δὲ νόμος, τὴν ξένους ἀπειλαύνειν.

For the same reason they are called by Aristophanes ^f *δειρωνόζενες* and by others *ξηηλάται*, from their imposing upon strangers, and driving them away; which is the more to be wondered at, because Lycurgus chiefly followed the laws and manners of Crete in the regulations which he made at Sparta. Nevertheless, it is very certain that very good care was taken of strangers at Sparta. It was one part of the royal office to make provision for them, as we learn from Herodotus; and M. Antoninus ^g affirms, that strangers had a convenient place assigned in the shade, whereas the Lacedæmonians themselves lay down without distinction of places. But the opinion of their rough and uncivil usage of strangers seems to have prevailed chiefly on these two accounts:

First, because foreigners, when they lived upon the Spartan diet, which was extremely coarse, thought themselves ill entertained: hence a citizen of Sybaris, happening to be treated after the Spartan fashion, professed that he no longer wondered how it came to pass that the Spartans despised dangers more than other nations, since they were allowed no pleasure for which they could desire to live ^h.

Secondly, because strangers had admittance into Sparta only on *ἁρισμέναις ἡμέραις*, *certain days* ⁱ. This was a provision against the promiscuous and frequent concourse of other nations, which they avoided as much as they possibly could, either as Archidamus in Libanius ^j reports, to prevent foreigners from observing the faults and miscarriages of Sparta, which Pericles in Thucydides ^k seems also to reproach them with, or rather fearing that the manners of their citizens would be corrupted by a too free and unlimited conversation with other nations; which account of this appointment is assigned by Xenophon ^l Plutarch ^m, and others: for the same reason an edict was once put forth at Rome, whereby strangers,

^c Chiliad. vii. Hist. 130.

^f Pace.

^g Lib. xi. ad seipsum.

^h Athenæus lib. iv. cap. 6.

ⁱ Aristophanis Scholiastes in Pace.
Suidas.

^j Declam. xxiv.

^k Lib. ii. in Orat. funebri.

^l De Repub. Lacedæm.

^m Lycurgo, institutis Laconicis.

usu urbis prohibiti, were forbidden the use of that city ^a. And the Lacedæmonians were not allowed to travel into foreign countries, lest they should introduce foreign customs and vices at Sparta ^o. That these and the like orders were not enacted without sufficient cause, appears from Lysander and Agesilaus, the former of which returning home from Athens, and the latter from Asia, contributed very much to the general corruption of manners, which, in a short time after, destroyed the ancient Lacedæmonian discipline and way of living.

To return to the Grecian hospitality. In order to excite the people to treat strangers with kindness and respect, the ancient poets and lawgivers possessed them with an opinion, that all strangers were under the peculiar care of certain gods, who revenged all the injuries done to them: in the number of these gods were reckoned Minerva, Apollo, Venus, Castor, and Pollux, and chiefly Jupiter, who had hence the surname of *Ξένιος*, *hospitable*; which was also sometimes given to other gods, who were believed to protect strangers: hence Ulysses endeavours to mitigate Polyphemus with the reason, that Jupiter was the patron and avenger of strangers ^p.

Ἀλλ' αἰδοῖο, Φέρισε, Θεὸς· ἐκίταί δέ τοι ἐμὴν
Ζεὺς δ' ἐπιτιμήτωρ ἱκετῶν τε ξένων τε
Ξένιος, ὃς ξένοισιν ἅμ' αἰδοίοισιν ὀπηδεῖ.

'Tis what the Gods require: those Gods revere,
The poor and stranger are their constant care;
To Jove their cause, and their revenge belongs,
He wanders with them, and he feels their wrongs.

POPE.

And Eumæus is moved by the same reason to entertain the same hero, as himself professeth ^q:

Ξεῖν', ὃ μοι θέμις ἐστ', ὃδ' εἰ πακίαν σίθεν ἔλθοι,
Ξεῖνον ἀτιμῆσαι· πρὸς γὰρ Διὸς ἐσὶν ἅπαντες
Ξεῖνοί τε, πτωχοί τε.——

The swain replied: It never was our guise
To slight the poor, or aught humane despise:
For Jove unfolds our hospitable door,
'Tis Jove that sends the stranger and the poor.

POPE.

For the same end the gods were feigned to travel in the habit of strangers: thus Jupiter speaks of himself in Ovid ^r:

Et Deus humana lustrò sub imagine terras.

In another passage of that author, the same god, accompanied by

^a Cicero de Offic. lib. iii. cap. 11.

^o Plutarchus locis citat. et Apophthegmat. Nicolaus de moribus gentium apud Stobæum, Valerius Maximus, lib. ii. cap. 6. Harpocration voce *κάβριτος*, &c.

^p Homer. Odyss. ix. v. 269.

^q Odyss. ξ. v. 55.

^r Metam. lib. i. v. 213.

Mercury, is said to have been denied reception by 1000 houses, which, for that offence, he turned, with the adjoining country, into a lake^s. Lycaon was said to have been transformed into a wolf for his injurious treatment of Jupiter. And, to mention only one example more, when Antinous in Homer^t treats Ulysses, who there appears like a stranger, injuriously, he is put in mind that the gods used to visit the cities of men in the habit and form of strangers.

Αντίνο', ὃ μὲν καλ' ἔβαλες δύσθηον ἀλήτην,
Οὐλόμεν', εἰ δὴ πῦ τις ἱπυράνιος θεός ἐστι;
Καί τε θεοὶ ξείνοισιν ἰοικότις ἀλλοδαποῖσι,
Παντοῖοι τελέθοντες, ἱπυρωφῶσι πολλῆας,
Ἀνθρώπων ὕβριν τι χ' εὐνομίην ἱφορῶντες.

Was ever chief for wars like these renown'd?
Ill fits the stranger and the poor to wound.
Unblest thy hand; if in this low disguise
Wander, perhaps, some inmate of the skies;
They (curious oft of mortal actions) deign
In forms like these, to round the earth and main.
Just and unjust recording in their mind,
And with sure eyes inspecting all mankind.

POPE.

The rites of entertaining strangers being the same with those of receiving guests at entertainments, which have been described in one of the preceding chapters, need not be farther explained in this place; only this must be observed, that salt was commonly set before strangers, before they tasted the victuals provided for them; whereby was intimated, that as salt does consist of aqueous and terrene particles mixed and united together, or as it is a concrete of several aqueous parts, so the stranger and the person by whom he was entertained, should, from the time of their tasting salt together, maintain a constant union of love and friendship. Others tell us, that salt being apt to preserve flesh from corruption, signified, that the friendship which was then begun, should be firm and lasting. And some, to mention no more different opinions concerning this matter, think, that a regard was had to the purifying quality of salt, which was commonly used in lustrations, and that it intimated, that friendship ought to be free from all design and artifice, jealousy and suspicion^u. It may be, the ground of this custom was only this, that salt was constantly used at all entertainments, both of the gods and men; whence a particular sanctity was believed to be lodged in it. It is hence called θεῖος

^s Metam. viii. v. 626.^t Odyss. ε'. v. 483.^u Conf. Eustathius in Iliad. α. p. 100.
Lycophronis Scholiastes in v. 135. 137.

ἅλας, *divine salt*, by Homer; and ἱεροὶ ἅλας, *holy salt*, by others; and *salinorum appositu*, by the placing of salt on the tables, a sort of holiness was thought to be derived to them ^v. Indeed, all things which any way conduced to promote love and concord, especially in those early times, when men lived by spoil and rapine, were held to be sacred: hence the table was thought to be endowed with an inherent holiness, as well as the salt. τὸ ὁμοτράπεζον, to have eaten at the same table, was esteemed an inviolable obligation to friendship; and ἅλα καὶ τράπεζαν παραβαίνειν, to transgress the salt and the table, that is, to break the laws of hospitality, and to injure one by whom any person had been entertained, was accounted one of the blackest crimes; hence that exaggerating interrogation of Demosthenes ^w, πῆ δὲ ἅλας; πῆ τράπεζαι; ταῦτα γὰρ τραγὰς παριών. ‘Where is the salt; where the hospitable tables? For in despite of these he had been the author of these troubles.’ And the crime of Paris in stealing Helena is aggravated by Cassandra ^x, upon this consideration, that he had contemned the salt, and overturned the hospitable table:

——— ἔδὲ τὸν ξένους
Σύνδοκον Αἰγαίου ἀγνίστην πάγον,
Επλῆς θιῶν ἀλοιτὸς ἐκβῆναι δίκην,
Λάξας τραπέζαν, κἀνακυπῶσας θίμιν.

And τὸ ὁμόσεγον, to converse under the same roof, was thought to be some sort of engagement to love and courtesy, as we learn from the comment of Eustathius on that passage of Homer, where Ajax endeavours to pacify Achilles by this motive, that they were in the same house, and under the same roof ^y:

——— οὐ δ' Ἴλαον Ἰνθοιο θυμόν,
Αἰδίσσαι δὲ μέλαθρον, ὑπάρχοφιοι δέ τοι ἐσμέν.

The alliance which was contracted by hospitality was termed *προξενία*: it was held very sacred, and πῶς τῇ συγγενικῇ θεισμῷ κρείττων τοῖς παλαιοῖς ἦν, *was rather more inviolably observed by the ancients than the ties of kindred and consanguinity*. Teucer in Homer endeavoured to deprive Priamus of his kingdom, though he was the son of Hesione, the sister of Priamus; whereas Glaucus and Diomedes laid down their arms in the heat of battle, out of a pious regard to the hospitable alliance, which had been entered into by their progenitors, Oeneus and Bellerophon, as Eustathius ^z observes. Hence it appears farther, that the alliances of hospitality were derived by parents to their children; neither were they contracted,

^v Arnobius contra Gentes, lib. ii.

^x Lycophron, v. 154.

^w Orat. de falsa Legat.

^y Iliad. ix. v. 635. p. 691. ed. Basil.

^z In Iliad. vi. p. 496.

only by private and single men, but by these with whole families and cities. Hence Megillus in Plato^a affirmed himself to be *πρόξενος*, allied by hospitality to the city of Athens. Nicias, the Athenian, is by Plutarch called *πρόξενος τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων*, allied by hospitality to the Lacedæmonians. Cimon, the son of Miltiades, by means of the same alliance, became instrumental towards establishing a peace between the cities of Athens and Sparta^b. And, to mention only one instance more, Halyattes, king of Lydia, made a covenant with the Mysians, ἐφ' ᾧ τε ξείνους ἀλλήλοις εἶναι· *whereby they were obliged to take one another for guests and allies*^c.

Hence it was customary for men thus allied to give one another *σύμβολα*, certain tokens, the producing whereof was a recognition of the covenant of hospitality. Hence Jason in Euripides^d promiseth Medea, when she departed from him, to send the symbols of hospitality, which should procure for her a kind reception, in foreign countries :

Ξείνους τε πέμπειν, σύμβολ', οἱ δ' ἄσπετος σ' εἶναι.

These were mutual presents and gifts, called *ξένια* or *δῶρα ξενικά*, which *κειμήλια τοῖς παλαιοῖς ἀπιτίθεντο εἰς ἀνάμνησιν πατρῷας φιλίας τοῖς ἐπιγόνοις*· *were repositèd by the ancient Greeks amongst their treasures to keep up the memory of their friendships to succeeding generations*, as we are informed by the comment of Eustathius on that passage of Homere, where Diomedes recounts to Glaucus the gifts which their ancestors, Oeneus and Bellerophon, had presented to one another :

Ἡ ῥα νύ μοι ξείνους πατρῷους ἰσὶ παλαιός·
Οἶνους γάρ ποτε δῖος ἠμύμονα Βελλεροφόντην
Ξείνισσ' ἐν μισγάροισιν εἵκοσιν ἤματ' ἐρύξας·
Οἳ δὲ καὶ ἀλλήλοισι πόρον ξεινήϊα καλὰ,
Οἶνους μὲν ζωστήρα δίδου φοίνικι φαινόν,
Βελλεροφόντης δὲ χρύσειον δῖπας ἀμφικύπελλον,
Καὶ μιν ἐγὼν κατελείπον ἰὼν ἐν δώμασ' ἑμοῖσι.

Know, chief, our grandsires have been guests of old,
Oeneus the strong, Bellerophon the bold :
Our antient seat his honour'd presence grac'd
Where twenty days in genial rites he pass'd.
The parting heroes, mutual presents left ;
A golden goblet was thy grandsire's gift :
Oeneus a belt of matchless work bestow'd,
That rich with Tyrian dye refulgent glow'd,
This from his pledge I learnt, which safely stor'd,
Among my treasures, still adorns my board.

POPE.

The later Greeks used to break *ἀσράγαλος*, a *dye* in two parts, one of which the guests carried away, the other remained with the

^a Lib. i. de Legib. p. 780. edit. Francofurt.

^b Corn. Nepos, Cimone.

^c Herodotus Clione.

^d Medea, ver. 615.

^e Iliad. vi.

entertainer^f. The same custom was used at Rome, where each part of the dye was termed *tessera hospitalis*. This plainly appears from the following passage of Plautus^g:

- AG. *Siquidem Antidamarchi quæris adoptatitium,
Ego sum ipsus, quem tu quæris.* POE. *Hem ! quid ego audio ?*
AG. *Antidamæ gnatum me esse.* POE. *Si ita est, tesseram
Conferre si vis hospitalem, eccam, attuli.*
AG. *Agedum huc ostende : est par probe : nam habeo domum.*
POE. *O mi hospes, salve multum : nam mihi tuus pater,
Pater tuus ergo hospes, Antidamas fuit :
Hæc mihi hospitalis tessera cum illo fuit.*
AG. Antidamarchus's adopted son
If you do seek, I am the very man.
POE. How ! do I hear aright ? AG. I am the son
Of old Antidamas. POE. If so, I pray you,
Compare with me the hospitable dye,
I've brought this with me. AG. Prithee, let me see it,—
It is indeed the perfect counterpart
Of mine at home. POE. All hail, my welcome guest,
Your father was my guest, Antidamas
Your father was my honour'd guest, and then
This hospitable dye with me he parted. c. s.

Upon these *tesserae*, their names, or some other character of distinction, as also the image of Jupiter Hospitalis, were commonly engraven. Hence the following verse of the fore-mentioned comedian^h, wherein the same thing, viz. the *tessera*, with Jupiter engraved upon it, seems to be expressed by two separate names, which is a mode of speech very common in the poets.

Deum hospitalem ac tesseram mecum fero.

When they renounced their hospital alliance, it was customary to break in pieces the hospital *tessera*. Hence *tesseram frangere* signifies to violate the laws of hospitality: thus it is used by the same authorⁱ:

*Abi, quære ubi tuo jusjurando satis sit subsidii :
Hic apud nos jam, Alcesimarche, confregisti tesseram.*

They who entertained private strangers, were termed *ἰδιοπρόξενοι*. They who received ambassadors, and other foreigners, who came on any public account, were called *πρόξενοι*. But the same name is often taken for men who entertained their own private friends of other nations. If the person who received the foreigners, who came under a public character, did it voluntarily, he was called *ἑθελόπρόξενος*; in which sense Pithias is called by Thucydides^j *ἑθελόπρόξενος Ἀθηναίων*, the voluntary entertainer of the Athenians. But more commonly the *πρόξενοι* were appointed to that office, either by the suffrages of the people, which was the usual way of choos-

^f Euripides Scholiast. in *Medææ*, ver. 613. ex *Helladio*, et *Eubuli Xutho*.

^g *Pænul. act. v. sc. 2. ver. 85.*

^h *Ibid. sc. 1. ver. 22.*

ⁱ *Cistellaria.*

^j *Lib. iii. cap. 70. ubi conf. Græcus Scholiast.*

ing them in popular governments; or by designation of the king, which was the method in monarchical countries. Thus, at Sparta, the kings appointed τὸς ἀνὶ θέλει τῶν ἀστῶν, *whomsoever of the citizens they pleased to be proxeni*, as we learn from Herodotus^k. Neither did the office of *proxeni* consist only in providing lodging and entertainment for the fore-mentioned strangers; but it was also their duty to conduct them to the king, or the popular assembly, to provide for them convenient places in the theatre, and to serve and assist them on all other occasions. Hence, καλῶ τινὸς ἢ κακῶ αἴτιος, whoever was the procurer of any good or evil to another person, was termed πρόξενος. The author of another man's ruin and misery was called πρόξενος ἀπωλείας, or πρόξενος φθορᾶς: the author of his safety and felicity, πρόξενος σωτηρίας or πρόξενος ὑγιείας^l.

The office of *proxeni* was by the more modern Greeks called παροχή, which word is used in that sense in one of St. Basil's epistles. Παροχαί are by Hesychius interpreted χαρίσματα, δωρήματα, *presents, or gifts*: and public entertainments are called by Cicero, in one of his epistles to Atticus^m, *parochiæ publicæ*; unless instead of these words, we read, as some learned men have done, *parochus publicus*; for the officers were called πάροχοι and ξινοπάροχοι. The ancient Romans called them *copiarii*, but Horaceⁿ useth the name of *parochus*, which was current in his age:

*Proxima Campano ponti quæ villula, tectum
Præbuit: et parochi, quæ debent, ligna, salernique.*

Next night, near Campan's bridge, our stage was good,
And there we lodged, and as the custom stood,
The villagers presented salt and wood.

CREECH.

Where, under the names of *ligna et sal*, wood and salt, all necessary provisions are comprehended; these were supplied in all the Roman towns to such as came thither upon any public affair by the *parochi*, who were empowered to levy taxes on the inhabitants for this use^o. In another place of the same poet, *parochus* signifies the master of a feast:

————— *vertere pallor*
*Tum parochi faciem nil sic metuentis ut acres
Potores.*—————

————— Struck with dread,
A fearful pale our landlord's face o'erspread;
Great were his terrors of such drinking folk.

FRANCIS.

^k Lib. vi. conf. Eustathius in Iliad. γ'.
^p 507. Pollux, lib. v. cap. 4. Suidas.

^l Eustathius in Iliad. δ. p. 569.

^m Lib. xiii. epist. 2.

ⁿ Lib. sat. v. 45.

^o Livius lib. xlii. Cicero, lib. i. epist. 16. ad Atticum, Acron in Horatii loc. cit. Idem in lib. ii. sat. 8. 55.

Whoever undertook a journey, first implored the divine protection. Before their departure into any foreign country, it was customary to salute, and, as it were, take leave of the deities of their own country, by kissing the earth: thus the Trojans in Ovid are said to do^p:

— dant oscula terræ
Troades, et patriæ fumantia tecta relinquunt.

The same rite of salutation was commonly practised at their arrival in any country: thus Ulysses in Phæacia^q:

κύσας δὲ ζεῖδωρον ἄρουραν.

And Cadmus in Boeotia^r:

Cadmus agit grates pregrinæque oscula terræ
Figit; et ignotos montes agrosque salutat.

Hereby they paid homage, and invoked the assistance and protection of ἐπιχώριοι θεοί, the gods who were patrons of that country. They worshipped the same gods during the time of their residence in that place. This was done by the Samaritans, whom the king of Assyria planted in the country of Israel, as we learn from the sacred history, and by Alexander the Great, whilst he staid in Troas, as the writers of his life and actions report. Lastly, when they returned home, they saluted the gods of their own country in the same manner, and gave them thanks for their safe return. This was done by Ulysses in Homer at his return to Ithaca^s:

Γηθήσειν δ' ἄρ' ἔπειτα πολύτλας διὸς Ὀδυσσεύς,
Χαίρων ἢ γαῖν, κύσας δὲ ζεῖδωρον ἄρουραν,
Αὐτίκα δὲ Νύμφης ἡρέσατο, χεῖρας ἀνασχών.

The king with joy confess'd his place of birth,
And on his knees salutes his mother earth:
Then, with his suppliant hands upheld in air,
Thus to the sea-green sisters sends his prayer.

POPE.

The same rite is practised by Agamemnon in Æschylus^t, when he returns to Mycenæ; and by Hercules in Euripides^u, at his return from the infernal regions.

^p Metam. lib. xiii. 420.

^q Odyss. ζ'. v. 460.

^r Ovidii Metam. lib. iii. v. 24.

^s Odyss. ι'. v. 524.

^t Agamemnon. v. 819.

^u Hercul. Furent. v. 523.

A CONCISE
GENERAL HISTORY
OF THE EARLY
GRECIAN STATES ;

WITH SOME
OBSERVATIONS ON THE NATURE AND POLICY
OF THE SPARTAN AND ATHENIAN
GOVERNMENTS.

PART I.

IN tracing the progress of human improvement and civilization, we shall find that both tradition and history point to the East, as the source from which they first proceeded towards the West. It is entirely foreign from our purpose to give any account of the different nations in the East, among whom the arts of life were first cultivated with success ; but as the Egyptians and Phœnicians were known to have had frequent intercourse with Greece at a very early period, a short detail of their policy and pursuits will form no improper introduction to an account of the early Grecian states.

The Egyptians had early established among them a regular government, and many just and equitable laws, both for the protection of property and the security of the people's rights. They had also an institution of great weight in the state, that of the priesthood ; an order of men to whom were entrusted the ceremonies of religion and the mysteries of their national faith, embodied into a complex and multifarious system. From the leisure and opportunities they enjoyed, they early applied themselves to the cultivation of letters and science, which, by the political institutions of the country, were confined to them alone, and which they com-

municated, without reserve or mystery, to those only who were properly initiated.—From the nature of the climate and soil of Egypt, it is evident that agriculture must have been early understood, as the Nile, by its inundations, prevented the possibility of pasturing the ground, or raising any other productions than corn and other annual plants. Of these, in favourable seasons, the produce was great, and admitted of exportation to other countries less bountifully supplied. Phœnicia, with which an intercourse by sea had been early established, seems to have taken off the redundant supply of these productions in exchange for other commodities, particularly timber, with which the contiguous country abounded, and which was an article of great scarcity in Egypt. By this mutual communication between the two countries, an impulse was given to the commerce of both; and the art of navigation, confined at first, as we may suppose, to short attempts along the coasts, was thereby greatly improved. By degrees, the Phœnicians extended their voyages along the coast of the Mediterranean, and even as far as the Atlantic Ocean; bartered their own goods, which were more calculated for shew than real use, for the natural productions of the countries which they visited; planted colonies and formed permanent settlements in places most favourable for commerce. While Egypt and Phœnicia were thus opening an intercourse with each other and with various tribes along the coast, the inhabitants of Greece, probably migrating hordes from the deserts of Scythia, were ignorant of the most necessary arts; lived upon the spontaneous fruits of the earth; clothed themselves with skins of animals which they happened to kill in the chace, and sheltered themselves from the inclemency of the seasons and incidental storms in thickets or caverns. In this state, or but little removed from this state, they were discovered by the Phœnician and Egyptian navigators, who found in the natural productions of the soil, among the rude arts of the natives, and even the natives themselves, objects of commercial profit, which tempted them to renew their visits at different times. The advantages, however, to be derived from such a transient intercourse must have operated slowly towards civilizing the Greeks, had other circumstances not combined in their favour. Colonies from Egypt, whether forced to quit their native country from intestine discord, or actuated by the restless spirit of adventurers, or obliged to seek for other settlements through a redundant population, established themselves in various parts of Greece and the adjacent islands. Of these

islands, Crete seems to have been the first where any permanent settlement was made. It early exhibited a civilized state of society, a regular internal policy, and a system of laws far superior to any thing of the kind upon the continent. The want of written records at that period prevents us from ascertaining, with any degree of certainty, the causes, means and instruments, by which all these improvements were effected. Tradition refers us to Minos, a king of the island, who appears to have been a prince of extraordinary wisdom, vigour, and decision. By some he is supposed to have been a native of Crete; by others, with more probability, a leader of adventurers from Phœnicia. Actuated by the ambition of a conqueror, he not only reduced the whole island of Crete to subjection, but cleared the Archipelago of those pirates which had long infested it, and plundered the inhabitants of the continent and islands.

The laws established by this prince are remarkable for being the model upon which Lycurgus, the Spartan legislator, formed his institutions. They rested upon two principles—‘that all free men were equal, and that slaves were necessary to relieve them from every servile employment.’ The profession of arms was the only business suited to the high spirit of the former, while the latter, far superior in numbers, consisting probably of the original inhabitants of the island, or captives taken in war, were doomed to labour and toil. Plato remarks, that the Cretan constitution did not so much resemble a civil community as a military station. Hence the education of the youth was directed to make them soldiers. The strictest discipline was enforced. Modesty and temperance were particularly inculcated, and merit alone obtained distinction. The free citizens were not allowed any private property in land, and but little of any thing else, as their wants and necessities were provided for out of the public stock. That their manners and habits might be as uniform as possible, they were obliged to eat together at the public tables; and that they might be restrained from every kind of vice or excess, a severe moral code was enacted, which reached to many of those small deviations from rectitude, that are supposed in other countries to be checked by public opinion. In these institutions may be observed the germ of that more extended system which Lycurgus is said to have framed for the Spartans, and which shall afterwards be detailed at greater length.

The early period of Grecian history is so much involved in uncertainty and fable, owing to the want of written records, that we find it almost impossible to obtain any rational account of various tribes whose names alone survived, to shew that they had once inhabited the country. It is extremely probable that the original inhabitants were wandering tribes of Scythians, who, having quitted their mountains and forests, proceeded along the western coast of the Black Sea, established themselves in Thrace, and spread by degrees through Macedonia to Thessaly and other parts of Greece. These barbarians obtained the general name of Pelasgi; from what origin is uncertain. It may seem strange that the Pelasgi, who were supposed to have occupied the whole of Greece, should have left so few memorials of their having possessed the country, and that even their name should have been obliterated at a very early period. Whether it was owing to their unsettled mode of life, which induced them to migrate to other places, or that they were forced to give way to other tribes of barbarians, cannot now be well ascertained. A more likely supposition is, that the general name of the Pelasgi, given to those who first established themselves in the mountainous country of Thessaly, was gradually lost when bands of adventurers proceeded to other parts of Greece in quest of new settlements, as it was a common custom to assume the name of their respective leaders, and bestow it upon the province or district where they fixed themselves. As long as the remembrance of their common origin remained among them, they would still consider themselves as belonging to the Pelasgic nation: but when time and other causes had effaced that impression, they would uniformly be called by the names of their respective leaders, assumed, it is probable, at first to distinguish them from other adventurers, but afterwards retained through familiar use, and as a mark of nationality. A portion of the Greeks were, from this circumstance, called Hellenes, from Hellen the son of Deucalion, a prince of Thessaly, who, putting himself, as was supposed, at the head of a confederacy of the Pelasgi, to repel the invasion of strangers, gave to the people who composed it, his own name. His sons and grandsons, by conducting the overflowing population of the country to other places, were honoured by their particular adherents, with the assumption of their respective names. Thus the inhabitants of Greece, whether they went by the name of Pelasgi or Hellenes, or were called Dorians, Eolians, Ionians and Achaians, were all sprung from the same stock, and had one com-

mon language, varied in progress of time, according to the pursuits of the different tribes, their intercourse with one another and with foreigners, and their improvements in the arts and sciences.

The Dorian seems to have been the primitive language of the Pelasgi, who dwelt in Thessaly, and remained with fewer changes among the inhabitants of that mountainous district, than in other parts of Greece, where it underwent considerable alterations from the influx of strangers and progress of commerce. That it was the original language of the whole country, appears also from this, that the rustic songs, the ancient hymns in honour of the Gods, and the choruses of the tragic and comic poets, written in imitation of these hymns, were all in the Doric dialect. It continued to be spoken with a mixture of the Eolian, to which it had a near affinity, by the inhabitants of Peloponnesus, the Sicilians, the Cretans, the Rhodians and the people of Epirus, with a few variations in the change and addition of some letters. The Athenians, who belonged to the Ionian tribe, having got the start of their neighbours by their progress in the arts and cultivation of their language, formed a new dialect, denominated the Attic, while the Æolians, who were expelled from the Peloponnesus by the Dorians, having established colonies along the western coast of Asia Minor, diffused their language over that tract of country. The Ionian name, over which the Athenian had triumphed in Greece, was retained by those who had emigrated to Asia and the islands. Thus the language of the inhabitants of Greece, the islands and Asia Minor, was divided into the Doric, the Attic, the Æolic and the Ionic, a distinction uniformly observed by all the writers of the different countries where settlements had been made.

Before proceeding with a short account of the more particular states of Greece, whose history embraced actions and events of general importance, it may be necessary to describe the boundaries and divisions of the country. Ancient Greece was bounded on the east by the Egean sea, now called the Archipelago; and on the west by the Ionian sea, or Adriatic gulph. It is divided from Macedonia by a ridge of mountains, and from Thrace by the river Strymon. It extends southwards to the promontory of Tænarus, and is situated nearly in the middle of the northern temperate zone.—THESSALY, the most northern province, was an extensive and fruitful vale, completely surrounded by lofty mountains. On the north, Olympus divides it from Macedonia :

contiguous ridges extend to the Ceraunian mountains, and terminate in the high and stormy promontory of Acroceraunus. Mount Pindus forms the western boundary of Thessaly, and Oeta the southern. Between the foot of mount Oeta and the sea, lies the narrow defile of Thermopylæ, the only entrance on the eastern side to the southern provinces of Greece. The river Peneus, after running between Ossa and Olympus, and winding through a romantic and fertile country, flows into the delightful vale of Tempe. The tract extending from Epirus and Thessaly, to the isthmus of Corinth and the gulphs on each side of it, contains seven provinces: ETOLIA and ACARNANIA, defended on one side by mountains almost impassable, and confined on the other by boisterous seas; DORIS, a mountainous and rocky region; LOCRI and PHOCIS, fertile plains, but of small extent; BÆOTIA, a rich vale, with many rivers and lakes, bounded on the north-east by the Opuntian gulph stretching southward to that of Corinth, and almost surrounded by the mountains Parnassus, Helicon, Cithæron and Parnes; ATTICA is bounded on the north by the two latter of these mountains, and extends to the promontory of Sunium on the south. It is a rocky and barren region, producing little corn or pasture, but abounding in fruits, particularly figs and olives.

The Peninsula of PELOPONNESUS contains seven districts; the narrow but extensive coast of ACHAIA; the fruitful vale of ARGOS; the level countries of ELIS and MESSENNIA; ARCADIA, the central district, is a cluster of mountains; LACONIA, a large and fertile territory, watered by the Eurōtas, and divided by the lofty ridges of Taygētus and Xarex, which extend to the most southern promontories of Greece, Tænarus and Malia; and the isthmus of CORINTH, which is narrow and mountainous.

Such are the divisions of ancient Greece, and the names of the different states who inhabited the country. The greater part of them are too inconsiderable to deserve any particular mention, as they either mixed very little in the general affairs of Greece, or were soon reduced to a secondary rank by a few leading powers. Some, however, merit our attention, as being among the first that exhibited a regular form of government, and events of such importance as to be noticed in history.—It was already stated, that various colonies from Egypt and Phœnicia settled in different parts of Greece, and instructed the rude inhabitants in the arts peculiar to the countries from which they came.

It does not appear that they met with any decided opposition from the inhabitants in their attempts to establish themselves in the country, but gradually brought them to submit to their authority and direction. The leaders of these colonies and some of their descendants have furnished, by the singularity of their history and exploits, exaggerated and embellished to an extraordinary degree, through the credulity and admiration of their countrymen, many fertile subjects for poets of all descriptions, and even writers of a graver character, who made use of them as topics in which they could indulge their national vanity. A short account of some of the most remarkable of these personages, obscure and unsatisfactory as their history really is, may be thought in some measure necessary to guide the student's step through the mazes of Grecian fiction. Without some knowledge of what has been denominated the fabulous and heroic ages of Greece, many characters and allusions in poetic story could neither be understood nor applied with any kind of consistency.

It appears that Argos was among the first places in Greece, in which an Egyptian colony established themselves, under the command of Inachus*, or Phorôneus; for on this point authors are not agreed. These colonists being far superior to the natives in their knowledge of many of the useful arts, and being accustomed to a regular form of government, introduced among them order and civilization, instructed them in their religious rites and ceremonies, and taught them to be submissive to law and authority. For favours so important as these, conferred upon an ignorant and barbarous people, at a period when the memory of every transaction was transmitted from one generation to another with additional circumstances of wonder and astonishment, the leaders of these colonies were regarded as beings of a superior order, and had, in the progress of time, divine honours paid to them. Every event, which in more enlightened periods, would be noticed among the common occurrences of nations, was represented as being brought about, in some shape or other, by the instrumentality of superior powers. Of this we have an instance in the history of Io, a daughter of one of the princes of Argos.

She was said by the poets to have had an amour with Jupiter, who, to shield her from the resentment of Juno, transformed her into a cow, in which shape she was driven by the furies into Egypt, where she became a goddess. The tragic poet

* About the year 1080 before Christ, according to Newton's chronology.

Æschylus has introduced her in his celebrated play of *Prometheus Vincetus*, agitated, mad, and goaded on by her restless tormentors to her destined place of rest. But the most probable account of this fiction, which exemplifies the manners of the age, is given by Herodotus. The Phœnicians, at that period the only people who practised commerce, brought to Argos the commodities of their own country, with the view of bartering them for the more profitable riches of the inhabitants. The women of Argos, with a passion natural to their sex and to all rude nations, flocked around the strangers, in order to obtain those ornaments which are not to be found in their own country. The Phœnicians, watching their opportunity, seized upon Io and a number of her companions, and carried them to Egypt, where female slaves were in great request. The princess was said to have attracted by her beauty the attention of the king, became his queen, and left descendants who afterwards claimed in her right the throne of Argos. One of these descendants was Danaüs, famous in poetic story for having commanded his fifty daughters to murder, on their wedding night, the fifty sons of his brother Egyptus, Whether he was compelled to fly for such an act of unnatural cruelty, or that he found his situation uncomfortable in Egypt, he embarked with his family and followers, and after an abortive attempt upon Rhodes, landed in the territory of Argos, at that time subject to Gelānor, from whom, and from his people he met with a cordial reception. Emboldened by the favourable opinion entertained of him by the inhabitants, he soon advanced his claim to the throne itself as the descendant of Io. Some other causes must have operated in his favour to have insured him that success which he obtained; for he not only acquired the crown for himself, but transmitted it as an inheritance to his posterity, and left a name, which in the age of Homer, was common to all the inhabitants of the Peloponnesus.—Danaüs was succeeded by Lynceus his son-in-law, an Egyptian by birth. Acrisius, the father of Danaë, so celebrated by the poets as the mistress of Jupiter, and mother of Perseus, was the grandson of this prince. As we have no clue to guide us to the real history of Danaë, we shall proceed to that of Perseus, who was the first as well as one of the greatest heroes of antiquity. He was said to have been the founder of Mycenæ, and by some means or other obtained a superiority over the king of Argos. Many fabulous exploits are reported of this prince; such as his slaying the Gorgon Medusa, whose face

turned every one that looked upon it into stone ; and his freeing Andromeda from a sea-monster sent by Neptune to devour her. These, and some others which it is unnecessary to mention, had probably some foundation in truth, but were so disfigured and distorted by a credulous age as to lose every semblance of reality.

About this period, when the Greeks were beginning to relish the advantage of a civilized life, the western provinces of Asia Minor were flourishing in arts and abounding with riches. Pelops, the son of Tantalus, king of Phrygia, or, according to Pindar, of Lydia, being hard pressed by a successful opponent, quitted his native country in quest of other settlements, attended with a considerable body of followers, and carrying with him treasures to an immense amount. The poverty of the Achæians in Thessaly induced many of them to accompany him to the Peloponnesus, where, in consequence of his power and riches, he obtained a footing for himself and followers, married Hippodamia the daughter of Oenomaüs, king of Pisa in Elea, and after his death succeeded to the throne. With all these advantages in his favour, and by the marriages of his numerous issue with the children of the chief men of the country, he extended his authority throughout the peninsula, and gave it his own name. Pelops was contemporary with Perseus the son of Danaë, with whom he seems to have lived in terms of friendship. Sthenelus, the son of Perseus, married Astydamia, the daughter of Pelops, by whom he had a son named Eurystheus, famous for his enmity to the celebrated Hercules. The history of this hero has been so much disguised in fable by a credulous people in a romantic age, that it is impossible to divest it wholly of the marvellous, and reduce it to the natural bounds of human actions. He is said to have been the son of Alcmena and Amphitryon king of Thebes, or, according to the poets, of Jupiter. The very brief information regarding him in the *Iliad* of Homer, leads us to suppose that those wonderful stories of his matchless strength, and solitary wandering life in quest of adventures, have been greatly exaggerated. He is represented by that poet, not as capable by his single strength to rout armies and take cities, but as attended with followers who assisted him in achieving his great exploits. Like another Achilles among the other heroes of his age, he distinguished himself by superior courage and might. At a period when the arm of government was too feeble to repress the violence and cruelty of men, who, disdaining a peaceful and indolent life, withdrew to the

fastnesses of the country, and engaged in predatory expeditions against the industrious inhabitants, nothing could add more to the fame of a distinguished chief than to attack them in their retreats, and free the country from their lawless incursions. For services such as these successfully performed, a grateful people magnified the exploits of the hero, represented him as more than mortal and gave him the sole praise for actions in which he had borne the most conspicuous part. His children, as the descendants both of Pelops and Perseus, were objects of the same jealousy to Eurystheus as their father had been, were forced to quit the Peloponnesus, and seek protection under other governments, until better fortune restored them to their own.

Upon the death of Eurystheus, who perished in battle against the Athenians, his uncle Atreus, the son of Perseus, whom he had left guardian of his dominions in the Peloponnesus, seized upon the throne and extended his authority over the whole country. This sovereign dying while his sons Agamemnon and Menelaus were too young to manage an empire, in which subordinate chiefs, as in the feudal times in Europe, were ready to take advantage of the youth and inexperience of a prince to abridge the royal authority, left his kingdom to his brother Thyestes, on condition that he should resign it to his son Agamemnon when he arrived at the age of manhood. Thyestes was said to have faithfully executed this condition; and Agamemnon succeeded to the kingdom of Argos, and to the dominion of many of the contiguous islands. His brother Menelaus married Helen the heiress of Sparta, and upon the death of Tyndarus her father, succeeded him in the throne.

Having thus given a short account of the history of this part of Greece, previous to the commencement of the Trojan war, it will now be necessary to mention a few particulars respecting the colonization of Bœotia.—The information we can collect respecting Bœotia, previous to the arrival of Cadmus*, is scanty in the extreme. The country seems to have been in a great measure deserted on account of the frequent earthquakes, and inundations to which it was subject. Yet the fertility of the vales, and the natural strength of the country, were strong inducements for a foreign chief to fix his residence where his followers could obtain subsistence, and resist with effect the attacks of their neighbours. Cadmus being obliged, according to the poets, to quit

* About 1043 years before Christ.

his native country by order of his father, in search of his sister Europa, who had been carried off by Jupiter, or rather by a captain of Pirates from Crete, led such of his countrymen as chose to accompany him into Greece, at that time well known to the Phœnician adventurers. The rich vale of Bœotia attracted his attention. He founded the celebrated city of Thebes, and extended his authority over the whole country. Under his care and that of his descendants, it became a place of great strength and importance; and is famed for giving birth, in those ages of fable, to a number of remarkable personages who make a great figure in the works of the tragic poets. The unfortunate Oedipus was king of Thebes. The disputes about the succession between his two sons Eteocles and Polynices, led to the first combination recorded in history among the Grecian chiefs, and furnished events which both the epic and tragic muse have adorned with all the graces, and much of the fiction of poetry. But instead of detailing events of little importance in themselves, and many of which are extremely doubtful, it is of much more consequence to give some account of the probable introduction of letters into Greece.

Most of the ancient authors were of opinion that the Greeks, previous to the time of Cadmus, knew not the use of signs or symbols to express any of their ideas; that he introduced among them the Phœnician alphabet, and taught them to combine the letters of which it consisted, to mark the sounds of their own language. Herodotus says expressly in his 5th book, c. 58. *οἱ δὲ Φοινῖκες οὗτοι, οἱ σὺν Καδμῷ ἀπικόμενοι—ἐσηγαγον διδασκαλίᾳ ἐς τὰς Ἑλληνας, καὶ δὴ καὶ γράμματα, ἐκ ἑόντα πρὶν Ἑλλήσι, ὡς ἔμοι δοκέειν.* “These Phœnicians who came with Cadmus, introduced learning among the Greeks, and also letters, which, in my opinion, were not previously known to the Greeks.”—Some of the moderns have endeavoured to shew that Cadmus came originally from Egypt, and that the letters which he introduced into Greece were therefore derived from that country. To overturn this opinion, a comparison has been made between the forms of the oldest Greek letters that are observed in inscriptions, with all the different kinds of writing in use among the Egyptians, and no resemblance whatever has been found between them.—The accounts we have of Cadmus are too vague to rest any opinion upon; for though his followers consisted partly of Phœnicians and partly of Egyptians, it was not necessary that he should have come from the country

of the latter, as in those times bands of adventurers from Egypt, might either have travelled or sailed to Phœnicia, in the first instance, as to a place with which a constant intercourse was maintained, and might there have joined Cadmus when he set out in search of new settlements.

On the other hand, the resemblance between the letters of the Phœnician alphabet and those of the early Greeks is evident and striking. The names also of many of the letters of both alphabets are nearly the same, a circumstance which could not have happened if they had not been originally the same. It is well known that the Greeks made use of some other signs, besides these letters, as marks of particular numbers. The *σигμα ἐπισημον*, employed to denote the number *six*, has nearly the same form with the Samaritan *vau*, and the same power and use with the corresponding letter in the Phœnician alphabet. The *σαντι* and the *κοππα* of the Greeks have a pretty close resemblance with the *Shin* and *Kof* of the Hebrews, though the numbers they denote are not the same, which may easily be accounted for from the mode of notation used by the Greeks. The only circumstance that might seem to throw a doubt upon the introduction of the Phœnician alphabet into Greece by Cadmus is, that it is said to have always consisted of twenty-two letters, while the Greeks are thought to have used only sixteen until the siege of Troy. In answer to this it may be asserted that the Greeks did not, while they adopted the Phœnician letters, adopt also the language of that country, but employed such of the letters only of that alphabet, as they found necessary and sufficient to express all the sounds they were accustomed to emit. It is well known that the Scots employ the guttural *χ*, as in the word *loch*, which the English are unable to pronounce, and of course have no letter or combination of letters to denote such a sound. Similar variations may be observed among other nations, and hence a presumption is formed that the Greeks had no sounds in their language which called for the use of some of the Phœnician letters. We need not be surprized that the Greeks did not adopt the language of the Egyptians and Phœnicians who settled among them, and to whom they were evidently indebted for many of the arts of life, though perhaps they were not so ignorant and barbarous as some historians have represented them. They must have been far more numerous than the strangers, who, in all probability, confined themselves for a considerable time to settlements upon the coasts and fortified places, and who, as they gradually

mixed with the inhabitants, would be obliged in some measure to adopt their language. We have a striking instance of this in the history of our own country, in which the language of the Saxons triumphed in a great degree over that of their Norman conquerors, though recommended by the example of the great, and introduced into all public deeds and pleadings by the authority of the Crown. Perhaps there was a closer affinity between the language of the new settlers in Greece, and that of the ancient inhabitants, than could be afterwards traced, when revolutions and other causes had dissolved their connection, and changed their original habits, manners, police and government. Be this as it may, the enterprising spirit of the Greeks, aided by their intercourse with foreigners, and guided under their direction to a knowledge of some of the arts and sciences, soon changed the face of their country from solitude and deserts to a populous, thriving and cultivated state. Their progress, however, in the art of writing, if they really received the first knowledge of letters from Cadmus, seems to have been extremely slow, as there is no evidence of any prose writer having flourished before the reign of the elder Cyrus, a period of some centuries from their supposed introduction. This may in some measure be accounted for, from the time occupied in changing the sounds and forms of the Phœnician letters, to accommodate them to the organs of the people, and still more from the practice of engraving the characters in plates of brass or blocks of marble; a process tedious and slow, and unfit for recording any work of length. It appears certain that the Greeks, when they first began to use letters, arranged them after the oriental manner from the right towards the left; a circumstance which affords a pretty strong proof of their origin. Afterwards they wrote alternately from right to left and from left to right, which was called *βουστροφῆδον*, like the turning of oxen in a plough at the end of the furrow. About the time of the Persian invasion, this custom was discontinued for that which has been adopted by all European nations, of writing from the left hand towards the right.

Of the Spartan Constitution and Government.*

THE enmity that subsisted between Eurystheus king of Argos and the celebrated Hercules, as formerly mentioned, was extended to the children of that hero, in consequence of their claims upon the sovereignty of the Peloponnesus as the descendants of Perseus. Driven from their native country, they first took refuge in Athens, the common asylum, in those ages of turbulence and disorder, of all who were forced to apply for external aid, and afterwards retired to Doris at the invitation of Epalius, the chief of that province, who gave his daughter in marriage to Hyllus the eldest son of Hercules, and bequeathed to him his principality. Still, however, they regarded the dominion of the Peloponnesus and the throne of Argos as their own by right of birth, and made several unsuccessful attempts to regain them. At length Temenus, Cresphontes and Aristodemus, descendants in the fifth degree from Hercules, instructed by past misfortunes, devised a plan of attack which was attended with better success. They prepared with great industry a number of transports, in a convenient harbour at the northern extremity of the gulph of Corinth, afterwards from this circumstance named Naupactus; and having engaged the warlike Etolians with their leader Oxylus to accompany them and share their fortune, they set sail towards the eastern coast of the Peloponnesus, having previously detached a body of light troops to the Isthmus to draw the attention of the enemy to that quarter. This feint had the desired effect; for the Heraclidæ with their followers met with trifling opposition, and soon reduced the whole of the peninsula with the exception of the central province of Arcadia, and the maritime district of Achaia. Laconia, it was said, was betrayed to them by a number of the inhabitants who were in their interest. Temenus took possession of Argos; Cresphontes of Messenia, and the twin sons of Aristodemus, who died about the conclusion of the enterprize, were made kings of Lacedæmon†. Most of the original inhabitants were either driven into banishment or reduced to slavery: and the Dorians and Ætolians shared among them their possessions. This general revolution throughout the peninsula was soon succeeded by other important changes.

* It will be observed that I have not touched upon the history of Attica, as a sufficient account is given of it at the commencement of the Antiquities.

† 824 years before Christ.

The people, as if by one consent, abolished the power and authority of their kings, and substituted a form of government in which they themselves had a considerable share and interest. Lacedæmon was almost the only country where royalty was maintained, in consequence probably of the power being lodged in the hands of two kings, who became naturally jealous of each other, and thus allowed the people to make encroachments upon their authority.

As it is the constitution of that country, established by the celebrated Lycurgus, which we have particularly in view to describe, we shall pass over the whole of its history previous to his time, as being of little moment even were it more certain than it is, and shall only give a general view of the character of the inhabitants and the relative situation of the other Grecian states, at the period when he began the work of legislation.

Sparta, the capital of Laconia, took its name, according to fabulous history and traditionary report, from Sparta the daughter of Eurotas, the wife of Lacedæmon, the son of Jupiter and Taygeta. Though the people in general were sometimes called Lacedæmonians, yet there was a marked distinction between them and the Spartans. The latter inhabited the town, the former the country: the latter composed those bands of renowned warriors who maintained for a long period the superiority of their discipline in every quarter of Greece, and upon whom depended the glory and the safety of the state; the former were only summoned to arms on critical occasions, and were seldom consulted about public measures.

The country of Laconia, in which one branch of the descendants of Hercules established themselves, was intersected by a chain of mountains and hills that ran through its whole extent in various directions. It was watered by several small streams, which, issuing from the mountains, and winding through the delightful vallies with which that district abounds, discharged themselves into the gulph of Laconia. The most considerable of these streams was the Eurotas, upon the banks of which the capital, or rather the scattered abodes of the inhabitants were built, for Sparta had no walls or other means of defence than the bravery of her citizens. Laconia was said to have had at one time an hundred towns, but these were probably nothing more than small hamlets, erected in the most fertile and most extensive vallies, similar to those which are found in most mountainous countries, where nature directs the

choice of man in fixing his habitation, and shelters him by her lofty barriers, from the storms of elements and the incursions of hostile neighbours. From the little we know of the inhabitants of this country, broken and divided as we have now described it, they seem to have possessed all the qualities of a brave, virtuous and warlike people. The states of Greece were all, at an early period remarkably free and independent. The subjects, not the slaves of their princes, they never suffered them to usurp any authority dangerous to their freedom; and in all their disputes about their respective rights were continually making encroachments upon the royal prerogative, until, by a common agreement as it were of the people, they expelled their kings, and established in some places, a form of government in which aristocracy preponderated; in others, democracy. The Lacedæmonians, though they did not, like some other states, abolish entirely the name and power of royalty, were yet extremely jealous of their independence, and only submitted to royal authority, because the divided empire of their kings was never formidable. As their occupations seldom led them beyond the bounds of their native country, to pursue in other climes and under other governments, objects of avarice or ambition, so their attachment to it was in no danger of being weakened by foreign interests or connections. The nature of their public assemblies, in which the most important affairs were discussed under the eye and control of the people, continually festered in their breasts a strong and lively attachment to the principles of freedom of which they all shared in an equal degree.

The states of Greece, previous to the age of Lycurgus, were not far advanced in civilization, refinement, and those branches of commerce which minister to the luxuries of a people. The commodities that were not the produce of their own country were, in some places, almost unknown, and such as found their way among them, were imported by strangers. They were in a great measure unacquainted with the luxuries of Asia, and probably had little relish for them, as war and the chase, with martial exercises and sports, formed their chief occupation and amusement. Pirates rather than traders, they did not barter the superfluous commodities of their own country, but carried off in a forcible manner, the property of strangers who were not in league with them, and thus supplied the deficiency which their want of skill in agriculture naturally produced. Such was the practice of the states of Greece during the time of Homer, and as no material change

took place in the Spartan government, in the manners of the people, or in their relations with other powers, from the conquest of the peninsula to the time of Lycurgus, it is probable that the same predatory and piratical excursions were carried on by the Lacedæmonians, until that celebrated Legislator directed their views to other objects. The arts and sciences (the offspring of commerce and an extensive intercourse with refined and wealthy nations) which gradually fixed themselves among other contiguous states as their power and reputation increased, could never obtain a footing on the banks of the Eurotas, because, in all probability, the inhabitants were too much addicted to war, to bestow any care upon what they would deem an inglorious waste of time. They were perpetually engaged either in hostilities with some of their neighbours, whom they reduced to slavery, and made the cultivators of their fields, or when they obtained a breathing time from war, turned their fierce and ardent spirits to civil commotions, in which they endeavoured to abridge the power of their kings, and hold in their own hands the reins of government. Such seems to have been the character and situation of the Lacedæmonians at the time Lycurgus appeared among them. Of their political institutions, the nature of their laws, their internal policy, and all those establishments and measures which grow out of civil society, we have no certain information: nor can we determine whether they were the slow produce of time and reflection, or were transplanted from the institutions of a more refined and enlightened people; nor can we shew, with certainty, whether they formed the groundwork of the constitution which Lycurgus afterwards established among them. It is at least probable that the government of Sparta took its rise in a great measure from the situation and genius of the people; for no legislator in a free country could, all at once, efface the memory of old institutions, root up inveterate habits, and give a totally new temper and tone to the spirits of the people. It is most likely that the great outlines of the constitution of their government, their tempers, habits, and dispositions were such as accorded, or could be brought without much difficulty to accord with the new laws and customs which he enacted, the more especially as internal dissensions and disputed rights rendered some change indispensibly necessary. An eloquent philosopher* has with truth asserted, 'that the founders of nations only acted a superior part

* Dr. A. Ferguson.

among numbers who were disposed to the same institutions, and that they left to posterity a renown, pointing them out as the inventors of many practices which had been already in use, and which helped to form their own manners and genius as well as those of their countrymen.'

But the Spartan lawgiver was not guided in his principles of political conduct by the government and establishments of the Lacedæmonians alone. Having incurred the hatred of his brother's widow, by artfully engaging her under a promise of marriage, to prevent the life of the child with which she was left pregnant, and when it was born by proclaiming it king to the extinction of all her hopes, he was obliged, in consequence of the faction she raised against him, to quit Sparta and retire for a time to other countries. In the course of his travels he had an opportunity of ascertaining the nature of their political institutions, of observing the manners and characters of their respective inhabitants, and to what degree they were formed by the governments under which they lived. Of all the systems of government with which he became acquainted, that of Crete seems to have pleased him the most, as many of the laws he afterwards enacted at Sparta bear a close resemblance to those promulgated by Minos. 'Our legislator,' says the Cretan in Plato, 'thought that nations were by nature in a state of hostility: he took his measures accordingly; and observing that all the possessions of the vanquished pertain to the victor, he held it ridiculous to propose any benefit to his country before he had provided that it should not be conquered.' It was in Crete that he formed an intimacy with Thales, a poet of considerable eminence, to whom he unfolded his designs regarding his native country, and engaged him to proceed thither, that by the influence of his poetry upon the understandings and hearts of his countrymen, they might be gradually prepared for those alterations of government and manners which he was then meditating. It is said that he also visited Asia Minor, where he collected the poems of Homer, studied them with deep attention, and brought them with him into Greece. Having satisfied his curiosity, and matured his plan of policy from the observations he had an opportunity of making during the course of his travels, he returned to Sparta, at the earnest entreaty of all ranks, to establish the government on better principles and a more sure foundation. In an undertaking so arduous, he proceeded with the utmost circumspection to avail himself of whatever the temper and

prejudices of the times offered to ensure success. The poetry of Thales had prepared the minds of the Spartans for a ready admission to opinions and principles of a more rigorous nature than they had been accustomed to maintain. The oracle at Delphi was next consulted to procure the opinion of a divine sanction to his institutions. The response which he obtained was in the highest degree favourable. Armed with this high authority, he then began the work of legislation, though in the most cautious manner, by gradually gaining over a party favourable to his views, and imparting to them only the outlines and end of his plan; aware that the strong hand of power alone could oblige the people to submit to some of his measures. The change which he effected in the government shall be afterwards noticed. At present we shall confine ourselves to the causes that suggested, and the spirit that pervaded his institutions.

When Lycurgus entered upon the great plan of legislation, it is evident that he had before his eyes the different states of Greece, with which the Spartans were most nearly connected both in peace and war; the restless nature of their republican governments, always the source of internal discord, or whenever that ceased, instigated by factious and ambitious demagogues into wars with their neighbours. He must have been aware of the different interests which united or kept them asunder; of their systems of policy and their means of attack and defence. The conclusion he would naturally draw, was, that in a country, divided into a number of petty principalities, each having its own separate interest continually in view, and being constantly engaged in schemes of aggrandisement hostile to its neighbours, that state which combined the best military institution with the strictest form of civil policy, would most likely survive and triumph over all the rest. His plan, therefore, was not merely to rectify the abuses that existed in the government of Lacedæmon, and place it on a sure foundation, fenced round by just and equal laws, but to perpetuate it by means of the virtues and military character of its inhabitants. To effect this plan to the extent proposed; to eradicate every idea of self-interest, which, in all states, except on great emergencies, mingles more or less with public measures, and to fix their affections upon their country and the practice of arms alone, was a task of no small difficulty and danger. The minds of the Spartans were not yet accustomed to those severe privations, to those laborious exercises and habits of temperance which their

descendants bore without repining, as they never experienced a milder discipline from their infancy. They felt the rough hand of their legislator imposing intolerable burdens, and were disposed to shrink from their pressure ; but his calmness, authority and address in soothing the enraged multitude, and converting his enemies into stedfast friends, enabled him to try the effect of his measures, and gradually overcome the repugnance of the people.

In all democratical states, unequal distribution of property, and the accumulation of wealth in the hands of a few individuals, have uniformly been the sources of discord between the higher and lower orders. The poor suffered from the oppression of the rich, and the rich were in constant danger of losing every thing they possessed, and even their lives, from the indignation and despair of the poor. The laws that were pointed against abuses of either kind, could not be enforced through the weakness of government. Anarchy and violence often ensued, and were seldom quelled but by the unnatural triumph of the one party over the other. Such was the situation of affairs at Athens, when Solon was called upon by the voice of his fellow citizens to give them a new constitution, and save them from all the horrors of intestine discord : and such also was the distracted state of Lacedæmon, when Lycurgus began to develope his plan of policy. Less timid than the Athenian legislator, he did not apply palliatives to an evil which was ever ready to break out afresh upon any slight cause of discontent or oppression. He resolved to put for ever an effectual stop to all heart-burnings and jealousies between the rich and the poor, by persuading the former to give up their possessions to the state, that an equal division of property might be made among all the citizens. This measure, so repugnant to the strongest passions and prejudices of mankind, was submitted to without any commotion, the rich being afraid, if they made any resistance, that they might be stripped of every thing by the poor, who naturally entered with zeal into the proposal, and were ready to enforce it. Thus, according to the expression of Plutarch, all distinction between man and man was abolished, except what arose from the praise of virtuous and the reproach of unworthy deeds. The whole territory of Laconia was divided into thirty-nine thousand shares : nine thousand of which were assigned to the city of Sparta, the rest were distributed among the other districts.

A regulation of this kind was not in favour of commerce or the cultivation of the arts; and Lycurgus wished to banish them effectually, by prohibiting the use of gold and silver. He allowed the circulation of iron coin only, rendered so brittle by a certain process that it was entirely useless for any other purpose, and too bulky for its value to be accumulated in large quantities in the houses of individuals. The superfluous produce of the earth was permitted to be exchanged for foreign commodities, useful either for the purpose of war or the cultivation of the soil, and sparingly for domestic comfort.

The principal end, however, of all Lycurgus's institutions was to render the Spartans warlike and passionately devoted to their country. His penetrating mind soon perceived, that this character could neither be acquired nor maintained, unless they were educated in the practice of the severest virtues, and that these virtues could not be cherished and supported, unless their education was under the direction of the state. His intention was to form one great family, under the superintendence and discipline of the laws, which left as little as possible to the casual influence of virtuous example exhibited in private life, or to the fluctuating dispositions and manners of the people when left the sole arbiters of their own conduct, or only controlled by the doubtful authority of public opinion; aware that, when the manners and general conduct of mankind are not regulated by the legislature, and kept uniform and steady, though they may be virtuous for a time, yet they must infallibly degenerate, whenever wealth, luxury and refinement draw off the attention of men from the interests of their country, and fix them almost exclusively upon personal gratifications.

The mind as well as the body of man may be rendered pliant, and formed under almost any regulations, particularly such as give scope to ambition, before it has received the impression of habits of an opposite nature. But in extensive states, it is almost impossible to comprehend every order of men under the same institutions, to make them all submit to the same discipline, and animate them all with the same sentiments. What could only be partially effected with a small part of the population of an extensive empire, which, however, we have seen accomplished in our own times with dreadful havoc and ruin to other nations, Lycurgus was enabled to bring about with the whole inhabitants of Sparta. In other states of Greece, those who had a share in the

management of public affairs were usually engaged in a variety of employments to better their situation, or extend their influence. A variety of characters, dispositions, habits, and views were necessarily formed *. Every individual was apt to regard his own interest more than the welfare of his country; and if upon emergencies he was called upon to take up arms in its defence, his previous habits disqualified him in a great measure both for commanding others, and submitting to a rigorous army discipline. The consequence of all this was, that they soon became averse from war, and entrusted the safety of the country, their own lives and fortunes, to the hands of mercenaries who often betrayed them. Lycurgus perceived this inherent evil in the surrounding states, and took effectual measures to prevent its having any place in Sparta. Every servile employment and occupation was entrusted to the slaves, that the citizens might have full leisure to devote their attention to military exercises, and that they might have no object before their eyes to wean their affections from their country. He endeavoured to extinguish all the selfish passions, by banishing every thing that could inflame them; well knowing that if they were allowed in any shape to display themselves, they would bring along with them a train of evils, which would soon sap the foundation of the best established government. To prevent luxury of any kind from creeping into private families, or indulgences being secretly granted, which might in time enervate both body and mind, he obliged all, even the kings, to eat at public tables, and to observe the strictest moderation and frugality. Private property, diminished as it was, he made subservient to the public good; every one being bound to grant his neighbour the free use of any thing that belonged to him, under the obligation, however, of restoring it undamaged. Thus the whole people became one family, connected together by a unity of interests, views and passions; the stronger, as they were all directed to one object, and the more durable, as they were not liable to be warped by selfish considerations. By these singular institutions of their legislator, they were shut out as it were from all the world, and left alone to practise the severest virtues,

* Pericles, in his celebrated funeral oration recorded by Thucydides, asserts that the Athenians, though not educated under the same strict rules as the Lacedæmonians, possessed as warlike a character, and were as ready to face danger in defence of their country. If it was so in his time, they soon degenerated, as the speeches of Demosthenes are filled with invectives against their indolence and want of patriotism.

and the most rigorous self-denial, without any of those innocent gratifications and elegant amusements with which other nations were accustomed to unbend and exhilarate their minds. With them even the parental and social affections were all transferred to the public good. Parents were taught to consider their children as not born for themselves, but for the state, which adopted them, not, as at Athens, when they had reached their eighteenth or twentieth year, but as soon as reason began to dawn in their minds.—In every other government, the education of the youth was almost universally entrusted to mere mercenaries, who rendered them tolerably accomplished in some of the sciences and arts, but had no material interest in linking their affections to their country. But at Sparta society was the school where they were taught to act like men, and to imbibe such practical lessons of wisdom as their elders, long experienced in civil and military affairs, were well able to communicate. Lycurgus caused all the children to be educated in common, in the same discipline, upon invariable principles, and under the eyes of the magistrates and the whole body of the people. In this manner they learned their duty by practising it; and, as it was the business of their lives, that to which their attention was constantly directed, it became as it were a second principle of their nature, cherished as the dearest of their affections.

The exercises to which the Spartan youth were accustomed, were of the most severe and laborious kind, intended to give strength, agility and velocity to the body, and to inspire the mind with firmness, resolution, patience, and contempt of death. To endure hunger, thirst, and every kind of bodily suffering without the smallest indication of uneasiness or pain, was considered as a necessary duty, to which they submitted with more fortitude than the most rigid philosopher of the Stoic school. Their temperance was habitual, and could scarcely be called a virtue, as they had few temptations to deviate from it. They were constantly under the inspection of one of the principal magistrates, or, in his absence, of men of advanced years; because every person was interested in maintaining the authority natural to age and experience over the young to render them submissive and dutiful. This principle, the foundation of all good order in society and the soul of a military government, was carried to its greatest height in Sparta. In presence of the magistrates and elders the youth were silent, submissive and guarded in their language and behaviour. The style of their con-

versation was of a particular cast. It received no colouring from the imagination. It was bedecked with none of the ornaments of speech, nor rendered brilliant and attractive by the refinements of wit. It was terse, concise and sententious: sometimes marked with the quickness of repartee; sometimes also sarcastic and humorous, but always characteristic of close observation and profound discernment. As their exercises were public, so also were their entertainments. A frugal repast, of food not the most savoury to the taste, was served up, at which presided the magistrates and principal citizens to preserve order and decorum. When this was finished they again resumed their exercises, or listened to the instructions of the senators and elders, who took every opportunity of inspiring them with a love of their country and an ardour for heroic deeds, by recounting to them the exploits and virtues of their ancestors. The bravery, magnanimity and self-devotion of Leonidas and his Spartans at the straits of Thermopyle, where those gallant warriors fell in the arms of glory in defence of the liberties of Greece, were the theme of universal admiration. The name of every distinguished warrior was not suffered to sink into oblivion, though no poet was found to consecrate his fame. It was embalmed in the remembrance of every Spartan, and regarded with more true devotion and a nobler pride than the bloody and ostentatious spoils suspended in the temples of other nations, which cherished the national vanity without encouraging the enthusiasm of individuals.

The nature of the exercise prescribed by the state was changed as the young men grew up to manhood. When they were capable of bearing arms they were instructed in the use of them, and were perpetually trained to perform a number of evolutions necessary to be practised when they took the field against the enemy. Exercises of this kind formed the constant employment of all the citizens, with the exception of those above 60 years of age. In time of peace the image of war was perpetually before their eyes, in the lessons of their childhood, in the amusements of their youth, in the exercises of their riper years and in all their excursions abroad. Real war to them was but a pastime, and, except the conflict in the field, less burdensome and grievous than their daily employment at home. With only a single garment to protect them from the cold, with no softer couch in the night than rushes gathered by their own hands, with little more food than they could acquire by their own dexterity, their condition might be thought, by those accustomed to the delicacies and conveniencies of civilized

life, hard in the extreme, and beyond the power of human nature to endure. But these severe privations and laborious exercises were submitted to without a murmur, not by the men alone, but by the women, for they also were subjected to a discipline scarcely less severe. They were taught to dance in public at certain festivals, to wrestle with each other, to run with the utmost speed over the adjoining country, to shoot with the bow and to launch the javelin; and all these violent exercises they performed with scarcely any clothes to encumber them, and without any feeling of shame. That innate sense of modesty which makes the female sex bashful and retired, and which prompts them to conceal their charms from the gaze of the public, while it makes them more attractive and more the object of desire, was never allowed to grow up in the female bosom in Sparta; Lycurgus having thought that where there was no concealment there was no temptation*. But, with a practice so apparently loose, the strictest modesty was for a long time observed, the laws having made it disgraceful and even criminal for young men to be seen in company with young women, nay even with their own wives except on certain public occasions. He knew however, that if his institutions were confined to the men alone, and that if the women were either secluded in a great measure from their society, as in other parts of Greece, or were permitted to establish among themselves a different kind of manners unconnected with civil policy, the government would either want the assistance of those who first form the human mind, or would soon become the object of terror or disgust to every one not educated from his infancy in its principles. He wisely, therefore, comprehended the female sex under similar regulations, that they might enjoy a strong and healthy constitution of body, be capable of giving sound and robust children to the state, and by their own example inspire them with affection for their country and respect for its institutions. He also left them a great share of natural liberty, that they might feel their importance in society, imbibe the same enthusiastic attachment to their native land as their brothers, husbands and fathers, and inspire their children with ideas and principles worthy of the race from which they sprung; and there are

* I know it has been asserted by several writers, both ancient and modern, that the greatest profligacy and debauchery prevailed among the Spartans in consequence of the unrestrained liberty granted to their women. It is probable that the charge is greatly exaggerated, and that this degeneracy did not take place until after the Peloponnesian war, when many other deviations from the laws of Lycurgus were observed and reported by the Athenian historians and philosophers.

many instances upon record of their disinterested and patriotic sentiments triumphing over the feelings of nature, on occasions when magnanimity and firmness were necessary to save the state. Cicero has described their manners and pursuits in the following eloquent expressions: ‘*Illi, qui Græciæ formam rerumpublicarum dederunt, corpora juvenum firmari labore voluerunt. Quod Spartiatæ etiam in feminas transtulerunt, quæ ceteris in urbibus, mollissimo cultu parietum umbris occuluntur: illi autem voluerunt nihil horum simile esse apud Lacænas virgines; quibus magis palæstra, Eurotas, sol, pulvis, labor, militia est studio, quam fertilitas barbara. Ergo his laboriosis exercitationibus et dolor intercurrit nonnunquam. Feriuntur, impelluntur, abjiciuntur, cadunt, et ipse labor, quasi callum obducit dolori.*’ *Tuscul. Quæst. lib. 2.*

In the government of Sparta every thing natural and factitious was turned to the purposes of war. Every measure, either directly or indirectly, had it for its object. The license allowed to the Lacedæmonian youth to steal and appropriate to themselves whatever they could seize without being discovered, though it has been reprobated by some writers as immoral and hurtful to society, was intended to render them vigilant and skilful, to sharpen their invention, to quicken their industry, and to make them depend upon the resources of their own minds in all situations. Where private property was almost annihilated, no law was violated by the undiscovered seizure of what was not strictly guarded; and the bonds of that society were in no danger of being broken by such a practice, when every thing was in subordination to the will of the common parent. The punishments inflicted upon them who had not the good fortune or the dexterity to conceal their thefts, was a clear proof of its being a political measure, and shews the high importance which the legislator attached to their military character, and the singular means he employed to render it as perfect as possible.

That the Spartan youth might become acquainted with the practice as well as the theory of war, they were ordered to spread themselves over the country with arms in their hands, under the guidance of certain officers, to mark the situation of places where they could make a stand against an enemy, or attack him with advantage. In these excursions they marched with their feet naked, exposed without shelter during the night to the inclemency of the seasons, and with no other provisions than what they could obtain by their own dexterity in the chase. In the day time they hunted

the beasts of prey, and in the night attacked those Helots* who were so imprudent as to venture abroad, and either wounded them or drove them to their habitations. This practice, sanctioned as it has been said by the laws of Lycurgus, has been universally reprobated as impolitic and cruel; as a signal proof how little that legislator cared for the feelings of humanity, when he authorized his Spartans to hunt down an useful and unoffending people on whom they mainly depended for their support. The finer feelings of our nature were certainly never allowed to stand in the way of his policy; but when so little was to be gained, and much to be lost by an unprovoked attack upon the Helots, it seems hardly consistent with the consummate prudence of Lycurgus to sanction such a measure†. It is more probable that the Spartan government, long after his decease, acting, as they imagined, in conformity with his views, directed the young men to lie in ambush for the slaves, that they might become expert in practising the same arts against their enemies, and also to attack and cut off the strongest and boldest among them, to prevent them from being formidable to their masters. This crooked line of policy was thought necessary, in the situation of the two parties. The Spartans themselves were mere soldiers, whose trade was arms, and whose whole lives were spent in acquiring their use, and employing them against their enemies. They were, however, few in number, and were obliged, on pressing occasions, to put arms into the hands of their slaves, and make them acquainted with military discipline. The condition of the Helots was, in many respects, not so severe as that of the slaves in other parts of Greece. They lived chiefly in the country, cultivated the lands of their masters, and furnished them with a stated quantity of grain or other fruits yearly, which in general was much less than the lands produced. The surplus produce was allowed to remain in their own hands, to be disposed of as they thought proper. Others of

* The Helots were supposed to have been the inhabitants of Helos, a town or district in Arcadia reduced by the Lacedæmonians to slavery. As that seems to have been the name originally applied to their slaves; others, who were afterwards reduced to the same state, went under the same appellation.

† Plato, in his treatise concerning laws, book 6. recommends, that, in a well governed state, the youth should accustom themselves to range over the country with arms in their hands, to brave the rigours of the storms, and inconveniencies resulting from that mode of life: and these youths, he says, whether called *Crypti* or *Agrotomi*, will gain a knowledge of the country, and learn to defend it. Plato, neither in the above passage, nor in another in which mention is made of the *Cryptia*, makes any allusion whatever to the attack upon the Helots. The practice was probably introduced after his time.

them practised the mechanical arts, and furnished the Lacedæmonians with the few articles which they were allowed for convenience and use: for every thing superfluous and ornamental was strictly prohibited. They also served on board the gallies as sailors, were employed as light troops to annoy the enemy, and took the charge of the baggage of the army. At the battle of Plataea, every Spartan, as we are informed by Herodotus, was attended by seven Helots who fought by his side. On various other occasions they were called out to take the field, and on most behaved with much resolution and bravery. Can it be supposed, then, that a body of men so necessary and useful, should have been legally subjected to the wanton cruelty of the Spartan youths, for the avowed purpose of enabling them to acquire some knowledge of the art of war, while there was great danger of exasperating and forcing them to rise against their oppressors? The intervals of peace were not so frequent and lasting, as to allow them with safety to irritate in such a wanton manner a race of men far more numerous than themselves, whose resentment at the degraded state in which they were held, had frequently broke out into insurrections, and had threatened Sparta with nearer ruin than all the efforts of her foreign foes*. Mindful of their ancient freedom, accustomed on emergencies to the use of arms, and frequently exasperated by ill treatment, they sometimes turned upon their haughty masters, and took advantage of every ebb in their fortunes to obtain revenge. Their frequent revolts kept the Spartans in continual alarm, especially as they were supposed to have been often fomented by the Lacedæmonian inhabitants of the country, who had lost, through the ascendancy of the former, many of their privileges; and, as they could not reduce the whole body of the Helots to subjection by any other principle than fear, they found themselves often obliged to violate the laws of humanity in self-defence. Thucydides informs us, that 2000 slaves, whose valour had rendered them formidable, after being invited by the promise of freedom to take up arms and march to the assistance of the Spartans, were all so secretly made away with, that the manner of their death was never afterwards ascertained. If this act had been authenticated by a train of circumstances, it would have stampt the character of the Spartan govern-

* A state in which such laws or practices prevailed, could not merit the encomium which Plato in his *Crito* puts into the mouth of Socrates: *οὐ τι ἔτι Λακεδαιμονία πόλις, ἔτι Κρήτην, ὥς δὴ ἕκαστος φησὶ εὐνομεῖσθαι.*

ment with eternal infamy. But Thucydides seems to have recorded it more from hearsay than good authority ; and the situation of affairs at that time was not so prosperous as to warrant the perpetration of an act of such enormity. It is impossible that such a number could have been so secretly dispatched, that the manner of their death should have remained altogether unknown, notwithstanding the industry of several historians to ascertain it. At any rate, the crime, if such had ever been committed, must be imputed to the Ephori, and not to the institutions of Lycurgus, or the Spartan people.

Having thus sketched a general outline of the policy of the government, and stated a few particulars respecting the education of the youth, we shall now proceed to give a brief detail of the constituted authorities in the state, and point out some of the causes that contributed to its decline.

Lycurgus, when he new-modelled the constitution of his country, made no alteration in the order of succession to the throne. He left the exercise of royalty abridged in a considerable degree, between the two kings of the family of Hercules, rightly supposing that when the same power was equally lodged in the hands of two, they would form a mutual check upon each other, and be prevented from attempting to subvert the rights of the other orders. From the nature and policy of his institutions, we may infer that their influence and authority was greater in time of war than in peace. One of them was appointed to the command of the army, while the other remained at home to administer justice, and perform the other functions of royalty, unless it happened that two armies were on foot at the same time, when both of them took the field. At home they could scarcely be distinguished from the citizens by any superior honours ; but, at the head of the armies, Lycurgus wished them to appear with that splendour and authority necessary to ensure obedience. Besides their ordinary guard of 100 chosen men, they were attended by some officers of distinction whom they consulted on emergencies, and also by those of inferior rank who had the direction of their domestic concerns. In this manner they were enabled to bestow their whole attention upon military affairs, in directing the operations of the campaign, in watching the motions of the enemy, in giving audience to ambassadors, in framing and signing terms of agreement. Besides these assistants, they had two Pythians or augurs in their train, who were occasionally sent to consult the oracle of Apollo,

when any thing of importance occurred, and to record the answer of the god.—It is well known from what Herodotus and other historians have mentioned of the corruptibility of the Pythoness, or rather of the priests who advised her, that responses might sometimes be obtained favourable to the views of the petitioners; and none were supposed to be in higher favour with these mercenary counsellors than the Lacedæmonians. The Pythians attached to the Spartan kings had it thus in their power, in that superstitious and credulous age, to render their sovereigns essential service in the execution of their office, as they could, besides supporting their interests at Delphi, accommodate their art to the particular views and designs of their masters. When state contended with state for the superiority, and all resorted to the declaration of the oracle in behalf of their claims, it was not uncommon to find responses alleged that had never been given, and the voice of religion decide with the stronger party, contrary to justice, humanity and sound policy. Lycurgus probably determined, when he deprived the kings of much of the power to which they laid claim, that they should have the advantage of all the superstition and credulity of the times to work upon the minds of the Spartans, without alarming the jealousy of any order in the state.

In time of peace they presided over the senate, and proposed the subjects for deliberation. The vote of each was equivalent to two, and they were allowed to send it by any senator related to them. When they appeared in public, it was without parade or ostentation. Their behaviour was expected to be easy, yet dignified; it being their concern to make themselves as much respected and honoured for their virtues as their high station. That they might be enabled to address their vows to heaven as individuals, or as the first magistrates of the state with more dignity, they were allowed, on the first and seventh day of every month, a victim, with a certain quantity of wine and barley meal. They occupied the principal place at all public entertainments, as well as in the houses of private families, and received at both a double portion, which, however, they were not expected to appropriate to themselves, but to share among their friends.

Though Lycurgus abridged their power, he still left them honours and prerogatives sufficient to content a moderate ambition, in a government particularly where the laws were intended to be supreme in every thing. They were invested, as has already been mentioned, with the conduct and direction of the armies: they

regulated all matters relative to religion, and had the direction of the public ceremonies and sacrifices. To their decision were submitted all causes regarding the maintenance of the highways, the formalities of adoption, and the choice of the kinsman to marry an orphan heiress. These powers exercised with moderation, and a strict regard to the welfare and happiness of their subjects, made them both respected and loved, until ambition and avarice began to infect them as well as the people. From that period their conduct was narrowly watched by all ranks, especially by the Ephori, two of whom accompanied them whenever they took the field, under the pretence of maintaining order and decorum in the army, but in reality as spies upon their conduct. When either of them was accused of any crime, he was cited before the senate over which the other king presided, assisted by the five Ephori. This tribunal, upon hearing the evidence and the defence of the arraigned, either condemned or acquitted him; but an appeal lay from their decision to the assembly of the people.

The system of government which Solon established at Athens, left too much power in the hands of the multitude: for, although they were in some measure controlled by the senate of 500, they occasionally arrogated to themselves the sole direction of affairs. There was not a third branch vested with sufficient authority to keep either of them in check; the court of Areopagus, which sometimes interfered to annul the precipitate decisions of the populace, having scarcely any other weight in the government than what arose from the respectability and dignity of their own characters. Lycurgus seems to have formed sounder notions of their temper and disposition than Solon; though perhaps the different characters of the Spartans and Athenians induced their Legislators to establish a system of administration suitable to the condition and habits of each.—As originally constituted, the Spartan government bore a considerable resemblance to our own: the prerogative of the kings being limited; the senate forming a counterpoise between them and the people; and they again in their assemblies enjoying as much power and influence as was consistent with the authority of the other branches. Polybius, in his 6th book of the various forms of republics, has well explained the policy of Lycurgus in the following words: ‘That Legislator,’ says he, ‘perceived the necessary and natural changes which every unmixed government underwent, and drew this coun-

clusion, that every constitution of an uniform and simple kind, depending upon one principle, was unstable and dangerous, as it very soon diverged into vices natural and nearly allied to it. For, as rust consumes iron, and worms, generated in wood, are the means of corroding it within, though it escape all injury from without; in the same manner, by the laws of nature, every form of government is attended with some inherent vice: in the regal, denominated a monarchy; in the aristocratical, the dominion of a few; and in the democratical, commonly exercised with cruelty and violence. In all these it is not possible to prevent, in progress of time, those changes from taking place which have been already described. Lycurgus foreseeing this, did not establish a simple and uniform policy, but collected together all the virtues and properties of the best constitution, that no part being increased beyond its due proportion, might be converted into its concomitant vice; but that each of the constituted authorities, being kept in check by one another, might neither incline nor preponderate too much to either side; and the constitution being equally poised and balanced, might for the most part, always remain like a ship contending against adverse winds. The kings were prevented from being haughty in their behaviour through a dread of the people, a considerable share of authority in the government being entrusted to them. They on the other hand durst not shew any contempt for their kings through fear of the senate, who, being chosen for their superior merit, were always inclined to attach themselves to the side of justice; so that whatever branch was weakened, usually became greater and more important by their favour and support, as they adhered to the ancient principles of the constitution. Lycurgus having thus established the government, ensured their freedom to the Lacedæmonians for a longer time than any state with which we are acquainted.'

It was formerly remarked that the Spartan legislator borrowed many of his institutions from the Cretans, among whom civilization and the useful arts, introduced by the Egyptians or Phœnicians, flourished long before they made their appearance in other parts of Greece. In the island of Crete he found a supreme council composed of men advanced in years, of approved wisdom and integrity, holding a middle station between the sovereign and the people, and able by their virtues and firmness to control both. He formed a similar council at Sparta, consisting of 28 senators above 60 years of age, to maintain, as Polybius has

observed, an equal poise in the government. Every proposition was carried by a plurality of voices, and was then transmitted to the assembly of the people, who had by law the power of either approving or rejecting it, but not of altering it to suit their own views. No person could be elected a senator until he had attained the age of 60 years, a period of life when he quitted the service of arms, and devoted the rest of his days, with the experience he had gained, to the civil concerns of his country and the improvement of the youth. When any vacancy occurred, there was always a number of candidates ambitious of obtaining this honour. The election took place in public, where the kings, the senators, the magistrates, and the whole body of the people were assembled. Each candidate appeared in the order assigned him by lot, walking through the forum with downcast eyes, and without the most distant attempt towards moving the affections or exciting the passions of the spectators. As every one came forward, he was received with shouts of approbation, more or less frequent, according to the opinion entertained of his talents and virtues. These expressions of the public favour were noted by certain persons stationed in a neighbouring house, who heard every thing but saw nothing, and who reported the precise time when the longest and loudest marks of applause were shewn. The candidate to whom these were known to have been given was then conducted through every part of the city with a garland round his head, attended by a number of young people of both sexes, celebrating his virtues and the honour he had just obtained. After some other previous ceremonies were performed, the new senator entered upon the duties of his office; some of which regarded the civil concerns of the state, and others the administration of justice in particular cases, which the inferior magistrates were deemed incompetent to decide.

The senators were not as at Athens, the representatives of certain tribes, who might be guided in their choice by other views than merit and qualification. They were, as we have just shewn, elected by all the members of the state, in the most public and open place, where every one manifested as he felt signs of approbation or disapprobation, in the most unequivocal manner. The Athenian people were apt to be swayed by various motives in the choice of their representatives. A bold, designing man, of considerable eloquence and great pretensions, was more likely to succeed, than a man of strict integrity, modest behaviour and

unpopular address. But the Spartans were not prepared by their previous education, by their habits, manners and pursuits to be so imposed upon. Among them, it was the contest of virtue with virtue, and talent with talent, exhibited, not in factious debates and low intrigues; not in cajoling, amusing, corrupting and enflaming the people with shews, entertainments, magnificent promises of spoils and triumphs, and violent invectives against every political opponent; but with actions already past, services already performed, and virtues engraven on their remembrance. To these the Spartan senators were indebted for their election, and they justified by their conduct, on many trying occasions, the praises which the judicious historian already quoted bestowed upon them. All the great affairs of State, the making of peace and engaging in war; the forming alliances and fixing the contributions of dependant provinces, came under their cognizance. In cases where life and death were at stake, they proceeded with the utmost caution and deliberation, and never condemned without the clearest proofs of guilt. Trials of this kind were extremely rare at Sparta, as the education and discipline of the inhabitants were better guardians of their virtues, than strict and severe laws enacted against the commission of crimes.

It has been much disputed whether the Ephori, certain civil officers at Sparta, owed their origin to Lycurgus, or to Theopompus who reigned about a century after the death of that legislator. It appears from various authorities, that magistrates under that name were early established in different parts of Greece, and in Laconia also, as inspectors of the public manners. It is therefore, probable, that Lycurgus allowed them to exercise the functions with which they were originally invested, which, being confined chiefly to the regulation of manners and police, gave them little consequence and authority in the state. During the wars that were afterwards carried on with Messenia, the kings were obliged to quit Sparta to head the armies, and continue the operations of the campaign for many months together; and in all that time, their civil duties, the administration of justice, and general superintendence of affairs were either neglected, or devolved upon the senate. Theopompus is said to have transferred this power to the Ephori, who, instead of relinquishing it at the conclusion of the war, were permitted to retain and exercise it. It is not likely that such extensive power, which they afterwards took care to increase, was granted them by Theopompus with

the view, as Plato asserts, of forming a counterpoise to the weight and authority of the monarchs and senate. If Theopompus had this in contemplation, he must have had either more virtue, or less penetration than most men; for it is very unusual in sovereigns, and hardly to be expected from those in Sparta, whose power was very limited, to give up voluntarily any share of authority they can command. It is extremely probable, that the occasion of the Messenian war was laid hold of by the people, to extort from the kings and senate, privileges and powers to a set of officers elected by themselves, evidently with a view of extending their influence, and weakening the authority of the other orders. Like the tribunes at Rome, they pretended to be the creatures of the people, to stand between them and the tyranny of the senate, while every measure they proposed led to nothing else than their own aggrandisement. Constantly at variance with the kings and the senate, they soon stripped them of all real authority; and as they rose in favour with the people as their avowed defenders, so they, in recompense, connived at certain innovations which were made upon the laws and policy of Lycurgus, after the Persian invasion. Circumstances, no doubt, arose at that period, which rendered it more difficult to preserve the same willing obedience to the laws, the same love of country and integrity of manners as in former times, when their ambition was confined within the peninsula, and fewer temptations were found to assail their virtues. But it is probable, if the authority of the kings, and particularly of the senators had not been abridged, the purity of the Lacedæmonian constitution would not have been so speedily corrupted, nor the virtues of the people so easily shaken. That balance in the government which Lycurgus established, and which the senate was well fitted to hold with an even hand, was destroyed by the growth of an oligarchy probably never intended by that legislator, but the unavoidable consequence of that share of power lodged in the collective body of the people: for whenever they are allowed to meet and deliberate upon national affairs, they are generally swayed by a certain number of individuals who flatter their prejudices; and these individuals become the more dangerous, when, by the favour of the people, they form a constituent part in the government.

The Ephori were five in number, elected by the people, and continued in office for one year only, lest they should be tempted to abuse their authority, and render themselves independent of

their constituents. They began their administration at the commencement of the year, which happened on the first day of the new moon immediately following the autumnal equinox. The chief of the Ephori gave his name to the year as the first Archon at Athens.—The most important part of their duty was to inspect the education of the Spartan youth, and in this department, where no bias influenced their minds, they seem to have discharged it with deserved reputation. They also watched over the purity of the laws; took cognizance of the conduct of magistrates, and displaced or punished them when they failed in their duty. They guarded against the introduction of luxury, refinement, or any innovation upon the public manners or institutions, by expelling from their country every foreigner whose example might contaminate the minds of the Spartans. They permitted no poetry to be sung among them, except the poems of Homer, Tyrtæus, and a few others who inculcated virtuous sentiments, inspired a love of country, a detestation of tyranny, an abhorrence of cowardice, and who celebrated the praises of illustrious deeds. They discouraged, and even banished all those who practised any of the liberal arts, as they considered the nature of their instructions and occupations, not such as became a nation of soldiers, but of idle and luxurious citizens. The study of eloquence was totally disregarded, or rather despised, from the invincible power the Spartans maintained over their passions, and the habit they had acquired of expressing themselves in the fewest words, and the most comprehensive manner. From the extreme simplicity of their mode of life, the fine arts could have no place among them; and the ephori took special care to prevent the appearance of any superfluous ornament, either in their dress or habitations. Had not the greatest vigilance been employed by these magistrates in preventing the ingress of foreigners and the introduction of new customs, and had not the Spartans themselves possessed minds of peculiar firmness, they could not have maintained so long their ancient and severe discipline, the more so, as many states around them with which they had frequent intercourse, particularly the Athenians, were flourishing in wealth, opulence and splendour. Their glory and dominion would have soon ceased, had their institutions been more nearly allied to the general principles maintained by other states, and the practices of other nations, and not of that singular kind, which, departing as widely as possible from what is common, renders an approach to it more difficult, from habits deeply

rivettèd in the constitution, and repulsive to the general maxims of human policy. The profound genius of Lysurgus foresaw, that the more unlike other men he rendered the Spartans by his laws, the longer they would continue so; as their habits were strengthened by the powerful energy of ambition, the love of glory, devotion to their country, and the wish to be the first state in Greece. He was certain that they would never cease to be great and virtuous, until they neglected his institutions or modified them to suit the corruption of the age.

The Spartans had two kinds of assemblies; the one called the general assembly (ἐκκλησία) of the nation, at which all the free inhabitants of Laconia were invited to be present, and to assist in the deliberations; the other was called μικρὰ ἐκκλησία, and was attended by the Spartans only, or the inhabitants of the metropolis. At this last the succession to the throne was settled, magistrates were elected or deposed, cognizance was taken of public crimes, and every thing relating to religious ceremonies and the government of the country was discussed. It was generally held every month at the full moon, but might be summoned by the Ephori to meet when any extraordinary occasion occurred. Every citizen above 30 years of age was entitled to vote in this assembly, provided he had brought no stain upon his character by cowardice in the field, or irregular conduct at home; for every deviation, from the laws or the established manners of the people was stigmatized in the virtuous days of the state, with marks of infamy and disgrace. No capital punishment was inflicted upon an offender of this kind, but a total seclusion from all communication with his countrymen, and a badge of infamy which he was obliged to wear, was a more cruel punishment to a high-minded Spartan than death itself.

The general assembly was convened when the nation was threatened with a war, or was about to form alliances; to make peace, or consider of any measure in which the general good was concerned. It was attended by deputies from the cities of Laconia, from the states in alliance with Sparta, and from those who had any grievances to prefer or needed assistance. Discussions of considerable length upon the business brought before them often took place, in which the kings, the senators, the ephori, the deputies and the people took a part. The claims and pretensions of their allies and enemies were also heard; and sometimes through the ability and eloquence of their opponents the Spartans were oblig-

ed, to use the expression of Epaminondas on a memorable occasion, to lengthen their monosyllables, and descend from their haughty silence to reason upon the business under discussion. When all who chose to speak had stated their opinions, one of the ephori called to the people to give their votes, which was generally done by acclamation, unless the two parties seemed so equally balanced as to require a division.

There was no need for a great number of laws in such a state as Lacedæmon, where a complete uniformity of manners, occupations and pursuits, prevailed: and where magistrates were appointed, to keep a watchful eye over the public and private conduct of every individual. The Spartans were so much employed in exercises under the inspection of certain officers, that they neither had leisure, opportunity, nor temptation, to deviate from the strict line of their duty by injuring the person, property, or character of any man. As the pursuit of wealth in every shape was discouraged, all the numerous evils that flow from it were unknown, and all those enactments to repress the cupidity and violence of the covetous, so necessary in other states, Lycurgus rendered totally useless in Sparta. The few laws which they had occasion for, as the decisions of the magistrates were generally founded upon natural justice, were simple and perspicuous, never committed to writing, but handed down from one generation to another by oral report, and so great was the veneration entertained for them, that they were never allowed to be scrutinized, altered, or amended, but were always looked upon with religious awe and respect, as the institutes of a divine original.

Upon a review of the great outlines of Lycurgus's policy, it might seem at first sight, without taking into account the extreme pliability of the human mind, and its aptitude, when influenced by pride, vanity, or ambition, to suit itself to all circumstances, to have been a yoke of iron, such as no other people but the Spartans could ever have borne. But, by keeping them constantly occupied, by making their manners, passions, and pursuits, subservient to military discipline, he familiarized them from their infancy to this yoke: and though he seemed careful to prevent them from being a conquering people, yet ambition and the desire of power, were the natural results of many of his institutions, and tempted the Spartans to conquer other feelings, that those passions might be gratified. In their laws, in their sports, in their families, in their amours, in their festivals at home, and excursions abroad, the

image of their country was constantly before their eyes, exciting them to obedience, rousing them to ambition, and inviting them by the hope of applause, and the dread of infamy, to the performance of the most rigorous virtues, and the most heroic deeds. Though no more than a single city, with no great extent of empire, and but a small population, Sparta, by the force of Lycurgus's institutions alone, gave law for a considerable time to Greece, was the centre of power to which inferior states resorted for protection and revenge, and made the Persian empire tremble to its foundations.

Though Sparta uniformly supported the aristocratical, against the democratical interest, in those states that applied to her for assistance, or fell under her dominion, it was not through a preponderance of the former at home. To this cause, the usurpations of the people, and the arrogance of the Ephori, may be ascribed the first symptoms of her decline and her ultimate destruction. The principal reason why the Spartans supported the aristocratical interest in Greece, was their rivalry with Athens, who commonly assisted the inferior classes of citizens against the superior. Hence that rivalry and jealousy which subsisted between the two states, made them take opposite sides whenever they interfered with the smaller republics. Had the Spartans been less haughty in their manners, less vindictive in their resentment, more conciliatory and attentive to the interests of their allies; they would soon have extended their dominion over all Greece, and confined the Athenians to their own territories, and the possession of a few islands.

This unbending, unconciliating temper, the natural consequence of their education and habits, may be considered as the principal cause of the decline of their authority in Greece. Their military discipline fitted them for being conquerors; their singular habits and institutions disqualified them for maintaining intercourse with any other people. Hence what they acquired by their valour, they lost by their pride and haughtiness. They never could induce the conquered provinces to adopt their manners and customs, nor could they impart to them the same rights and privileges which they themselves possessed. There was, therefore, so striking a dissimilarity in every respect between them, their allies, and subjects, that little cordiality was ever found among them, and no permanent conquest could be made. Though it seems to have been the aim of Lycurgus, that they should be prepared for defensive rather than offensive war, yet, trained as they were from

their infancy to the use of arms, warlike in their dispositions, and early invited to make the neighbouring states feel the superiority of their courage, it became impossible for them to remain unconcerned spectators of the revolutions and changes constantly going on around them. The high character they long maintained for virtue, ability, disinterestedness, and power to redress grievances, made them be frequently resorted to as arbitrators between contending states; and they did not forfeit the good opinion entertained of them, till they allowed their ambition to get the better of their justice, by supporting their officers in different attempts upon the liberties of their allies. This however seldom happened while Athens was able to dispute with them the sovereignty of Greece; but when that republic, through the most improvident conduct, fell under their dominion, they set no bounds to their arrogance, encroachments and tyranny. Every state was disgusted, alarmed, and oppressed, and watched the first favourable opportunity to throw off that yoke. It was impossible, in the universal hatred in which they were held, with all the sources of disunion opening around them, with such a scanty population of free citizens, and so many slaves and dependent states eager to burst asunder their chains, to have kept them in awe by the power of their arms, or to have reclaimed them by a better policy and milder measures. The Thebans under the able conduct of Epaminondas, turned against them the exasperated courage of their dependants and slaves: and in the battles of Leuctra and Mantinea, for ever broke their power, called them off from distant conquests to stop the rage of disaffection, rebellion, and revenge, which spread with rapid strides in the centre of their own dominions.

Though the Persian war obliged the Spartans to deviate in some respects from their ordinary policy, by maintaining a large fleet and fighting at a distance from home, it does not seem to have much impaired the vigour of their constitution, or corrupted the manners of the citizens. Aware of the consequences likely to result from prosecuting it with success, they had the magnanimity to relinquish it entirely to the Athenians, thinking it better to preserve their integrity and honour unimpaired, than to be enriched with the useless spoils of barbarous nations. It was not until loud complaints against the tyranny of Athens arose from neighbouring states, and that ambitious republic was hemming them in on every side, that they thought themselves called upon to resist her encroachments and set bounds to her dominion.

During the long period of the Peloponnesian war, they were sometimes the vanquished, sometimes the victors, but could never have made any serious impression upon their rival, had not her ambition, stupidity, and folly weakened her so much, and thrown her so completely off her guard, that at last she became an easy conquest. From that moment the Spartans might have dated the ruin of their constitution. The treasures found in Athens, the spoils of Persia, the plunder of unoffending subjects, the fruits of commerce and industry were transported to Sparta by Lysander the Lacedæmonian general: a man of great abilities, but of unbounded ambition; proud, haughty, avaricious, and not scrupulous about the means he employed to compass his ends. Having gained over to his views a strong party in Sparta, he prevailed so far as to introduce riches into the state, not as he asserted for the benefit of individuals, but for the wants of the government. But money thus introduced, soon found its way among the inhabitants, and brought along with its dissensions, luxury, and an aversion to the rigorous discipline of their fathers. They began to attach to it a certain value, and became eager to possess it as the means of improving their condition, and of raising themselves above that state of dependence upon the public which the institutions of Lycurgus ordained. Hence the common bond of union which united them all in one great family without separate interests was dissolved; and every man soon felt his affections drawn to other objects than the glory and prosperity of his country. The abilities, authority and success of Lysander dazzled the Spartans, and drew off their attention from his great vices, his insatiable avarice, profound dissimulation, and contempt of all law and right. His pupil Agesilaus finished what he had begun. With equal talents, he was more virtuous, but not less ambitious; more respected upon account of his seeming virtues, which tolerated in others what he would not practise himself, as his ambition could only be abetted by the cupidity and lust of dominion of his countrymen. No longer was there seen the same severity of discipline and purity of morals. The same love of country and ardour for military glory. The ancient race of Spartans was now almost extinct, and with them seem to have been buried all the virtues which adorned the Spartan name. Success created ambition, ambition produced avarice and tyranny: the former of which corrupted their minds, and the latter destroyed their power. Yet, to use the words of the eloquent moralist and historian for-

merly quoted, "Sparta under every supposed error of its form, prospered for ages, by the integrity of its manners, and by the character of its citizens. When that integrity was broken, this people did not languish in the weakness of nations sunk in effeminacy. They fell into the stream, by which other states had been carried in the torrent of violent passions, and in the outrage of barbarous times. They ran the career of other nations after that of ancient Sparta was finished. They built walls and began to improve their possessions, after they ceased to improve their people; and on this new plan, in their struggle for political life, they survived the system of states that perished under the Macedonian dominion. They lived to act with another which arose in the Achæan league, and were the last community of Greece that became a village in the empire of Rome."

A few Observations on the Athenian Constitution and Government.*

ABOUT the time† when the nine archons were appointed in the Athenian government, the inhabitants of Attica were divided into three classes. The first or poorer sort lived in the country, and were employed in agriculture, or in the care of cattle. These, from their hardy and unrestrained mode of life, were all in favour of democracy. The second description comprehended those who were possessed of most of the property of the country, and who still enjoyed, notwithstanding the regulations of Theseus, many important privileges, and great authority with their countrymen. These were all in favour of aristocracy. The third class was composed of the citizens of Athens, who were chiefly artizans, or engaged in commerce. They were naturally attached to a republican form of government, from the power and patronage it lodged in their hands, though the more moderate and reflecting among them preferred a mixed form, as being more likely to be stable and lasting. But either through the want of industry, or

* It will not be necessary to enter into any detail respecting the different authorities in the Athenian government, at that has been done at sufficient length in the Antiquities.

† About the year 684 before Christ.

the evils that arise from an ill established and fluctuating government, it happened that the rich proprietors found means to bring the other classes into a state approaching to servitude and dependence, in consequence of the debts which they had contracted. Much dissension, tumult, and disorder arose, occasioned in all probability by the rich enforcing payment of their debts with too much rigour, in order to repress and break the turbulent disposition of the lower orders, and by the impatience of the poor to get free from their burdens. The situation of the latter became at last so intolerable, many of them having even sold their own freedom, and that of their children, while others left the country altogether, that a civil war was upon the point of breaking out between them and their oppressors. To prevent matters from coming to this extremity, it was agreed that Draco, a man of severe morals and inflexible integrity, should draw up a code of laws for the better regulation of affairs, and particularly for the right administration of justice. But Draco neither possessed the temper, nor the enlarged views necessary for a lawgiver. Regarding crimes, not according to the degree of injury committed against society, but the malevolent intention of the criminal, which he considered the same in small as in great delinquencies, he proceeded to their utter extirpation by denouncing the punishment of death against them all. These laws, written according to the expression of an eloquent orator in blood, rather aggravated the evil than administered a remedy. At length the people turned their eyes to Solon, as one who, by his wisdom, moderation, and love for his country, seemed best qualified to remove existing evils, and devise a scheme of government which should both establish the rights of individuals, and give scope and energy to the public spirit.—It is pretty evident that Solon was guided in the constitution he framed, by the view he took of the character, inclinations and pursuits of the Athenian people, and that form of government, which, from ancient usage and present feeling, seemed most likely to be acceptable to the majority. Notwithstanding that the nobles were numerous, and might have been supposed, from the state of subjection in which they held the people, powerful enough to establish an aristocracy, still they were controlled by the general assemblies appointed by Theseus, and a strong leaning towards democracy among every other class of men. Solon, therefore, determined to give them that constitution which the majority desired; framed, however, in such a manner in some of

its parts, that the rich, by their superior influence, might have it in their power to be elected to offices of authority, and in that situation control the inferior orders. The two great principles which he seems to have kept in view were, such an equality among all ranks in the state as the property, occupation and intelligence of the people would admit, and such an equal distribution of rewards and punishments as would have the effect of making them good citizens. These principles, impracticable in a great measure in large states, upon account of the number of inhabitants who cannot all meet together on every occasion to deliberate and vote, were generally established in the states of Greece, and maintained without interruption chiefly through the following causes. The number of free inhabitants who alone were admitted to a share in the government, was small in comparison with the slaves who were all excluded. The number of free Athenian citizens in the time of Pericles, was stated to be fourteen thousand and forty; a much greater number, it is probable, than existed in Solon's time. These were all above the age requisite for voting in the assemblies of the people, and performing other functions of government. At a later period they were reckoned twenty one thousand; in addition to whom were ten thousand freemen who were either foreigners, the sons of foreigners, or freed slaves, all denominated by the common name of *μετοικοι*. The number of slaves of both sexes, and all ages, was found at this period to amount to four hundred thousand. In Lacedæmon, and other parts of Greece, they were said to have been still more numerous in proportion to the free citizens.—These slaves, consisting either of captives taken in war, or of such as were exposed to sale in the public markets, and bought for their master's use, were employed to cultivate fields, to practise various mechanic arts, and to perform every kind of menial office. An Athenian or Lacedæmonian citizen would have thought himself degraded by submitting to such mean and servile employments*. Hence they were all gentlemen, proprietors of lands, engaged in commerce or lucrative possessions, servants of the state, or idle saunterers about the forum maintained at the public expense. They had thus at Athens, abundance of leisure to turn their attention

* There was in Athens a class of men called *Θητις* and *Πισλαται*, who acted as servants, but they could change their masters when the term of their engagement was expired. Their numbers decreased after they were allowed by a law of Aristides to vote in the public assemblies, and to receive payment for so doing.

to affairs of state, and enough of vanity to suppose themselves extremely well qualified to direct them. This exemption from bodily labour enabled them also to cultivate their minds more highly than was every done perhaps by any other people, to encourage the fine arts, and acquire a relish for all the finished productions which men of genius presented for their suffrage and approbation.

Attica seems at a very early period to have been divided into 4 tribes or wards, and into head-boroughs. Afterwards the number of wards was increased to 10, and the boroughs to 174. Had royalty not been abolished in Attica, or had the archons possessed considerable power, this division of the Athenians, under the superintendence of particular magistrates, might have been made, like similar divisions in our own country, a constituent part in the government, without usurping the whole, and causing every other department to emanate from themselves. The Eupatrids or nobles never seem to have united together, to form an assembly distinct from the people, both to co-operate with and to control them, but aimed always at establishing their own authority upon the ruins of liberty, and seemed content, excepting one or two powerful families who aspired at the sovereignty, to domineer over their own vassals and dependants. This want of concert, rather than of power and inclination, saved the Athenians from falling under the worst species of tyranny, that of an oligarchy, as it is not to be doubted that the multitude of slaves could have been easily engaged to assist the views of those, who had the means of either breaking their fetters, or of making it their interest to forsake their masters. But the lower orders were extremely watchful and jealous of the nobles; and, though they were often forced to beg assistance from them against their pressing wants, and even sometimes to barter their freedom for money or provisions, they still regarded them in the light of oppressors who had acquired a dominion to which they had no natural claim. It is probable also, that some among the nobles themselves, as well as many citizens, who had by their industry, enterprize and success in their undertakings acquired an independence, were more inclined to a popular form of government than to an aristocracy, as they might hope to obtain a greater degree of weight and influence with the multitude, than with the rich and powerful. To what extent these reasons operated, or whether there were other more powerful causes tending to strengthen the democratical spirit

of the people, certain it is, that Solon found it predominant at the time he was called upon to legislate for the Athenians, and determined to make it the principle of the government he was about to establish.—But, as it would have been dangerous and inexpedient to place the rich and the poor upon the same level, and make no difference in the kind of services required of them, he resolved to divide the people into four classes, making the property they possessed the criterion of their rank. Those who possessed 500 measures of corn, or any commodity dry or liquid from the yearly produce of their lands or other sources of gain then open, were reckoned in the first class. The second consisted of those who possessed 300 measures. Both these classes of citizens were exempted from serving in the infantry, or on board the fleet, except as officers, but were obliged to maintain a horse for public service, and take the field when requisite: and hence the origin of the equites or knights. The third rank consisted of those who possessed 200 measures. This income being reckoned insufficient to enable them to keep a horse, they were therefore bound to serve in the infantry as heavy armed soldiers, and to furnish themselves with all the accoutrements necessary for active war. The rest of the citizens were also obliged to serve their country either among the heavy armed troops, if they could procure the necessary weapons, or among the light armed as less expense was requisite to equip them for that situation. They were also required to serve on board the fleet as mariners; a service which yielded them, when the maritime power of Athens was at its height, greater profit than they could have obtained by land. Solon appointed the magistrates to be chosen from the first three classes, as being supposed better educated than the last, and probably enjoying more leisure and time to be devoted to the public good. He, however, put the power of election into the hands of the fourth, gave them the exclusive privilege of being chosen judges in all civil cases, and allowed them an equal vote in all the public assemblies. Being the most numerous party, it was easy to foresee, that, if united, which it was possible for them to be under the management of an artful leader, they would easily control the other orders, and model the government, or at least, direct its measures according to their pleasure. Solon probably foresaw this, and, in order to provide against it, established a council or senate consisting of 100 persons from each of the 4 wards. To them he committed a good deal of the authority

which the archons had formerly possessed, hoping that, by their personal characters, weight and consideration in the state, they would counterbalance the levity and imprudence of the people. When Clisthenes afterwards augmented the number of wards to ten, 50 were chosen out of each, making the whole number 500. From this time they were usually denominated the senate of 500. The mode of their election will be seen in the *Antiquities*.

Every senator, at the expiration of the year, was obliged to give an account to the people in what manner he had executed the trust reposed in him. If his conduct was approved of, and if he had been instrumental in adding to the naval force of the republic, he received from the people a crown. But if he had been negligent in the discharge of his office, or had incurred the displeasure of his constituents, he was refused this honour, and prevented from obtaining any influence in the government. This open manner of testifying their approbation or dislike of the conduct of their representatives, gave the people, in the virtuous days of the republic, a security that very few of them would be found daring enough to offend against public opinion. From the authority, however, which the people enjoyed, and the control they had over the senate by their annual elections, it is plain that no body, constituted as it was, could have the power of free deliberation, as the sentiments of their constituents expressed in the public assemblies, or in the speeches of the demagogues who guided them, must have secretly influenced all their opinions. Had they been less controlled by the ignorant populace, who were often pushed upon the most ruinous and disgraceful measures by pretended patriots, they would have ensured, in all probability, the safety and honour of the government. But Solon left the multitude in the enjoyment of too much liberty, which enabled them to undo all his other wise regulations, and to make the other parts of the government only a name. Were the people of this country, with the privileges they possess, allowed to elect their representatives annually for the great council of the nation, what would likely be the consequence? Among themselves riots and disorders, inflamed by designing men, who, knowing the proneness of the people to suspicion, and their constant habit of judging actions by their results, take every occasion to awaken their suspicion, to excite their discontent, by directing their attention to unfortunate events, without once examining the causes that produced them, and to set themselves off

by professions of devotedness to their interest, while their sole aim would be to aggrandize themselves. Among their representatives, a timid subserviency to all their prejudices, passions and opinions; a constant endeavour to study their humour, without once daring to consult for the public good of the nation, and a perpetual war of words and vile recrimination of abuse, was the surest and most effectual recommendation to the favour of their constituents. Such was a picture of the Athenian government occasioned through the excess of liberty, and such would be the practice in our own, were we, with some inconsiderate or ill designing men, to adopt the errors and defects of the most renowned republican constitution in all antiquity.

It will be evident from the account given of the assemblies of the people *, that the supreme power was lodged with them, notwithstanding the privileges and authority of the senate. It was there that war or peace was determined, foreign ambassadors † received, taxes imposed, strangers invested with the rights of citizenship, and rewards decreed to those who had served their country. Though Solon had enacted that every measure should originate with the senate ‡, yet the people upon some occasions paid no regard to their authority, but substituted other propositions, framed by their orators, in their stead, and when the presidents refused to put the vote, either compelled them by threats and tumults, or appointed others in their place more obsequious to their will. As the power of the senate was derived from the people and terminated in them, the government, though apparently of a mixed kind, was essentially democratical, there being no sufficient line of distinction provided by the constitution to separate men of property, experience and talents from the rabble, and to make their weight and authority permanently felt and acknowledged in the state. The popular assemblies, in consequence of the power they exercised, were commonly guided by men who found it their interest to cultivate eloquence to the utmost, that they might attain an empire over the opinions of the multitude. In this way they rose to notice, eminence and power, swayed the minds of their countrymen, and often became the ar-

* Antiquities, p. 107. vol. I.

† In the first instance they were introduced to the Prytanes.

‡ It would have been much better if they had had a negative upon the decrees of the people, but that would have been contrary to the principles of a democracy.

biters of Greece. Though some of them, particularly Pericles and Demosthenes, were men of vast abilities, they constantly found the assemblies of the people, notwithstanding the hold which they had of them, excessively tardy, and ill calculated for measures that required celerity, secrecy and previous preparation. Nothing gave Philip of Macedon so great a superiority over his neighbours as the freedom with which he acted, and the promptitude of all his measures which were taken upon the emergency, without the necessity of being canvassed by a fluctuating assembly, or of receiving their sanction after the season for action was past. As private interest also mingled with most of their public concerns, the laws were sometimes strained to an undue pitch, at other times relaxed in their severity, according as it suited the inclination of some powerful individuals. In an assembly so numerous as that of the Athenian people, convened either for the purpose of legislation, or for conducting the government, men of different views and sentiments met together, who ranged themselves under different leaders, and voted under their direction. Some of these were men notorious for their profligacy, arrogance and total want of experience in civil and military affairs. Yet, by studying the prejudices and passions of the people, by amusing them with shews and representations of tragedies and comedies, by proposing the plunder of allies and inoffensive neighbours, they gained a more unlimited authority over them than Demosthenes could ever obtain by all the thunders of his eloquence, and all the numerous appeals to their virtue and patriotism. And though they were always extremely jealous of their independence, and would have been mightily offended to have been told that they were the tools and panders of the ambition, avarice, or vanity of their leaders, they were yet obliged, from the very nature of the constitution, to submit to their direction, and had only the choice of discarding or punishing them when they were displeased with their conduct, and of putting themselves anew under the guidance of others. Solon seems to have intended the senate of Areopagus to form a check upon the assembly of the people, as he gave them the power of arraigning any of their proceedings. Two instances of an interposition of this kind are mentioned by Demosthenes in his oration for the crown: the one in which an exile was acquitted by the people after returning to the city, contrary to a previous decision. The other related to Æschines, the antagonist of that great orator. Being chosen by the people one

of the deputies to the council of Amphictyons, his conduct was considered by an opposite party not altogether free from suspicion, and therefore proper to be enquired into by the senate of Areopagus. They had the boldness to set aside his election, and to recommend the orator Hyperides in his place, who was immediately chosen. But the people were not always so easily influenced by reason and authority. When their passions were inflamed, as they frequently were by their orators, even the dignity, gravity and wisdom of this celebrated body were not sufficient to prevail upon them to desist from rash measures, and to listen to sober counsels. Possessing the supreme power, it was vain to suppose, that they would always be checked by men who had been despoiled by Pericles of much of their authority, and who had little more than their characters and wisdom to enforce their opinions.

Such were a few of the evils inherent in the Athenian constitution. Others resulted from the inequality which appeared in the fortunes of many of the citizens, when commerce and the arts began to flourish. Riches, united with great talents, and experience in war, were viewed with the utmost jealousy, and required the greatest prudence in their possessor, to save himself from banishment or a punishment more severe. But in the hands of persons less exposed to envy and fear, they had a considerable influence in saving criminals from punishment, by being employed to bribe the judges, who were not sufficiently raised, by their rank in life, above the necessity or the temptation of bartering away public justice for the sake of gain. How far bribery was employed in elections, or in furthering or defeating public measures, cannot be well ascertained. Little doubt, however, remains, that it was employed on several occasions to a great extent, as many of the orators were often publicly accused of receiving money, from the enemies of the state, to support their views with the people.

In another point of view, however, their government gave energy to the character of the people, and was the primary cause of all their great achievements in war, and unrivalled excellence in the arts of peace. Liberty was the darling passion of the Athenians, and in the defence of it they braved, in the better times of the republic, the most formidable dangers, and performed the most noble exploits. From the sterility of their soil, and their favourable situation for maritime affairs, they early turned their attention to commerce, and in this manner both acquired riches and

power. The experience they had gained in naval affairs, enabled them to defeat the Persians at Salamis, and afterwards to extend their dominion over many of the contiguous islands. As the Persian war was chiefly carried on under their authority and management, so they participated largely in the success which attended the efforts of the allies. The fortunes of individuals and the riches of the state were thus prodigiously augmented, and gave them a relish for show, magnificence, and luxury, which, while they encouraged genius of all descriptions, made the people in general more refined, and better judges of what was correct and elegant in matters of taste.

To their national vanity, perhaps, more than to a love for the arts and sciences, we are indebted for all those exquisite productions which still excite the admiration of the world. That lively, ingenious people bestowed honours on men of abilities, in a way most effectual to excite emulation. At their games, festivals, and public exhibitions, those who distinguished themselves by any performance, received the applause not only of the Athenian people, but also of numbers who assembled from all parts of Greece to attend the ceremonies. The honours conferred, though trifling when considered by themselves, were nevertheless the indications of a discerning people's favour, and led to more substantial emoluments. Other nations strove to patronize such men as the Athenians declared eminent in their profession, or distinguished by their abilities: and hence the resort of all men of genius from every part of Greece to Athens, as to the centre of elegance, refinement, and good taste. Their government, defective as has already been shewn in several respects, was admirably calculated to call forth and invigorate men of talents in every art, particularly in eloquence. It was there the grand object of all who wished to obtain power and command, to bend the multitude to their views by their power of argument and persuasion. Hence every public institution among them was connected with civil life. Literary heroes, says Cicero, issued from the school of Isocrates like the Grecian chiefs from the Trojan horse. Their philosophers taught in the Lycæum, in the Academy, and in every public place of resort, the most refined speculations upon every branch of science and art then studied or known, inculcated the lessons of practical wisdom from living examples, and formed the minds of those who attended them, to enter upon the career of ambition with great advantage. It was not

a dry knowledge of the ordinary routine of business, the mere detail of office, which could qualify them to manage the affairs of a government such as that established at Athens. It was an intimate knowledge of the passions and interests of mankind in general, and of the Athenians in particular, with the motives and means most likely to sway them ; a correct view of the strength and resources of the state, and its relative situation with other nations ; experience attained not in the closet but in the public service ; a bold and commanding eloquence, which could wield at will the minds of men, and turn them in every direction consistent with the grandeur of the republic. These qualifications were sure to raise their possessors to the highest offices which the Athenians had to bestow.

The Athenian government possessed this advantage above all others, that it gave free access to every man, however mean his birth or moderate his fortune, to rise by the force of his talents to the highest situations in the state. Genius and abilities were not rebuked by the frowns of power, or kept down by the insolence of high birth and rank. In whatever department they appeared, whether as aiming to support, extend, and render formidable the power of Athens, or as exalting her character by something new in literature or science, or as contributing merely to her amusement by the effusions of wit and the play of fancy, they were favoured, honoured and rewarded by an acute discerning people, and strengthened by the hard struggles they had to encounter with many rival candidates for fame. The constant wars too in which the people were engaged ; their long competition with the Lacedæmonians for the sovereignty of Greece ; the address it was necessary to employ in acquiring and retaining allies, and the perpetual jealousies that subsisted among the lesser states, with whom they almost always interfered, made them well acquainted with military affairs, and with the political views of the whole Grecian nation. In such a state, when national glory is the predominant passion, we often find an assemblage of illustrious men, flourishing nearly at the same period, supported, animated and impelled by each other to extraordinary exertions, and fixing by their labours and achievements an æra in the history of their country. Knowledge is gained amidst the varieties of the works of art, the contentions for power, the struggles of ambition, and the active scenes of war. If a nation is virtuous and

rising to distinction, the human mind receives an impulse and enlargement of its powers, which it scarcely ever experiences in a state of higher promise. One great action becomes the prelude to another. The place of one illustrious member of the community is supplied by thousands. The same spirit that animates the soldier or the sailor in the day of battle, pervades the peaceful abodes of philosophy and the arts. There too emulation is kindled, and there men appear illuminating the world by their discoveries and the efforts of their genius, and transmitting to posterity a reputation, better intitled to the veneration of mankind, than that of those desolating conquerors who attempt to subjugate nations to gratify their ambition and avarice.

But, such is the instability of human greatness, the most splendid success, and the mightiest efforts of mind often pave the way for corruption of manners, depravation of taste and laxity of principle. The grand impulse which carried forward virtuous men in the career of glory is checked by licentiousness, pride and ill governed ambition. What was once reckoned sufficient to supply every moderate want, and had no attractions to draw off the mind from the great interests of the nation, is superseded by a multiplicity of elegant and unnecessary ornaments, prepared by great labour, and purchased at a vast expense. These alone come to engage the attention: These fetter and enslave the mind. In the use of the moderate means of life, men are free to turn the bent of their noble powers to objects and speculations that have for their end, the consolidating and enlarging the dominion of the state, or of rendering it respected and esteemed by the nations around. But when every avenue to the soul is occupied by sensual desires, headstrong passions and frivolous pursuits; when every view the eye can take must rest upon the useless ornaments of effeminate grandeur, or the busy preparations to delight the sense and glut the appetite; when tributary nations are impoverished to satisfy perpetually increasing wants, and when a guilty ambition of greatness still subsists without energy of mind, or well directed means to carry it into effect, it requires no great degree of foresight to predict the speedy ruin of that nation among whom such practices prevail. The memory of their past achievements, and their ill concerted and feeble attempts to extend their dominion, hasten the period of their fall. Even the last remains of vigour; the last struggles of departing greatness,

attended sometimes with partial success; serve only to raise presumptuous and false hopes. The spirit which originally animated the political body in all its measures, is either wasted in litigious disputes, or exercised against the unoffending and feeble. Parties multiply; and each strives to supplant the other by every means which fortune or address puts in their power. They break through the feeble barrier of the laws; conscious, if they obtain power, no one will dare to dispute their authority. The blood of the most virtuous citizens flows in streams upon the scaffold or in the field. Anarchy and disorder prevail, until one powerful chief, or ambitious potentate quells every contending faction by the strong arm of military government, and reduces the nation to a state of servile subjection.—Such, in a great degree, was the progress of the Athenian power towards its decline and fall. The philosophic enquirer, from a knowledge of their laws and government, and from the character of the people, might have predicted the nature, and almost the period of its termination. When the liberty of Greece was threatened by the Persians, the inhabitants, particularly the Athenians, had arrived at that degree of civilization and refinement, which, in regular governments, are necessary to enable the people to make the best use of the means and abilities they possess, in defence of their rights. But when Pericles introduced a new kind of policy into the state, a policy by which the attention of the people was turned to amusements, shews, speculations and pleasures, to objects in which wealth, not honour and glory, formed the principal features, the republic soon betrayed symptoms of decay. The fatal Peloponnesian war, instigated by the Lacedæmonians through dread of the growing power of Athens, and a series of unforeseen calamities and misfortunes, and sometimes of unexpected prosperity, both weakened their internal strength, and encouraged them to undertake enterprizes above their strength. After war had been carried on for several years with alternate success, they formed the mad scheme of subduing the island of Sicily, without considering what experience might have taught them, and the trophies of the vanquished Persians, suspended in their temples, might have called to their remembrance, that every free nation fights with desperate valour in defence of their property, their country and lives. The fatal issue of that expedition gave a mortal blow to the Athenian greatness; and the subsequent defection

of their allies, the tumults that arose among themselves, the licentiousness and want of discipline in their armies, and the treachery or misconduct of their commanders, gave a decided advantage to their rivals. After an interval of no long duration, distinguished however, by the appearance of the most illustrious philosophers, poets and orators, she sunk under the Macedonian yoke, and never afterwards recovered her freedom and consequence in Greece.

PART II.

OF THE LITERATURE OF THE GREEKS.

IT seems to be generally allowed that the Greeks received many of their religious rites, and the principles of morals and government from the Egyptians, Phœnicians, Thracians, and other nations of the east. These countries were in a high state of civilization, and consequently of improvement when Greece was yet immersed in ignorance and barbarism. Colonies, as was formerly mentioned, landed in Greece, and imparted to its original inhabitants their knowledge of the arts, their ceremonies of religion, their mode of life, and brought them by degrees to submit to regular government. Beyond this period all is uncertainty and fable. The genius of the poets, unrestrained by any thing like true history, has embellished the doubtful memorials of ancient times with all the boldness and colouring of their art. But with the little knowledge we possess of those early ages, it is impossible to separate what is true from what is false, as they have been so long blended together.

Among the early benefactors of the human race, Prometheus occupies a distinguished place. According to the dramatic poet Æschylus, he was the inventor of many of the arts of life, and of the use of letters :

——— ἐς τι δὴ σφιν ἀντολὰς ἔγω
ἄτρων ἰδεῖζα, τὰς τι δυσκρίτας δυσεῖς.
καὶ μὴν ἀρίμῳ ἐξέχον σοφισμάτων
ἔξευρον αὐτοῖς, γράμματων τε συνβίσεις,
μνημὴν δ' ἅπαντων μύθομητορ' ἐργατήν.

Prometh. Vinet.

‘ I explained to them the rising of the stars, and the changeable periods of their setting : and I discovered to them a great number of philosophical maxims, and the combination of letters, and memory the effective source of all arts.’

It is altogether impossible to discover who Prometheus was, or in what country he was born, for the fables of the poets throw no farther light upon his history, than that of inducing us to refer his origin to Egypt, the scene of many subjects which they have obscured by their love of the marvellous. If there ever was such a person, he must have possessed no common inventive powers, and probably by his discoveries, excited the jealousy of some weak and violent prince. The tragic poet attributes his disasters to Jupiter, because he would not disclose to him the person by whom the fates had decreed he should be dethroned. Perhaps, under this name we have the first inventor of letters, and of consequence one of the greatest benefactors of the human race. Leaving, however, the fond illusions of imagination which delights to give her own colouring to the lives of extraordinary men, whose names are almost all that have survived the wreck of time, we proceed to a period in which there is more of certainty. In the early ages of society, before the invention of letters or written records, mankind were naturally led to express their feelings in poetical numbers. It was those objects only that commanded their veneration, roused their passions, excited their admiration, or awoke their feelings which they attempted to celebrate and describe. Hence from their nature they acquired an elevation of thought and style beyond what was used in conversation, or employed on common occasions ; and as the subjects of their poems were universally interesting, they aimed at a degree of regularity in the succession of sounds, or of uniformity in the sounds themselves, to make them both more agreeable to the ear, and more easily committed to memory. Those who possessed a lively imagination and warm feelings, devoted themselves to the study of music and poetry, for the two arts were originally combined, gratified both themselves and their countrymen by celebrating the praises of their gods and heroes, and acquired a reputation which soon raised them to distinguished honours. Even princes themselves cultivated these arts with great assiduity, to elevate their minds to higher objects, to enliven their social hours, and not unfrequently to communicate instruction to their people, and form them to civilization and order. In the infancy of so-

ciety, when mankind are yet struggling to emerge from barbarism to some degree of refinement, the native vigour of poetic genius is then most happily displayed. The imagination delights to revel amidst the fresh and unadulterated beauties of nature, and draws from every flower its unappropriated sweets. The aspect of human manners presents a bold picture to the eye of the poet, and the first romantic exploits of rude nations afford themes of panegyric to his muse. But the severer works of reason and judgment make their appearance, only after mankind have made various efforts for their improvement in the arts and sciences, and a regular commerce is established under the protection of wise and equitable institutions.

The early poets whose names are recorded, were not natives of Greece, but of Thrace, or of Asia Minor; the poems of *Thamyris*, *Linus*, *Orpheus*, *Musæus*, *Eumolpus* of Thrace, and of *Olen* the Lycian, were admired even by the most refined and intelligent of the Græeks at a late period of their history. The subjects of their poems turned for the most part on theology and natural history, probably from their intercourse with Egypt, or some obscure notions which their ancestors had brought from their original settlements. Of *Thamyris* and *Linus* little is known. *Homer* represents the former contending in song with the muses themselves in *Peloponnesus* *. The latter was said to have been the instructor of *Orpheus*. This poet is supposed to have laid the foundation of the learning and religion of Greece, when she was just beginning to emerge from barbarism, and when the minds of men were, as might be supposed, inclined to listen to the marvellous, and to adopt the most superstitious rites and ceremonies, especially when they were recommended to their attention by the charms of music and poetry. By these means he acquired such influence over the minds of the rude Thracians, that *Horace*, indulging the figurative language of poesy, thus describes their effects :

Aut in umbrosis Heliconis oris,
Aut super Pindo, gelidove in Hæmo,
Unde vocalem temere insecutæ
Orpheæ sylvæ.
Arte materna rapidos morantem
Fluminum cursus celeresque ventos;
Blandum et auritas fidibus canoris
Ducere quercus.

* *Iliad*. L. 2. ver. 595.

In the following passage from his art of poetry, he informs us of the real causes, and true effects of Orpheus' poetry :

Silvestres homines sacer interpresque Deorum
Cædibus et victu fædo deterruit Orpheus,
Dictus ob hoc lenire tigres rabidosque leones.
Dictus et Amphion, Thebæ conditor urbis,
Saxa movere sono testudinis, et prece blanda,
Ducere quo vellet. Fuit hæc sapientia quondam
Publica privatis secernere, sacra profanis,
Concubitu prohibere vago, dare jura maritis,
Oppida moliri, leges incidere ligno :
Sic honor et nomen divinis vatibus atque
Carminibus venit. —

To his other qualifications as a poet and philosopher, he is said to have added a considerable knowledge of medicine ; and hence is explained his endeavour to bring back to life his wife Eurydice. This circumstance is adorned by Virgil in the 4th book of his *Georgics* with all the charms of his inimitable pencil, and is worthy the genius of one poet when describing the fate and misfortunes of another. The outlines of his history are so much involved in fable, that we shall not attempt farther to unravel them, but proceed to give a short account of the probable sources of information, and some of the principles from which were derived many of the theological and philosophical opinions entertained by the Greeks.

Of all the nations that early rose to eminence by their religious rites and civil institutions, Egypt was the most distinguished. Whether it was that the country was early peopled, and nearer the sources of original information, or from climate, soil and other local circumstances, certain it is, that like the Nile which overflowed and fructified their fields, their doctrines and opinions spread over Greece and other parts of Western Europe, and became the foundation of all their future acquisitions. At a period when the minds of men are prone to superstition, and more liable to be influenced by it than any rational motive held out to their understandings, it was of the utmost importance to every legislator to be thoroughly acquainted with it in all its various forms, as the most powerful engine to work upon the fears and expectations of the vulgar. Those individuals among the Greeks accordingly, who, by the advantages of birth or superior natural endowments, were desirous both of extending their authority and knowledge, travelled to Egypt, and were there instructed in many things both of an historical and mystical nature by the priests, to whom the charge of acquiring and communicating every branch

of science was committed. As they made use of figures and symbols in communicating their knowledge to others, particularly regarding the origin and history of their gods, and all those subjects that were rather matters of speculation than of observation and experiment, it is no wonder that they were imitated, and even surpassed by their pupils who returned to Greece. They published the doctrines which they had learned from the Egyptians with considerable additions of their own, and accommodated the history of a remote age and of a distant people to the vague and traditionary memorials of their own countrymen. Hence a monstrous system of mythology grew up under their hands, and many absurd and ill digested opinions were propagated, which were considered by the Egyptian priests, according to Herodotus, as the efforts of children to explain and methodise what they did not understand.

The history of every rude nation when transmitted by oral tradition, is extremely liable to be exaggerated beyond all belief. The exploits of those great men who lived at a remote period, when matchless strength of body and ferocity of character were of more avail towards repressing disorder and rapine, than wisdom acting in conformity to law, were viewed by their countrymen with increasing admiration, as time obscured the original and genuine features of their actions. Their names were never pronounced but with reverence and esteem; and gratitude for their exertions and services caused them to be invested with a kind of immortality. The transition from this respect and admiration to deification, was simple and natural. Mankind are never suffered to live long in a tranquil and undisturbed state. Various changes are perpetually taking place. Awful convulsions in the heavens and in the earth, agitate and alarm the world. Ignorant of the natural causes by which these are produced, superstitious men view them, as indications of wrath from some invisible and unknown beings, who seem to rule the elements of nature. But, as some notion of their corporeal existence must, from the ignorance of such men, be always united with every idea they can form of superior powers, they transferred to them the names and attributes of those early heroes whose exploits they had been accustomed to admire. A successful warrior, or the intrepid leader of a colony are always held in admiration by the descendants of those whom they conducted. The companions of their toils and victories, the instruments of their authority or pleasures will fol-

low in the train of their history, as necessary appendages to their greatness. From the exaggerated idea men formed of beings such as these, were the heavens peopled, and the majesty of empire committed to him whose fame surpassed that of all the rest. The early philosophers among the Greeks, finding the popular superstition of their countrymen something similar to what has just been described, either supported and extended it by the theological tenets they had learned from the Egyptians, or, as many of them were poets of considerable eminence, by indulging the reveries of a warm and luxuriant imagination, formed a system of mythology from some rude materials, which spread with the extension of knowledge, and with the reputation of the works in which it was developed. If we can suppose that they give a faithful picture of the manners of the age, in which their supposed deities flourished among men, we have no reason to think they were of the purest kind, especially when we consider the amours in which they seem to have been all deeply engaged from the highest to the lowest; or, if we attribute these descriptions to their own licentious imaginations, we must, for the sake of decency and order, heartily concur with Plato, in thinking that they ought to have been banished from every well constituted government, in which public morals were respected.

As both the Grecian philosophers and poets derived much of their knowledge from Egypt, it will not be surprising that their doctrines, and the subjects of their poems should have turned so much upon natural religion. They began with the rise of things, their vicissitudes and transformations, and endeavoured to account for every thing they observed by tracing their analogy to human actions. By degrees, when the office and character of a bard came to be held in respect and veneration, they intermingled descriptions of family feuds and revolutions, the exploits of some noted warriors, or the manners and customs of people little known; a knowledge which they had either acquired by travelling from one place to another, as was their practice, or which they received from other travellers equally prone to exaggeration and credulity with themselves.

As these observations naturally lead us to that period when Homer lived and sung the war of Troy, and the wanderings of Ulysses, it will be necessary to state a few things regarding his history, and the character of his poetry.

HOMER.

There is something extraordinary in the life and writings of this great poet, which his admirers in all ages have endeavoured to elucidate, some by supposing him endowed with supernatural powers, and favoured with inspiration from heaven; and others, with more justice to his real talents, by forming conjectures concerning the advantages of his situation, and the peculiar felicity of the times in which he lived, for affording him pictures of men and manners admirably suited for the purposes of poetry. Of his family and real history little is known beside conjecture, which usually takes no common liberties with the lives of extraordinary men. The most probable account is, that he was of humble rather than exalted rank, and that he was born about a thousand years before the Christian æra, and three hundred after the destruction of Troy*. His birth falls under that period of history when scarcely any thing was entrusted to record, but left to the varying tale of tradition. He lived, however, in an age when the Greeks were evidently making gradual progress towards improvement, lived under a monarchical but limited government, and had extended their commerce to a considerable extent. The people were brave and irascible, open and generous to friends, treacherous and vindictive to enemies, hospitable to those who claimed their protection, or who were qualified to amuse them by anecdotes and the recital of adventures. Among people of this description, of simple and artless manners, Homer seems to have lived, and to have observed them well. The commerce that was carried on between distant countries enabled him to visit every place, to become acquainted with the history of its inhabitants, to store up in his capacious mind the many traditionary stories with which such a state of society abounds, and to examine with that discriminating power of mind, peculiar to men of the first talents, every object of nature or of art, which could embellish or give dignity to his verse; and his occupation of an *αἰδὸς* or strolling bard (for such he seems to have been) who knew *πολλὰ θελκτεῖα*, many soothing tales, obtained for him a welcome reception wherever he went.

* Homer is supposed to have been a native of Ionia, but of what city or place has never been determined.

That Homer was not the first poet of eminence in Greece, seems to be admitted by all, except those who are more inclined to ascribe his poems to a miracle, than to the natural improved powers of an extraordinary mind. The names of several early Grecian poets are recorded in history, and fragments of their works are yet extant, which appear, by the language at least, as old as the days of Homer; by the subject and manner, still more ancient. It must be supposed, that with the thirst for knowledge he possessed, he would avail himself of their hymns in honour of the gods and heroes of their country, to form his poetical style, and assist him in the machinery of his poems. That the Greek language was highly cultivated at the time in which he lived, is evident from an attentive perusal of his works. The narrations and dialogues, so frequent in his poems, give us a picture not only of the character of individuals, but also of the current language of the country, because the style and manner of expression are such as would be used, with very little attention, in common life. It did not, as in most other states, keep pace with the advancement of knowledge and civilization, with the progress of the arts and sciences, and the increase of luxury and wealth. It was early brought to an almost complete state of perfection, especially the poetical style, by the lively imagination of the people who delighted in the songs of the bards; and by the union of poetry with religion. In this state Homer found it, and availed himself of its happy nature for combination and expressive simplicity to describe, and characterize every object with wonderful accuracy.

It has been the destiny of this poet, the greatest that ever lived, to be the subject of dispute in all ages. Powerful states contended for the honour of his birth, when his fame survived only in his works. The strolling bard, who, perhaps, was obliged to provide by the charms of his poetry, for the day that was passing over him, and in his solitary wanderings, to store his mind with new ideas collected from the varying face of nature, and the diversified operations of man, had, after the lapse of a few ages, temples erected to his memory, and princes as the guardians of his fame. The subject also of his poems has been questioned by some moderns, whom singularity pleases more than the appearance of truth. The Iliad of Homer was founded upon no historical record of the war of Troy, for a very obvious reason, that all events in those early ages were transmitted by oral report in the form of poetical tales. The concurrent testimony, however, of authors who flourished not

many ages after the time of Homer, collateral events which were attended with consequences known to all Greece, and that infinite variety of independent stories which occur in his works, told with so minute and sometimes tedious detail of circumstances, make it evident that he followed accounts already current, and did not invent every thing which he has recorded : ‘ I could as easily believe,’ says the author of the *Epigoniad*, ‘ that Prometheus made a man of clay, and put life into him, or assent to any other the most absurd fictions of antiquity ; I could even as soon be persuaded, that all that Homer has written is strict matter of fact, as believe that any one mortal man was capable of inventing that infinite variety of historical circumstances, which occur in the works of that celebrated poet.’

The highest effort of genius is original invention. It displays a mind fitted to make creations of its own, and to form new combinations of materials without the aid of any model. How far Homer is entitled to this praise cannot now be well ascertained, as we know not with certainty to what extent he was indebted to his predecessors. It is more than probable, that the plan and entire execution of his works, were the result of his own incomparable powers, and that he carried the art of poetical narration and picturesque description far beyond any thing that had previously been known. No subsequent poet indeed has ever surpassed him in just and faithful delineation of character, in illuminating the splendid, in giving elegance and grace to the beautiful, in painting by a few rapid and vivid strokes the awful and sublime, in melting the soul by engaging the affections at once through the medium of character and situation, in stirring up the generous passions of our nature, and in animating the virtuous to heroic and manly conduct. The *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* have remained, and will remain, eternal monuments of his genius, and the vast powers of his mind.

It has been allowed by all critics, that Homer has displayed great judgment in beginning his poem at one particular time and situation of affairs among the Greeks, and not at an earlier period in the history of the war. Had he gone back to the cause of the quarrel, and narrated all the circumstances that intervened previous to the ninth year of the siege, the story would have been both uninteresting and defective in unity. It was not the rape of Helen nor the siege of Troy, which he undertook to celebrate. It was the wrath of Achilles and the consequences subsequent upon his quarrel with Agamemnon. He artfully, however, interweaves

in several parts of his poem, a relation of some events that had happened previous to the dissension that arose between the two chiefs, to make his characters and narrations better understood.

The opening of the *Iliad* is extremely simple, and unfolds at once the subject from which the various incidents arose. After an invocation to the goddess of poetry, to sing the wrath of Achilles the son of Peleus, so destructive to the Greeks, he proceeds to unfold the cause of the quarrel between that hero and Agamemnon. The father of Chryseis, a female captive who had fallen to the share of Agamemnon, comes to the Grecian camp to release his daughter. Being dismissed in a haughty manner by that chief, he prays to Apollo, whose minister he was, to avenge his wrongs upon the Greeks. Apollo sends a pestilence among them, which wastes their army for nine days, and induces Achilles to summon an assembly of the chiefs to enquire into the cause of this terrible calamity. Achilles takes the lead in the deliberations upon this subject, and when the augur informs them that the only way to avert the anger of the god was to send back Chryseis, advises Agamemnon to adopt this measure. The haughty chief resents this advice, which he seems to have thought proceeded from some collusion between the prophet and Achilles. An altercation ensues, which is only prevented by the interference of Minerva, from coming to an extremity. Agamemnon is prevailed upon to send back his captive, but threatens at the same time to take Briseis, Achilles's prize, by force. This incenses the hero, who withdraws in deep resentment, from the councils of the confederates, entreats his mother Thetis to intercede with Jupiter to avenge his quarrel by giving victory to the Trojans, until Agamemnon and the Greeks should be reduced to supplicate his aid, to save them from total destruction. Jupiter grants the request of Thetis, and the Greeks in consequence suffer many defeats and severe loss, till a reconciliation takes place between Agamemnon and Achilles. Such is the basis of the whole action of the *Iliad*.

In the delineation of character, Homer, perhaps, stands unrivalled. Shakespeare is the only other writer that can at all be compared with him in this department. They not only invest their characters with qualities suitable to their rank and situation, but make them speak and act as becomes their age, their reputation, their temper, and their peculiar habits. In the *Iliad* though all the principal characters are endowed with bravery, yet there is a marked difference in their manner of displaying it. Achilles is

impetuous, fearless, and terrible ; ‘ nihil non arroget armis.’ Telamonian Ajax has courage, but it is that species of it, which arises from a consciousness of superior strength. Agamemnon is bold yet cautious, following with impetuosity the tide of success, but too apt to despond upon a reverse of fortune. Diomede is a brave and gallant soldier, fearless of danger, generous in his sentiments, and intrepid in his conduct. Ulysses is distinguished not only for his courage, but for his policy ; cautious of exposing himself to needless dangers, but resolute in the midst of real difficulties.

No poet has ever surpassed Homer in description, whatever was the object he chose to present to the reader’s view. The extent of his knowledge, and the accuracy of his observation, were astonishing. His perception and taste were of that quick and delicate kind, which enabled him to seize upon the most striking and picturesque features of every object, and he presents them to the mind’s eye without ornament, and generally by a few rapid but skilful strokes, leaving the rest of the piece to be filled up by the imagination. Without preparing the reader for pathetic description, without gradually softening the heart by a successive train of mournful incidents, he seizes at once from the occasion, and the characters of the persons, from what they have been, or perhaps may be, some one prominent idea which instantaneously occupies the mind, and wholly subdues it. His vigorous and bold imagination enabled him to describe sublime objects with a degree of felicity which has never been surpassed. He paints with a masterly hand the hurry and confusion of battle, the attack of one hero and the retreat of another. He represents the attitude of the warrior as he is about to throw his spear, the shield of his opponent which it had pierced, and the nature and place of the wound which it had made.

The comparisons and similies with which his works abound, have been greatly admired, and show perhaps more than any thing else, with what a close and discerning eye he observed every object in nature. He gives to all the colours of life and reality, and places them in such a light that a painter might copy after him. It must however be admitted, that many of them are too often repeated in the same words, and sometimes interrupt the train of narration. Some of them are also low and vulgar, and rather detract from the object with which the comparison is made. He generally does not content himself with stating the particular point of comparison, but crowds it with a description of other qualities to which it bears

no resemblance, but which either naturally or accidentally belong to the object.

Homer gives to every thing animate or inanimate, qualities and perceptions such as belong to sentient beings. Every object in nature he personifies; the weapons of war, the elements, chariots and horses, even prayers and dreams, are endowed with the characters and functions of living agents. It must be confessed that the ardour of the poet's imagination has carried some of these to an undue length, such as the dialogue between Achilles and his horse Xanthus, and the appearance of the god of the river Scamander to overwhelm that hero.

The language of Homer next requires to be mentioned, and here the poet stands unrivalled. It is every where perspicuous, rich, varied, and admirably adapted to every subject whether of description or narration, whether the sublime and terrible, or the tender and beautiful are introduced. On common subjects his language is plain and familiar. In the description of great events he exerts all the energy and variety of the Greek tongue, and often, more indeed than any other poet, makes the sound an echo to the sense. His versification is the most smooth and melodious of any Greek poet, except when the nature of the subject required it to be harsh and abrupt; for Homer's style and manner received the impress of his mind and thoughts. The Greek language, by the facility with which it is compounded, and the flexibility of its tones, enabled him to employ it with great effect. No poet ever possessed a more thorough command of his own language, and none ever displayed its numerous and delicate beauties with greater propriety. Though he employs the Ionic dialect most frequently, yet he occasionally makes use of all those which were spoken in Greece at the time in which he lived. This circumstance gives a richness and variety to his style superior to what are found in any other author.

The *Iliad* has been compared to the sun in his meridian splendour, the *Odyssey* to his diminished lustre when setting in the west. This comparison, intended to mark the decline of Homer's genius in the latter of these productions, does not seem to be founded in justice. This subject of the two poems is in many respects essentially different, and of consequence could not be developéd in the same manner. The description of wars and battles, of individual conflicts, and the shock of armies, of deliberations and counsels respecting the safety and success of nu-

merous forces on the one hand, and of a flourishing kingdom on the other, required a greater exertion of genius, and higher flights of poetry, than the voyages, travels and adventures, however perilous, of a single chief. In those parts of the *Odyssey* which can be at all compared with the *Iliad*, the preparations made by Ulysses and Telemachus for an attack upon the suitors of Penelope, and the battle itself, Homer has displayed all his wonted vigour, animation and fire. The criticism therefore, though sanctioned by the great name of Longinus, does not seem to proceed from a just view of the subjects of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, and the particular style, manner and illustration which each naturally requires*.

HESIOD.

Hesiod was a native of Ascra in Bœotia. By some he is supposed to have flourished before Homer, but the best informed are of opinion that he was either cotemporary with him, or that he lived at a somewhat later period. The style of the two poets is very similar, but in sublimity of conception, vigour of imagination, power of description, and fecundity of invention, Hesiod is far inferior. His genius was better fitted for the equable and calm delivery of didactic precepts, than for the high strains of the Epic, though in his description of the battle of the gods with the giants, and of the infernal regions, he has shewn powers little inferior to Homer. Milton, in several places of his *Paradise lost*, has imitated and surpassed him in some of these horrific and sublime descriptions.—Two only of his poems that are reckoned genuine (for the shield of Hercules is doubtful) have reached our times, the one entitled *Works and Days*, and the other *the Theogony, or Birth of the Gods*. The former is divided into three parts, the first mythological, the second moral, and the last didactic. Hesiod begins with the fable of Pandora's box, which is told in a concise and neat manner, and then proceeds with a description of the different ages of the world, which Ovid has imitated in his *Metamorphoses*. The first of these was the age of gold, the second of silver, the third of brass, the fourth the age of the demi-gods and heroes, who fought against Thebes and Troy, and

* For some farther observations respecting Homer, I would refer the classical reader to the late Professor Dalzel's notes upon that poet, in his *Collect. Gr. Maj.* vol. 2. in which he will find elegance, and accuracy of style seldom surpassed by modern writers of Latin.

the last the iron age in which it was his fate to live. The rest of the poem contains precepts of agriculture, interspersed with moral reflections.—This poem is supposed to have suggested to Virgil the idea of his *Georgics*, in which the Roman poet has far surpassed his model in richness of style, elegance of description, variety of illustration, and that exquisite delicacy of taste for which he is unrivalled.

The first part of the *Theogony* is chiefly occupied with a tedious account of the generation of the gods and goddesses of all classes. The only part of the poem, at all interesting, is that towards the conclusion, in which, as has been already mentioned, he describes the battles of the gods with the *Titans*, and the expulsion of those giants to the gloomy abodes of *Tartarus*. Upon a comparison of this part of the work, with his other writings, one would be led to suppose that Hesiod had been unfortunate in the choice of his subjects, and that he possessed powers not unworthy of the Epic muse, and which, had they been employed on a great and interesting event, would have brought him nearer to a rivalry with Homer than we can now allow him to be, judging from those poems of his that have reached our times.

APOLLONIUS RHODIUS.

Apollonius was born at Naucratis in Egypt, about two hundred and thirty years before Christ. As he taught rhetoric at Rhodes for a considerable time, he obtained the surname of Rhodius. At his return to Alexandria in Egypt he became keeper of the royal library under Ptolemy Euergetes.—His poem in four books, upon the expedition of the Argonauts to bring the golden fleece from Colchis, is the only one now extant. In the execution of this work, Apollonius has imitated the style and manner of Homer, but he has failed in unity of design, and in the close concatenation of the different parts of the poem. Extraneous matter is frequently introduced, and unimportant transactions are narrated without spirit and energy. Occasionally, however, his descriptions are characterized by just conception and accurate delineation.

LYRIC POETRY.

Those who have studied the history of Grecian antiquities, and collected the fragments which remain of the most ancient authors, have all concurred in opinion, that poetry was first employed in celebrating the praises of the gods. The evidence of this fact does not rest upon the fragments of the ancient Greek poets only, but is supported by the history of every nation in the early stages of its improvement. The Chaldean, the Hebrew, and all the Asiatic records are full of hymns composed at a very early period for the purposes of devotion. The Dithyrambic of the ancient Greeks, consisted originally of hymns in honour of Bacchus. Others of the gods would, no doubt, be celebrated by their votaries in a similar manner, particularly at the recurrence of festivals instituted for public and solemn acts of devotion. The actions of great men, the achievements of heroes, and the virtues of public characters would also excite the enthusiasm of poets, of those bards especially, who, in the heroic ages travelled about from place to place, and entertained their hearers with the recital of poems composed in honour of some of their illustrious benefactors.

The ode or song, employed either for these purposes of devotion, or in celebrating the praises of heroes, is not required to possess such strict unity and regularity as epic poetry, though it ought to embrace but one object, with which all the illustrations and allusions must be either more nearly, or more remotely connected. As the subjects are of a lofty and animating nature, we expect bold conceptions, sublime description, great vigour, beauty and strength of expression, of a highly figurative cast, but easily understood in its relation to the subject; glowing sentiments, and occasionally abrupt transitions; because, when the fancy is warmed, and enthusiasm excited, the mind is not expected to dwell long upon one idea, but passes by a certain association to some other which presents a new form of illustration.

There are properly four kinds of odes: 1st, sacred odes, or hymns addressed to the deity, or composed on religious subjects: 2dly, heroic odes, in which the actions and exploits of great men were celebrated. The 3d are moral, or philosophical odes, whose character should be temperate, dignified and elegant: and

4thly, gay and amorous odes, in which elegance, smoothness, humour, and gaiety, ought to prevail.

There are no examples of the first species to be found in any work more ancient than those we find in the Old Testament, and there are none more sublime and highly finished. The occasional odes in different places of the five books of Moses, and in others prior to the time of David, are deservedly celebrated for the pure devotion which they breathe, and the exalted ideas of the supreme Being which they contain. But there are none either in ancient or modern times, whatever be the subjects of which they treat, that can bear a comparison with the Psalms of David, and the rapturous effusions of the prophet Isaiah. There runs through them the noblest strain of piety, the most sublime conceptions of the Deity, the boldest and most picturesque figures which the scenery around could furnish, and the most chaste and correct expressions which could have been used.—The fragments of the Orphic hymns *, and the information we have obtained of Linus, Musæus, and some others, shew that these poets entertained sounder notions of the supreme Being than many philosophers of a later date, and that their poetry was far from being contemptible.

ALCÆUS.

Alcæus, Stesichorus, and Simonides, have left little more than their names and a few fragments. The first of these poets was a native of Mitylene, and flourished about six hundred years before Christ.

STESICHORUS.

Stesichorus was a native of Himera in Sicily, and lived about five hundred and seventy years before the Christian æra.

SIMONIDES.

Simonides was a celebrated poet of Cos, and was born about five hundred and thirty-seven years before Christ. There is still extant a beautiful fragment of his, the Lamentation of Danaë, exposed by her father Acrisius with her son Perseus on the tempestuous ocean.

* There is a remarkable fragment preserved by Suidas respecting the divine nature, similar in its language to several expressions in the Scriptures.

ANACREON.

Anacreon was born at Teos in Ionia, about five hundred and thirty years before the Christian æra. His sole object seems to have been love and wine, the joys and pains of which he has sung in such lively, voluptuous, and elegant strains, as have endeared his memory to all the devotees of pleasure. There is in his poetry such a lightness and airiness, such a graceful simplicity, such a lively humour and easy carelessness, as render it inimitable. In the true spirit of a voluptuary, his aim was to enjoy life agreeably to his taste; and if ever the image of death was permitted to obtrude itself upon his thoughts, it was not for the purpose of interrupting his pleasures, but to enhance their value; it was to put him in mind to enjoy the present hour, to pluck the rose-bud in the season of spring, and to quaff the wine while it sparkled in the cup.—The ancient poets were sometimes accustomed to introduce into their poems images of poverty, distress, and death, not to deter themselves or their readers from those gratifications which formed the principal enjoyment of their lives, but rather to prompt them to seize the present moment. The impressions which these pictures left upon the minds of voluptuaries, was not that of thoughtfulness or melancholy. It was like a passing cloud, which for a moment throws a shade over the landscape; but when it is past and gone, makes the scene, by contrast, appear more beautiful and desirable than before.

SAPPHO.

Sappho was a native of Mitylene in the island of Lesbos, and lived about six hundred years before the Christian æra. She was the inventor of that kind of verse which is called by her name, and acquired such reputation by her poetry, that she was sometimes called by the ancients the tenth muse. Possessing a mind of great susceptibility, without the modest reserve natural to her sex, she is said to have abandoned herself too much to pleasure; and in her unfortunate approach to Phaon, to have suffered in proportion to the violence of her passions. Finding all her attempts to excite a mutual passion ineffectual, she resolved to leap from the promontory of Leucate into the sea, with the hope of curing her love. There, however, she terminated both her woes and her life. Of her writings, only a hymn to Venus,

part of an ode, preserved in Longinus's treatise concerning the sublime, and a few detached fragments, have reached us. From these we may form some judgment of the rest of her writings that have been lost. They are remarkable for simplicity, which loses none of its effect in the *Æolic* dialect, strong feeling and correct description.

PINDAR.

Of all the Lyric poets either ancient or modern, Pindar is deservedly reckoned the chief. He was a native of *Bœotia*, and flourished about the time when *Xerxes* invaded Greece. He is said to have received instructions in music and poetry from a lady of the name of *Myrtis*, who, according to some, was his own mother, and also from *Simonides*, a lyric poet of considerable eminence. He appears to have made himself thoroughly master of the mythology of his countrymen, and the history of the heroic ages, as his poems abound in allusions to both, introduced, however, in such a manner that unless his readers are nearly as well acquainted with them as he was, his works will appear destitute of order, connection, or meaning. It is evident from some of his odes, that he possessed a high, independent spirit, which he supported through life, notwithstanding the flattery and attention paid to him by the great men who contended at the Olympic, Nemean, Pythian, and Isthmian games. The great number of odes which he composed upon the same subjects, are proofs both of the reputation which he had acquired, and of the fertility of his invention. He has diversified subjects, apparently barren of incidents, with a wonderful degree of address, though it must be allowed, that a great deal of the obscurity of his poems arose from the necessity under which he lay of introducing anecdotes of particular families, and some story or incident that bore a resemblance to his subject, or could enhance it by contrast. His vigorous and independent genius showed itself in all his odes by irregular sallies, bold and impetuous efforts of imagination, and sublime description. When he soars to heaven, or confines his imagination to earth, he abounds with sublime images, bold metaphors, vigorous sentiments, and just maxims.

The seeming irregularity of Pindar's odes, has been considered by some critics as a capital defect, for which no excellence could compensate, while others have thought, that unbounded

liberty in the introduction of such sentiments and imagery, as the ardour of the poet's fancy might suggest, was essential to lyric poetry. Pindar was excusable upon account of the sameness and limited nature of his subjects, while his admirers, without being restricted by the same causes, have foolishly imitated what must be considered a defect, merely because it has the sanction of Pindar's name. But his merits in other respects are great and conspicuous. All fabulous, and all true history were familiar to his mind. From the victors in the games, he leads us by an instantaneous transition to the renowned exploits of the demi-gods and heroes, and to the achievements of those men whose names were celebrated through Greece. At one time he transports us to the country of the Hyperboreans, and cheers us with the shepherd's pipe and the virgin's song. At another time we are carried to the isles of the blessed, perpetually fanned by ocean gales, blooming in eternal verdure, where the sun never sets, and the seasons never change. Now mount Ætna rises to our view in all its magnificence, pouring forth torrents of flaming fire; and now the sound of the lyre banishes every care, lulls to rest the bird of Jove, perched upon the imperial sceptre, and arrests the career of the blood-stained Mars.—No apology will be necessary for transcribing and translating the following sublime description of the golden lyre of Apollo and the muses.

Και τον αἶχματαν περαυνον σθένυναις
 Διανου πυρος. εὐ-
 δει δ' ἀνα σκαπτῷ Διὸς αἴετος, ὠ-
 κειαν πτερυγ' ἀμφοτέρω-
 θεν χαλαzais,

Ἄρχος οἰωνων· κελαινῶ-
 πιν δ' ἐπι οἱ νεφελαν
 Ἀγκυλῷ κρατι, βλιφαρων
 Ἄδῳ κλαίστρον, κατεχινας· ὁ δὲ κνωσσαν
 Τγρον νωτον ἄωρεϊ, τιαῖς
 Ριπαῖσι κατασχομενος· και γαρ βια-
 τας Ἀρῆς, τραχυσαν ἀνευθε λιπων

Ἐγχλων ἀκμαν, ἱαινει καρδιαν
 Κωματι·

Pyth. I.

‘Thou extinguishest the flaming thunderbolt. The imperial eagle, drooping his swift wings, slumbers on the sceptre of Jove. Thou diffusest a dark cloud over his crooked beak, sealing down his willing eye-lids. Charmed by the thrilling harmony of thy numbers, slumbering he heaves his back, and ruffled plumes.

'Thou meltest the savage heart of Mars, who drops his blood-stained lance, and listens delighted with thy strains.'

Gray, in his *Progress of Poetry*, has imitated, or rather translated this noble passage.

On Thracia's hills the lord of war
Has curb'd the fury of his car,
And dropp'd his thirsty lance at thy command.
Perching on the scepter'd hand
Of Jove, thy magic lulls the feather'd king
With ruffled plumes and flagging wing.
Quench'd in dark clouds of slumber lie
The terror of his beak and lightning of his eye.

TRAGEDY.

The origin of tragedy has generally been referred to songs in honour of Bacchus, that were sung during the time of vintage by the inhabitants of the country. These songs, or hymns, were composed in an inflated style, and in highly figurative language, expressive of the gratitude of the people for the culture of the grape, and were recited by them at their hours of relaxation with many extravagant gestures, characteristic of their feelings, and of the deity whose bounty they celebrated. As Bacchus was always supposed to be accompanied by the Sileni and his sacred nurses, as Sophocles terms them, to imitate them the rustic labourers of both sexes accoutred themselves in rude grotesque habits, poured forth extempore verses in honour of the god of wine, and attacked each other in strains of raillery and humour, or recited such traditional and local ballads as were admired at the time. The prize decreed at those village festivals to the poet, or the performer who pleased the audience best, consisted of a small cask of wine; and hence the performance was called *τρυνωδία*, from *τρυνξ*, new wine, and *ὠδή*, a song. The drama, if such it could be called under this denomination, was satirical, and confined chiefly to the villages at the Trina Dionysia, or festivals of Bacchus. These festivities gave birth to both comedy and tragedy; for the only distinction, originally between them, seems to have been, that the chorus in the one indulged themselves in sallies of wit against their fellow-labourers, while in the other, they sung in a graver and more elevated strain the praises of Bacchus, or other gods and heroes of their country. A different prize also was attributed to the poet who excelled in this other species of

entertainment. A goat, the enemy of the vine, was bestowed upon the successful candidate, and generally sacrificed to Bacchus amidst the rejoicings of the inhabitants, who joined in the song composed in honour of the god, and danced round the victim, having their faces painted with vermilion, or besmeared with lees of wine. The name by which this rude entertainment came to be distinguished was τραγωδια, the song of the goat; from τραγος, a goat, and ᾠδη, a song. The epithet τραγωδια, was never applied to the tragic drama, nor τραγωδια to the comic; but this last by degrees assumed its original name after the prize was discontinued, and was called κομωδια, or the village song, from κομη, pagus, villa, &c.

It does not appear that the stories, or species of entertainment exhibited at these festivals, underwent any material change for a considerable time. We are assured by Aristotle, that comedy lay long in obscurity, as it was neglected by the magistrates, probably upon account of its licentious and satirical nature, while the alterations that tragedy underwent, could be distinguished though the authors were unknown. The exhibitions, that were at first confined to the villages, were afterwards transferred, with considerable improvements, to the towns, in particular to Athens, where they were welcomed with enthusiasm by the inhabitants.

It is, however, universally acknowledged that Thespis* was the first who changed the nature of the entertainment, by introducing an actor to recite some story for the amusement of the audience, in order to relieve the chorus. What these stories were, it is not of importance to enquire. Perhaps they were the offspring of his own invention, as he is said to have composed pieces for representation. Perhaps they were taken from the fabulous histories of Greece, or from the poems of Homer, which the strolling bards were wont to recite for the amusement of the people. However this may be, Thespis made an important addition to the original form of tragedy, by introducing an actor to personate a particular character, the history of whose life and adventures formed, instead of the hymns to Bacchus, the subject of the entertainment, and the theme of praise or censure, by the chorus. Thespis with his actors travelled about the country in a waggon, from which, like the mountebanks of modern times, he amused the people. Dancing was also an essential part

* Thespis is said to have lived about 550 years before Christ.

of the first scenic spectacle, having its origin in the old bacchanalian customs and was continued by the express desire of the people long after tragedy was considerably improved. Trochaic verse was also used by the poets as most proper for dancing, and the authors themselves were in many cases obliged to perform in person. Hence the early dramatists were called ὀρχηστῆραι, or dancers. In this imperfect state tragedy remained when Æschylus was born*, who, uniting the genius of a poet with the talents of an inventor, made it, instead of a long uninteresting detail of the actions of an individual, the representation of a particular event, executed by different actors, and developed to the eyes and understanding of the audience by scenery and dialogue corresponding to the subject.

Aristotle has with truth remarked, that both tragedy and comedy owe almost their existencé to the fruitful genius of Homer, the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* furnishing subjects and characters for tragedy, and his poem of *Margites* for comedy. In the two former poems there is an astonishing variety of action, animated and interesting in the highest degree: all the passions are painted in the strongest colours; characters are drawn and supported with the utmost discrimination and correctness, and dramatic scenes are represented with all the truth and simplicity of nature. They furnish also in the unity and probability of the subject, in the different characters of the actors, in the sentiments they utter upon particular occasions, in the conduct of the story, and the issue of the whole, the germ and outlines of tragedy. It was unquestionably from meditating upon these great models with the mind of a philosopher, and the genius of a poet, that Æschylus formed the idea of giving to tragedy the form in which she is seen in his works. He himself declared that his tragedies were but scraps from the magnificent repasts of Homer. The improvements he made on the drama were the following.—Instead of one actor or interlocutor he introduced two, upon a stage adorned with scenery, corresponding to the situation in which the plot was laid. He not only instructed his chorus in the dances suitable to the piece, but superintended and arranged the dresses of the performers. He introduced more hurry of action into the drama than had formerly been exhibited, marked his characters with strong lines of vice and virtue, and ex-

* He was a native of Attica, and descended of an ancient and honourable family.

pressed his conceptions in glowing, figurative, and energetic language. Sometimes, however, his style is inflated to excess by too great fondness for compound epithets, with a view, it is probable, to render his descriptions the more striking. The ardour of his mind hurried him frequently into extravagance and bombast, and rendered that obscure which a greater degree of attention, and a more refined taste, would have made elegant and perspicuous. These defects arose in all probability from his imitation of the style of the dithyrambic, which was in the highest degree figurative and bombastic, from the sentiments of the epopœa, and from the natural vigour and elevation of his own mind, which led him to entertain high and sublime ideas of human conduct, and to express them with all the enthusiasm and force of which he was capable. The moral sentiments which he has inculcated, spring rather from a view of the evils of life and the calamities of the human race, than from a just knowledge of the mixed state of human affairs. To support them with firm courage and determined resolution, was the great maxim he laboured to establish. The guilty he alarms with the terrors of divine vengeance, and the unfortunate he teaches to submit to his calamity as arising from a destiny which must be fulfilled.

Being accused of having revealed in one of his plays the Eleusinian mysteries, he was only saved from the fury of the populace by his brother Aminias standing forth in his defence, and exhibiting the remains of an arm which he had lost in the battle of Salamis. This circumstance, with the chagrin he felt at seeing a play of Sophocles's crowned in preference to his own, determined him to quit Athens. He retired to Sicily to the court of Hiero who loaded him with favours and honours. He died there a short time after, about the seventieth year of his age. Of nearly one hundred tragedies written by Æschylus, only seven have reached us, viz. the *Prometheus Vincetus*, the *Seven against Thebes*, the *Coephori*; the *Agamemnon*, the *Persians*, the *Supplices*, and the *Eumenides*.

SOPHOCLES.

Sophocles, the next tragic poet of eminence, was born at Colone in Attica, about four hundred and ninety-seven years before Christ. He studied music and dancing under Lamprus, and early distinguished himself in both these arts, particularly after the battle of Salamis, when he led a chorus of youths around a trophy erected in

honour of the victory, and attracted universal attention by the beauty of his person, and the music of his lyre. He held different situations, both civil and military, and discharged them all with credit to himself, and honour to his country. He first applied himself to lyric poetry, in which, had he persevered, he would have eminently distinguished himself, as the choruses of his tragedies shew; but the reputation which Æschylus had acquired, and the bent of his genius, induced him to cultivate the tragic muse. His first attempt was attended with all the success which he could have wished; the judges, by a plurality of voices, having given their suffrage in favour of his tragedy in preference to Æschylus.

The improvements which this latter poet had made upon tragedy, paved the way for its ultimate perfection in Greece, under the hands of Sophocles and Euripides. Sophocles increased the number of actors to three, added the decoration of painted scenery, introduced more ease and elegance into the dialogue, and paid a stricter attention to probability and natural incident. His style is remarkable for dignity and beauty, approaching to the magnificence of the epic. It is always pure, perspicuous, and harmonious. He does not, like his rival Euripides, anticipate the subject and issue of his plots by any formal prologue, but evolves every incident in a gradual and natural manner, and carries the mind in a state of suspense till the final catastrophe. He manages his choruses also with better effect, by making their reflections and observations flow naturally from the characters which appear, and the events which occur.

This poet continued to write for the stage almost to the end of his life, which was protracted to an unusually long period. His unnatural children having been disappointed in not succeeding earlier to his fortune, accused him of imbecillity of mind, and of being incapable to conduct his affairs. Sophocles made no other defence than by reading to the judges and audience his tragedy of *Œdipus Coloneus*, which he had just finished. The judges repelled the charges with indignation, confirmed him in the possession of his right, and, with those present at the trial, conducted him home in triumph. Of one hundred and twenty tragedies which he is said to have written, only seven remain, viz. the *Œdipus Tyrannus* and *Coloneus*, *Antigone*, *Ajax*, *Electra*, *Philoctetes* and the *Trachinians*.

EURIPIDES.

Euripides was about fifteen years younger than Sophocles, and was born at Salamis not far from the mouth of the river Euripus,

on the day in which rejoicings took place for the defeat of Xerxes. By some he was said to have been descended of an illustrious Athenian family; by others, particularly his enemy Aristophanes, he is represented as being the son of a poor woman who sold herbs. He was instructed in rhetoric by Prodicus the Chian, in philosophy by Anaxagoras, and was intimately acquainted with Socrates, many of whose doctrines and opinions he imbibed. At the age of eighteen he began to write for the stage, as being a more safe and expeditious road to popular favour than the cultivation of philosophy, and he succeeded so well in his attempts as to rival Sophocles in the opinion of the best judges. Being persecuted towards the close of his life by a party whose envy and hatred he had incurred, he withdrew to the court of Archelaus, king of Macedon, by whom he was held in the highest esteem. His end was calamitous, as he was torn in pieces by the king's dogs. The Athenians, according to their usual custom of persecuting every man of talents among them during his lifetime, and honouring and lamenting him after his death, sent for his body to entomb it with every respect in the poet's native country. Archelaus refused their request, and caused a magnificent tomb to be erected near his capital upon the banks of a pleasant stream. The Athenians, when they could not obtain his remains, raised a cenotaph to his memory.

The style of Euripides possesses neither the energy and sublimity of Æschylus, nor the gravity and stateliness of Sophocles, but is simple, elegant, and not much elevated above the language of genteel conversation. It is admirably adapted for expressing the various passions and emotions of the soul, particularly those of the tender and amiable kind; in exciting which, Euripides far surpasses his predecessors. He had been accused, not without justice, for want of skill in arranging his plots, as many of the incidents that occur in his dramas, are not brought about in the usual natural course of events, and do not proceed from obvious and sufficient causes, but are frequently unconnected with the preceding part of the action, and sometimes occasioned by the interposition of superior powers. He lets no opportunity slip of shewing his skill as a rhetorician, and dilates in consequence in stating opinions and answering objections, more like a philosopher and orator than a poet. He abounds every where with sentiments and reflections, flowing indeed, naturally enough from the train of the dialogue, and the situation of the personages who utter them, but of too frequent recurrence, and in many cases

altogether unnecessary. Hence many of his tragedies are better adapted to the closet than the stage; as in the one, our minds are sufficiently cool and discriminating to be impressed with the beauty and utility of philosophical sentiments, while in the theatre, we expect a display of human actions and passions so deeply interesting, as to awaken our hopes and fears, and keep the mind in a state of agitation and feeling altogether incompatible with the formal deduction of moral maxims, or philosophical doctrines.

Æschylus represented men greater than they can be; Sophocles as they ought to be; and Euripides such as they are. The latter poet knew more of the effect of the passions than the two former. Hence there is more of the tender and pathetic in his tragedies than in those of his predecessors. While they by their representations raise the mind above the weakness of nature, or the vicissitudes of fortune, or form it to bear with fortitude the calamities of life, he subdues and unmans it by pictures of distress and excess of feeling. On this account he has been styled by Aristotle the most tragic of all poets. Of eighty plays which he wrote, only nineteen have reached us. The titles of these are the following, the Hecuba, Orestes, Phenissæ, Medea, Hippolytus, Alcestes, Andromache, Supplices, Iphigenia in Aulis, Iphigenia in Tauris, Rhesus, Troades, Bacchæ, Cyclops, Heraclidæ, Helena, Ion, Hercules furens, Electra.

OF COMEDY.

The first appearance of comedy, as has been already remarked, was when the inhabitants of Attica assembled at their village festivals, and attacked each other in strains of raillery and humour, upon any of their foibles or weaknesses of character. It was a considerable time before any written comedy was given to the world, EPICARMUS, who lived about four hundred and fifty years before Christ, being accounted the first. To him succeeded Eupolis, Cratinus and Aristophanes, who are generally termed writers of the old comedy. Of the two first we have scarcely any thing remaining to enable us to judge of the character of their works. Of the latter we have several plays, extremely valuable, as the only complete specimen of the ancient Greek comedy.

ARISTOPHANES.

Both the birth place and parentage of Aristophanes are doubtful. He is supposed, with great probability, to have been a native of Ægina, and acquired by his talents the privileges of an Athenian citizen. Though he attacked with great severity many of the most eminent men at Athens, he was too strongly supported by the favour of the populace, to dread their resentment. The most unwarrantable and unjust instance of this kind, was levelled against Socrates, whom he ridiculed in his comedy of the Clouds. This attack upon a man, not more distinguished for the correctness of his moral conduct, than the purity and excellence of his philosophical opinions, affixes a stigma to the character of the poet, which no sophistry can ever efface. Aristophanes could not be so blind, as to confound the doctrines of that philosopher with the dogmas of the sophists, which were fair subjects of ridicule. We must therefore impute his conduct either to levity, and a kind of privileged license, which the Athenians were foolish enough to allow him, or to enmity and malevolence, which probably arose from some rebukes he received from Socrates, upon account of the obscenity and licentiousness of some of his plays. With the same spirit he attacked Euripides, the friend and pupil of that philosopher, and endeavoured, by every kind of ridicule and degradation of his character and abilities, to lower him in the estimation of his countrymen.

No public character, however powerful, escaped the severity of his satire. Against the demagogue Cleon in particular, a man who was both despised and trusted by the Athenians, he directed his most poignant shafts, with an intrepidity and discernment that entitled him to praise: and had he confined himself to such characters, he would have merited the esteem of posterity.

His comedies are reckoned the standard of the Athenian language, such as it was spoken by men of the first eminence, in the most refined period. His style, however, is varied according to the nature of his subject, and the characters he has introduced. He makes a clown speak like a clown, and a man of letters and information deliver himself with elegance and ease. It is to be lamented, that on many occasions he scruples not to offend by gross obscenity, indelicate expressions, and even puns and quibbles. It is probable that he introduced these to please

the taste of his audience, which, unless they had been excessively corrupted, would not have tolerated, far less applauded such offences against propriety and decency. Throughout his pieces he has shewn a wonderful versatility of talent, rising at once from coarse rusticity, to the most sublime and elegant expressions in some of his choruses.—Much of his wit and satire has not the same point and keenness to modern readers, as it must have had to an Athenian audience, who knew the characters and objects against whom they were levelled. Without a complete knowledge of all the facts alluded to, and the private history of the personages whom he attacked, it is impossible to form a fair estimate of his powers of wit and ridicule. What to an Athenian would have appeared pointed and severe, may to us seem insipid and puerile. But it cannot be denied that many of his parodies, however well executed, are unjust and malicious; his allegories, with scarcely any point of resemblance, were intended to vilify and degrade; and his personal satire, to gratify the licentious levelling tempers of his patrons.

Aristophanes wrote above sixty comedies, of which eleven only have reached our times: These are the *Acharnensians*, the *Knights*, the *Clouds*, the *Wasps*, the *Peace*, the *Lysistrata*, the *Birds*, the *Thesmophoriagussæ*, the *Concionatrices*, the *Frogs*, and the *Plutus*.—It is generally supposed that we owe these remains of Aristophanes to St. Chrysostom, of whom he was the favourite author.

OF PASTORAL POETRY.

THEOCRITUS, has the merit of being the first who brought pastoral poetry to such a state of excellence as has never been surpassed. He was born at Syracuse, about three centuries before the Christian æra. Sicily, his native country, was extremely well adapted by its climate, productions, and the character and pursuits of its inhabitants for calling forth the efforts of the rural muse, and of these Theocritus seems to have availed himself with diligence. He studied the characters, the manners, and occupations of the shepherds, and describes them with great fidelity. No writer excels him in his description of rural scenery, a proof both of his taste and judgment. He has obtained the praise of critics in all ages for the unadorned simplicity of his sentiments,

for his natural description of the passions and feelings of his shepherds, and for his just representation of character. He has sometimes been censured for the rusticity, and even indelicacy of some of his descriptions. No excuse ought to be made for any poet who commits the latter offence, whatever were the manners of the age in which he lived. A satisfactory defence may, however, be made against the first charge. Those who conceived that the manners and sentiments of shepherds should always be represented, not as they are, or have been in any age or country, but greatly embellished and refined, do not seem to have a just view of the nature of this kind of poetry. It would perhaps be disgusting to describe the character and occupations of shepherds, as they appear in this country, and in other places, because they are neither so respectable, nor so well informed as in countries where agriculture is little known. But it was otherwise in Sicily, where the scenes of Theocritus' pastorals are laid. We do not indeed find in them, the refined sentiments and affected conceits which abound in the Italian pastorals; nor yet the correct taste of Virgil; but we find what in this respect is better than either, a faithful description of rural objects, interspersed sometimes with a little homeliness of sentiment, and rusticity of manners, but which, as faithful copies of nature, possessing nothing either disgusting or coarse, forms the principal beauty and characteristic of this kind of poetry. His characters are, in general, neither rude nor refined, neither such as are entirely destitute of all other knowledge than what belongs to their particular occupation, nor possessed of elegance of manners, polished discourse, and refined sentiments, but tolerably careful observers of nature, exhibiting both warmth of feeling and appropriate reflection, and sufficiently acquainted with all the scenes and circumstances of rural life and manners.

The Idyllia of Theocritus are of three kinds. Such as are strictly pastoral, in which shepherds are introduced. Those termed Bucolics, in which the characters are herdsmen: and others of a mixed kind, in which even fishermen bear a part. The dialect which he principally uses is the Doric, the broadest and best adapted of all the dialects of Greece for the description of rural objects and characters. It is probable, that it was the prevailing dialect in Sicily, for it does not seem to have been the only one, as Theocritus occasionally uses the Ionic. The Sicilians were a Doric colony, as we learn from Thucydides, and kept up a re-

gular intercourse with other states of Greece, who were also Dorians. The Doric dialect would, of course, be the one mostly spoken in the country, especially by the lower classes of the inhabitants, who retain longer than the higher orders, the manners, sentiments, and language of their remote ancestors. At the time when learning flourished in Greece, the Sicilians were not unacquainted with the writings of the most celebrated authors, and such esteem had they for those of Euripides, that, after the defeat and captivity of the Athenians, their inveterate enemies, they set every one free who could repeat a couplet of any of the tragedies of that excellent writer.—As Virgil is the only other ancient poet who can be compared with Theocritus in this species of writing, a short account of their respective merits shall conclude these observations.—As an original poet, Theocritus is entitled to more praise than Virgil. As a faithful painter of the manners and characters suitable to pastoral poetry, he is likewise his superior. Theocritus describes them as they were, with all their faults and imperfections about them; Virgil, as they would be in a more refined state of society, with more delicate sentiments, and more artificial characters. The language of Theocritus is admirably adapted to the intelligence which his shepherds seemed to possess; that of Virgil is too elegant and correct for the situation in which they are generally placed. Both poets describe rural scenes with great beauty. Theocritus is perspicuous but diffuse. Virgil has selected the principal features with great judgment, and described them with so much elegance and art, as to complete the picture by a few well chosen strokes.

BION and MOSCHUS were contemporaries of Theocritus; the one lived at Smyrna, and the others at Syracuse. They were both elegant writers, inferior to Theocritus in simplicity, but more delicate and refined in their sentiments. Their elegies are tender and sentimental, but not entirely free from a kind of monotony which diminishes their interest.

ORATORY.

In no state of Greece was eloquence cultivated with the same assiduity and success as at Athens. The free nature of the Athenian government, by which almost the whole power was lodged in the hands of the people, rendered it necessary for every one

who aspired at their confidence, to study their tempers, habits and inclinations, and to make himself thoroughly master of the powers of persuasion to gain their assent. During the unsettled state of the country, previous to the time of Solon, violence and tumult were more frequently resorted to, than the powers of speech. But after that period, the influence of eloquence became more apparent, as it was the principal engine which Pisis-tratus employed to raise himself to the sovereign power. The great men who flourished after his time, when the government became settled, must have maintained their hold upon the public mind, no less by their counsels than their great achievements. Soon after the Persian invasion, the science of philosophy, the great instrument for expanding, illuminating and strengthening the mind, began to be cultivated, and was made subservient to the views of the politician. PERICLES, a young man of ample fortune, splendid talents, and great expectations, attached himself to Anaxagoras, with the view of storing his mind with moral, political and natural science, to enable him to gain the confidence and support of the people. His eloquence is said to have been bold, rapid, and vehement, bearing every thing before it like the accumulating force of a torrent. Hence it was said, that like Jupiter he thundered as he spoke.—Almost every man of eminence after his time, who took any share in public affairs, though not orators by profession, became distinguished speakers, as they were frequently obliged to harrangue the people to maintain the ascendancy they had acquired over them. Such were Cleon, Alcibiades, Critias, Theramenes and some others, who enjoyed, and often abused the public favour by their intrigues, corruption and treachery. The orations which we have in the history of Thucydides, who also flourished about the same period, may afford a specimen of the style of these speakers, making, however, some allowance for the particular manner of the author. Nothing is more concise, vigorous and unostentatious. Scarcely a figure or ornament of any kind is to be found. Every word seems to convey the meaning of a sentence, and every sentence involves a process of reasoning, traced sometimes with extreme difficulty upon account of the condensation of the thought. Cicero has characterised the authors of this style of speaking very accurately, in the following words. ‘*Grandes erant verbis, crebri sententiis, compressione rerum breves, et, ob eam ipsam causam, interdum subobscuri.*’

About this period, when eloquence was found to be of such importance in the state, arose the Rhetoricians and Sophists, men who professed to explain the principles of the art, to declaim on all subjects with equal readiness and fluency, and to teach the Athenians to become orators by rule. Of these, the most distinguished was Gorgias of Leontium, in Sicily, who established himself in the latter period of his life at Athens, and attracted great crowds to his school, by the beauty of his style, and the grace and dignity of his manner. But there was some danger lest the excessive subtilty and refinement of these rhetoricians, should introduce an artificial and feeble mode of speaking, instead of that masculine, though harsh strain of eloquence which had hitherto prevailed. Their metaphysical scepticism, and various receipts for making all kinds of orations, instead of assisting the native powers of genius, tended greatly to weaken them, and to call off the attention from actions to words, from business and active employment to empty declamation, in which neither the understanding nor the heart could have much interest. It was fortunate for the glory of Athens, that Socrates then lived and opposed himself to these corrupters of the morals and eloquence of his country, by exposing with great simplicity of language and thought, and sometimes with happy strokes of irony, their vain pretensions, and recalled the attention of men from the abuse of reasoning, to a natural induction of facts, the result of close observation and long experience. The school of Isocrates, however, the most celebrated Rhetorician of his time, was not liable to the same exceptions, and perhaps, accomplished as much as could have been expected from any institution of the kind. Finding himself unqualified, through excess of timidity, and a weak voice, to engage in public speaking, he undertook to teach the principles of his art to the Athenian youth. Isocrates paid uncommon attention to the musical rythm of the Greek language, to the skilful selection and collocation of words, and the nice balancing of each member of a sentence. Hence his orations, though abounding with excellent precepts of morality, are too destitute of vigour and animation, and are better fitted for being perused in the closet, than spoken from the rostrum. ‘*Pompæ magis quam pugnæ aptior*, says Cicero, ‘*ad voluptatem aurium accommodatus potius quam ad judicium certamen.*’ One might have supposed that the Roman orator, sensible of the defect of Socrates’ eloquence, would have carefully avoided to imitate it,

and would have bestowed less pains than he seems to have done upon the musical cadence of his periods. By carrying his admiration of this kind of writing too far, he incurred the censure of some of his contemporaries, who rightly judged that his authority and example would tend to corrupt the simplicity and energy of Roman eloquence, and sanction a taste for the brilliant more than the solid. In modern times it has been imitated by several writers in this country, but more particularly by the French, whose natural frivolity and love of shew, drew them to it by a kind of instinctive attraction.

HYPERIDES, LYSIAS and ISÆUS, were orators of considerable repute at the period of which we have been speaking. We have scarcely any of the writings of the first by which to form an opinion of his eloquence. Of the two latter some orations have reached us, sufficient to enable us to judge of their respective merits. Isæus was a teacher of rhetoric, and had the honour of instructing Demosthenes in the principles of his art. Lysias, according to Dionysius of Halicarnassus, possessed a certain grace, or elegance, arising from simplicity. His style, says he, has gracefulness for its nature, that of Isocrates seeks to have it. In the art of narration, he considers Lysias superior to all orators, in being distinct, probable and persuasive, but at the same time admits, that his composition is better adapted to private litigation, than important causes. He convinces the understanding, but does not animate, or elevate the mind. Isæus shews more art in his speeches, and also more vehemence and force. Dionysius compares the compositions of the former, to the first essays in painting, in which every object was represented in its true light and colours, and appeared as it existed in nature; and that of the latter to specimens of the art considerably improved when the delicacy of the pencil was less apparent, but the lights and shades, and variety of colouring so happily blended, and strongly marked, that every object appeared more striking and highly finished.

Having thus given a short account of the principal orators among the Athenians previous to the time of Demosthenes, we shall now proceed to state a few circumstances regarding the life and political conduct, both of him and his rival Æschines, beginning with the latter orator.

These distinguished speakers, in their invectives against each other, (for they often descended to personal abuse) have thrown

considerable light upon their origin, and early situation in life. *ÆSCHINES* was not indebted to his parents for any advantages of birth or fortune. His father was said to have been a slave of the name of *Tromēs*, the assistant to a teacher at Athens. When the thirty tyrants oppressed the Athenians, he went over to Asia, and there joined a band of Greek mercenaries. Ashamed, it is probable, of his former low condition, he assumed the name of *Atrometus*, as one more agreeable to a Grecian ear, and conveying the idea of freedom and respectability. When affairs at Athens were brought to a happy conclusion, through the prudence and good conduct of *Thrasybulus*, *Atrometus* betook himself to the profession of his former master. He married a woman who was an Athenian citizen, but whose occupation was of the lowest kind, a bacchanalian dancer, and teacher of bacchanalian ceremonies. *Æschines* was said, by his rival, to have been employed when a youth, in assisting her to discharge the duties of her profession. At the age of eighteen, he was enrolled in the ward into which his father had been admitted. At the age of twenty, he was sent to join the troops then acting as auxiliaries to the *Lacedæmonians*, in the war against the *Thebans*. He distinguished himself so much for his courage and conduct in different engagements, as to obtain the praise of his general. At the conclusion of the war, *Æschines* obtained the place of clerk, or secretary to the council of 500. But as this was a situation which allowed no scope to his ambition, or the display of his talents for declamation, he soon quitted it, and engaged with a party of strolling players. But his success as an actor, if we may credit his rival, was not great, for he represented characters of the third class only, and was therefore soon disgusted with the stock and buskin. The profession of an orator was the next he had in view, and in order to qualify himself for such an important office, he attended the school of *Plato* to acquire language, sentiments and ideas. At what time, and on what occasion he first ventured to speak in public, is not known: but his talent for eloquence, his fine sonorous voice, tenacious memory, and engaging appearance, soon brought him into notice. He was employed by the Athenians in several important embassies, in which he shewed both eloquence and address in managing the affairs entrusted to his care. Before *Demosthenes* made his appearance as a public speaker, *Æschines* seems to have entered into all the plans and views of the high democratical party; but

when that great orator began to eclipse him in the forum, he joined what was called the aristocratical party, who were perpetually clamouring for peace. While the progress of Philip, the enterprising king of Macedon, was opposed with great vehemence by Demosthenes and his friends, Æschines appeared upon some occasions, openly as the advocate of that monarch, and in others endeavoured to thwart the salutary measures proposed by his opponent. Many charges of bribery, treachery and corruption, were advanced against each other, by both orators, some of them probably true, and others evidently false: but the policy pursued by Æschines in abetting the designs of Philip, and opposing the plans of Demosthenes to set bounds to his ambition, by uniting the states of Greece in a firm league, and rousing the Athenians to great exertions, does not entitle him to the appellation of a patriot.

His most celebrated speech, was an attack upon Ctesiphon, the friend of Demosthenes, who had proposed that that orator should obtain from the people a crown, as a mark of their approbation of his patriotism, and zeal in their defence. Æschines opposed this grant, on the ground that it was illegal, and that the conduct of Demosthenes did not merit such a reward. Demosthenes justified himself in his oration *for the crown*, and gained a complete triumph over his rival, who, having obtained less than a fifth part of the votes in his favour, was involved in consequence, in a prosecution for defamation. Being unable to pay the fine, he privately retired to Rhodes, where he opened a school for teaching eloquence, and began with reading his own speech to his pupils, who received it with great applause. He was then asked to read his rival's also, which he did. Their admiration and eulogiums were still greater than what they had testified for his own; and Æschines had the candour to say, 'How must you have been affected had you heard Demosthenes deliver it!'

The eloquence of Æschines possessed a considerable degree of animation and force. His style is elegant, perspicuous, chaste, and harmonious. He excelled in the art of narration and subtilty of reasoning, giving to every statement the most plausible appearance, and pressing the consequences drawn from his reasoning, with closeness and ardour. He does not, like his great rival, force assent and compliance from his hearers, but endeavours to insinuate himself into their good opinion by professions of devotedness to their service, and a seeming deference to their judg-

ment. He would have triumphed in the forum at Athens, as he sometimes rose to the highest flights of eloquence, with a full, animated, and impassioned tone, had Demosthenes not arisen about the same time to bear off the palm of victory from him, and from all others.

DEMOSTHENES.

The life of Demosthenes deserves particular attention from every student, as it exhibits the astonishing effects which industry and perseverance can produce in removing even natural defects, at first view almost insurmountable. The father of this great orator was an Athenian by birth, and exercised the trade of an armourer, by which he acquired considerable wealth. He married the daughter of one Gylon who had settled upon the borders of the Euxine sea, and contracted an alliance with a rich heiress of the country. At the age of seven Demosthenes was deprived of his father, who left him a fortune which entitled him to rank with the wealthiest citizens. Though guardians had been appointed to manage his estate and direct his education, they seem to have dilapidated the one, and neglected the other. Left at an early age entirely to himself, he launched out into expenses with all the extravagance and vanity of youth, acted as Choregus or president of theatrical entertainments, and equipped a ship of war for the service of the republic. He spent the first part of his life without any fixed purpose or aim, indulging in such a state of indolence and effeminacy, as to have his name stigmatized by a term of reproach. But the seeds of genius, being either allowed to shoot up into wild luxuriance, or to lie dormant through neglect, were soon to spring up with amazing vigour. Having heard that an important cause which involved the interests of the state was to be pleaded before the people, he was anxious to be present to hear the orator. Calisthenes was listened to with great attention, received the approbation of the people, and was conducted home by a crowd of citizens all lavish in their praises of his talents. This sight awakened the ambition of Demosthenes, and made such an impression upon his mind, over which vanity had a considerable influence, that he determined thenceforth to devote himself wholly to the study of eloquence. At that time learning of all kinds, but particularly philosophy and the art of rhetoric, were cultivated with amazing eagerness by the Athenian youth. Plato had established his school in the academy, and was attended by a vast concourse

of citizens, all captivated by the charms of his eloquence, and the ingenuity of his opinions. The sublimity of his ideas, the richness and elegance of his style, and the moral and political maxims which he inculcated, rendered his school peculiarly excellent for the education of an orator. Demosthenes attended it with great assiduity, as well as that of Isæus the rhetorician, whom he preferred to Isocrates. After these preparatory studies, he tried his strength against his guardians, whom he obliged to refund a part of his property. Emboldened by this success, he mounted the tribunal to harangue the people upon state affairs, but was heard with very little attention, and no signs of approbation. Not discouraged by this unfavourable reception, he made a second attempt and was equally unsuccessful. As he retired, exceedingly depressed by his ill success, and determined in his mind to relinquish a pursuit for which nature seemed to have rendered him unfit, by denying him the free use of the organs of speech, and a sufficient quantity of breath to articulate distinctly a sentence of moderate length, he was met by one of his friends, a comedian, to whom he communicated the cause of his chagrin. His friend soon ascertained the principal reason of his failure, and shewed, by reciting a few lines from Sophocles, in what he was deficient, and exhorted him to conquer the natural and acquired defects under which he laboured. This seasonable advice was not lost upon Demosthenes. He instantly set about correcting, with the greatest perseverance and most extraordinary means, his rapid and inarticulate pronunciation, ungraceful and awkward gestures in declaiming, and several natural defects under which he laboured. His abilities for composition were of the highest kind, and these he perfected by shutting himself up for months together, in an apartment removed from all noise and interruption. There also by the light of his lamp, he composed and prepared for delivery, those noble orations upon the affairs of Athens, in which

‘ resistless eloquence
 Wielded at will that fierce democracy,
 Shook the arsenal, and fulminated over Greece
 To Macedon and Artaxerxes’ throne.’

The times in which he lived were the most favourable that could have possibly happened for the display of his great abilities. There was a number of rival orators who strove to surpass each other in the people’s favour, and in this contention cultivated the powers of speech to the utmost, and made themselves acquainted with the

strength and policy of the other states. Athens was endeavouring to regain the power and consequence she had lost at Ægos Potamos. But the people were now become excessively corrupt and presumptuous, engrossing to themselves almost the whole power of the state, expending its revenues on useless shows and entertainments, and entrusting its defence and glory to the hands of mercenaries, when they needed all the virtue and patriotism of their ancestors to oppose the gathering storm. This calamity threatened them from a quarter hitherto weak, and little dreaded by the states of Greece. But through the great abilities of Philip both for peace and war, the kingdom of Macedon, formerly distracted by civil broils, became united, powerful and dangerous to all the contiguous states. Some were subdued in the field, or had their fortified places reduced; others, oppressed by their tyrants, or distracted by opposite factions, were taken under the protection of that monarch: to many he exhibited uncommon generosity and clemency, and to all he held out the prospect of joining their arms with his own to invade the Persian empire. His policy, artful in the extreme; his engaging manners and insinuating address; his unbounded liberality and magnificent promises, imposed upon many of the Athenian statesmen, who either secretly or openly abetted him in all his designs, and either saw not or winked at his project of universal dominion. But he never laid to sleep the vigilance of Demosthenes, who, connecting himself, as he rose to eminence, with the democratical or war party in the government, constantly watched his motions, detected his schemes, and exposed his measures. In forming a confederacy against the designs of Philip, his abilities as a politician were no less conspicuous, than his talents as an orator. He had to gain over states exasperated against Athens by acts of hostility, instances of infidelity, and attempts upon their liberties, many of whose leading citizens also were either bribed into Philip's service, or had so little virtue as to be careless of their country's fate, provided their own interest was secure. He had to oppose a party at home, keen, vigilant, and ready to take advantage of every error or untoward event, to ruin him with the people. He had to manage the wayward inclinations of the multitude, to secure their favour, while he stigmatised their indolence; to appeal to the best principles of their nature, the noblest periods of their history, and the high notions they entertained of their own dignity and importance, while the detail of facts brought under their view, was intended to put them to shame and

confusion. But all his eloquence could not revive that martial spirit and greatness of soul which characterized their ancestors. Instead of fighting their own battles, and treating their allies with respect and kindness, they hired mercenaries who occasionally deserted them when they were refused additional pay, and alienated their friends by wanton acts of authority and open selfishness. The battle of Cheronea for ever broke their power, and laid them at the mercy of Philip, who treated them with singular lenity. In this battle Demosthenes left a stigma upon his memory, by throwing away his shield to enable him to escape; a circumstance which his enemies never failed to reproach him with. As he was known to have been the prime mover of the confederacy against Philip, he durst not return to Athens, but retired to some of the adjoining islands, watching a favourable opportunity to return. The clemency of Philip, the activity of his own friends, and the want of address in his enemies to improve their good fortune, gave him the opportunity of revisiting Athens; and, soon after, he again took an active share in public affairs. There were, however, no hopes of reviving a confederacy in Greece so long as Philip lived; and even after his death the severe vengeance which his son Alexander inflicted upon the Thebans, taught others to remain submissive and quiet. In this state of public affairs he continued to exercise his talents as an orator in civil causes, and was soon called upon to defend the whole of his administration, by an attack which Æschines had made ostensibly upon his friend Ctesiphon, but in reality upon himself. Both speeches of the rival orators, were, we are informed, translated by Cicero, when preparing himself for speaking in public; and it is much to be regretted that they have perished along with some others of his works, as from his command of language, intimate knowledge of the principles of his art; and acquaintance with the Greek authors, we may conclude they were executed in a very superior manner.—The decree for conferring a crown upon Demosthenes as a mark of esteem and gratitude for his zeal and services to the state, was attacked by Æschines as being contrary to the laws. The accusation was preferred four years before the death of Philip, but the prosecution and defence did not take place till ten years afterwards, when Alexander was prosecuting his conquests in Asia. When the time was fixed to hear the parties, all Greece crowded to Athens; and certainly never could expectation be raised to a higher pitch, as the orators were the most distinguished which Athens had ever produced, and the

nature of the trial sufficient to excite uncommon interest, from embracing, as was expected, the political history of the whole country during a momentous period.

Both orators displayed great powers of argument, and extraordinary talents; the one while he reasoned from the laws against the decree of Ctesiphon, and pressed his attack against the weak parts of the private and public conduct of his adversary; the other, while he artfully evaded the main question, stated his services, his zeal and affection for the state against the letter of the law, and with the utmost ingenuity turned the invectives of his enemy against himself. Æschines had made a violent attack upon his character; had accused him of cowardice in the field; of effeminacy and profligacy in his private conduct; of ambition, venality, sacrilege, and other vices in his public administration, and as being the author of all the calamities which Athens had lately suffered. Some of these crimes, as Demosthenes confessed, were of such a nature as, if true, deserved the most severe punishment: but, unfortunately for Æschines, his enmity got the better of his prudence and veracity; and while he thought of overwhelming his rival by the number and greatness of his crimes, he furnished him with the means of rendering suspicious the whole of the accusation. The facts which Demosthenes produced against these unsupported allegations; the artful manner in which he drew inferences from them as proofs of his zeal and fidelity; the bold, decided tone which he assumed in his own defence, as a man unjustly accused; the energy, vehemence, and rapidity of his language and manner, and the exposition of his rival's conduct, rendered his triumph complete.

The virtue of this great orator was said not to have been incorruptible, as he was accused before the senate of Areopagus of receiving a bribe from one Harpalus, and was thrown into prison. By the assistance of his friends he made his escape, and remained in exile till the death of Alexander. After the decease of that prince, the Athenians recalled him from banishment, and received him with the most public marks of esteem and joy upon his entrance into the city. But he was not allowed to enjoy long the favour of his countrymen, having incurred the hatred of Antipater, Alexander's successor in the kingdom of Macedon. Upon his approach to Athens, Demosthenes withdrew with his friends to the island Calauria, and took refuge in the temple of Neptune. There he drank poison, which he always carried about with him, that he

might not fall into the hands of his enemies, and died in the sixty-second year of his age.

The orations of Demosthenes have always been celebrated as the most perfect models of eloquence the world ever beheld. They consist, for the most part, of argument and invective clothed in appropriate language, with few of the graces of ornament, or figures of speech. Demosthenes was too full of his subject, too much in earnest in all that he spoke, to deviate from the direct path in search of beauties which would have sensibly weakened the force of his reasoning, when his aim was to persuade to the adoption of measures calculated for the good of his country. To obtain this end, he states facts, urges motives, presses conclusions, and draws consequences with a rapidity and force altogether irresistible. He does not in general prepare his hearers by any artful introduction, but enters at once upon his subject, and presses it with so much closeness, with such strength of reasoning, energy of style, and independence of manner, as to carry them completely along with him, and extort their assent. He sometimes breaks out with bold exclamations, and indignant invectives. Sometimes he appeals to the best principles of our nature, to the elevated and generous sentiments of the most exalted characters, and always maintains a tone of dignity and gravity suitable to his character and the importance of his subject. His style is masculine and vigorous, full of animation and fire; and, though his sentences seem to be composed with much art, yet in their several parts they are arranged in such a way, and so connected together as to bring out the sentiment or train of reasoning in the most natural and forcible manner. He uses no more words than are barely sufficient to evolve his meaning, and these are arranged in the most admirable order, both to please the ear and satisfy the understanding. The chief difficulty that occurs in perusing his orations, arises from the closeness of his reasoning, none of those intermediate ideas being employed, which, while they elucidate an author's meaning, weaken the impression of strong and naked truths, especially when delivered to an audience.

ON HISTORY.

In ancient times, as was formerly remarked, every event that excited any degree of interest, was wrought up in verse by the

poets, and transmitted, by the aid of memory, from one generation to another. Other circumstances of a public nature, which gave less scope to the imagination, or could scarcely admit of amplification, were engraven on brass or marble, or stamped upon medals. In these different ways the memory of some ancient occurrences was imperfectly preserved, and afforded the means and materials, when writing came into use, to secure contemporaneous events from perishing for ever, and of making them more generally known.—Several annalists and historians are mentioned by antiquarians to have flourished before the time of Herodotus; but, as their narratives are chiefly made up of fabulous stories, and marvellous incidents, they scarcely deserve the smallest consideration. They confined themselves for the most part, to the history of a single city or state, and endeavoured to make their founders as respectable as possible, by availing themselves of the fictions of remote ages, which generally ascribed their origin to the gods. Leaving them, therefore, to their merited obscurity, we shall proceed to give a short account of the father of history

HERODOTUS.

This historian was born at Halicarnassus in Caria, about five centuries before the Christian æra. When he grew up, he felt such an aversion to the tyranny of Lygdamis, that he found it prudent to withdraw from his native city, and retired to Samos, with the view of preparing himself for the duties of an historian. That he might perform this with the more credit to himself, he visited the greater part of the countries, whose history he intended to write, inspected every place, and every monument from which materials could be derived, and received from those capable of giving information, details of various events, either reported by travellers, or preserved in traditionary tales. Having completed his travels, he returned to Samos, and began the composition of his history, which contained an account of the ancient dynasties of the Medes, the Persians, the Phœnicians, the Lydians, the Greeks, the Egyptians and the Scythians. When he had finished his work, an opportunity occurred of freeing his country from the tyranny of Lygdamis, which he embraced with ardour; and it was chiefly by his exertions that the tyrant was expelled. Meeting, however, with the envy and hatred of a factious party, he left his country and came to Greece during

the celebration of the Olympic games. Thither he repaired, and read his history to the assembly. It was received with the greatest applause, and the different books were dignified with the names of the nine muses. After this he went to Athens, and again read his history during the celebration of the festival in honour of Minerva. A little after, he accompanied a colony of Athenians to Thurium in Magna Græcia, where he is supposed to have died.

The history of Herodotus embraces the annals of nearly the whole known world, digested into regular order, under particular countries. The information which he communicates respecting each of these is surprising, when we consider how few records there were of public transactions at the time he wrote. Whatever he himself beheld, and his industry in collecting facts was astonishing, may be safely relied upon, as far as he was capable of judging. What he communicates upon report was never intended by him to be implicitly believed, and therefore he does not deserve the reproach of want of fidelity, which has been too freely cast upon him. He has indeed recorded many things resting upon doubtful authority, and of little importance, but the fault may with more justice be imputed to the times in which he lived, than to the historian. The Greeks were fond of the marvellous, delighted in those kinds of episodes and anecdotes of families and individuals which abound in his works, and were eager to learn every thing that could be told of distant nations. The historian gratified their taste while he followed the bent of his own genius. His works, notwithstanding a few blemishes, will be read with interest as long as literature is cultivated.

Herodotus excels in narration. He is clear, distinct, and unaffected. Every part of the subject is properly connected with another, and there is such an air of simplicity and sincerity, so much naivetè and grace, that his narrations never fail to interest the reader. His language is in general simple, elegant and perspicuous. Sometimes he gives the colouring of poetry, and at other times introduces agreeable images to soften the impression of scenes of blood and desolation.—What is commonly called the philosophy of history, is scarcely to be found in his writings. He related events with great perspicuity and beauty, but seldom thought of enquiring into their causes or consequences. He unfolded characters by their actions, but left it to his readers to

judge of their moral depravity or worth. He described things as they were, laws as they were administered, customs as they existed, and manners as they were formed, without being solicitous of tracing their principles, or inquiring into all their political bearings. Hence there is no deep reflection, or acute criticism in his works; but they contain such a mass of important information, respecting the rise, progress, and downfall of states and empires, as cannot fail to suggest to every intelligent reader, many useful lessons, both of a political and moral nature.

THUCYDIDES.

This historian was descended from one of the first families in Athens, and was born about the year 469 before the Christian æra. He was about sixteen years of age, when, having accompanied his father Olorus to the Olympic games, he heard Herodotus read his history. The applause which that historian received, deeply affected him, and had a great influence in directing his literary pursuits. He became a pupil of the celebrated philosopher Anaxagoras, and of the rhetorician Antiphon. During the Peloponnesian war, he was sent with some forces to relieve Amphipolis, which was besieged by Brasidas the Lacedæmonian general, but failed in the attempt. Being punished with exile on account of this failure, he retired to Thrace, and afterwards visited several places which had been the scenes of different actions during the war. His situation, while he served his country in the field, made him well acquainted with the affairs of the Athenians and their confederates, and his banishment gave him access to the Lacedæmonians and their allies, from whom he derived information respecting all their measures and plans. Being thus either an eye-witness to what he has recorded, or sufficiently well informed of every event from those who were engaged in various actions, or assisted in the public deliberations, his fidelity as an historian stands higher perhaps than that of any other. He brought down his history of the Peloponnesian war, to the twentieth year; and divided it into eight books. Xenophon continued the annals of the other seven years, the time it lasted, in his history of Greece.

Thucydides is not equal to Herodotus in preserving historical unity. He frequently breaks off abruptly in the detail of transactions, after he has brought them down to the conclusion of the

season, and takes up others which he left unfinished, to carry them forward to the same period. On this account he is more tedious, and not so agreeable as he would otherwise have been.— In the detail of events and representation of speeches, he shews his knowledge both as a statesman and philosopher. His reflections are profound, just and impartial, and are drawn from a thorough knowledge of the subject, and an intimate acquaintance with the views of the different parties. His speeches may be considered as the philosophical part of his history, as they develop the causes of events, the interests, motives, views and principles of all the states engaged in that ruinous war, and bring these important points more into view, than the detached reflections of modern historians. In this narration of great events, he has seldom been equallad. The plague of Athens, the siege of Plataea, the sedition at Corcyra, the defeat of the Athenians in Sicily, are painted in the most picturesque and forcible manner.

His style is remarkably concise, and energetic, but sometimes, through excess of brevity, particularly in his harrangues, obscure. He does not seem to have been very solicitous about the elegance of his style or the purity of his language, but was more ambitious to communicate information, than to please the ear. Wholly engaged with his subject, he was not anxious about the choice of words, or their nice collocation, nor did he even sometimes regard the strictest rules of grammar in the ardour of composition. These defects, which some ignorantly admire, are counterbalanced by the justness and dignity of his sentiments, the fidelity and accuracy of his details, and the judicious reflections he constantly makes upon every plan that was proposed, and every measure that was pursued.

XENOPHON.

This elegant historian, and amiable character, was born at Athens about four hundred and forty nine years before the christian æra.—He attached himself at a very early age to Socrates, and made himself thoroughly acquainted with his character, opinions and doctrines. At the age of twenty six, he accompanied him on a military expedition during the Peloponnesian war, and was saved by his intrepidity and valour from perishing in battle. He returned with Socrates to Athens, and devoted himself for some time, under his direction, to the study of philosophy

When the younger Cyrus was preparing to make war upon his brother Artaxerxes, and had engaged different bands of mercenaries to assist him, Xenophon accompanied his friend Proxenus the Bœotian on that expedition. After the death of Cyrus, and the treacherous murder of the Grecian generals, Xenophon was chosen to conduct the retreat of the troops, which he accomplished with equal conduct and bravery, through countries beset with enemies, and full of natural difficulties. Having delivered up the army to Thymbron the Lacedæmonian, he accompanied Agesilaus the Spartan king in his expedition into Asia, and acquired the friendship and esteem of that prince. His countrymen decreed against him the punishment of exile, because he had attached himself to their enemies. Upon this he returned to Scillus, where he composed the greater part of his works, and where for several years he devoted himself to the study of philosophy, and enjoyed his favourite amusements of hunting and riding. Being reluctantly obliged to quit Scillus, he retired first to Lepreum and then to Corinth, where he died in the ninetieth year of his age.

He wrote, as has been already mentioned, the *Hellenica*, or continuation of Thucydides' history of the Peloponnesian war; the *Cyropædia*, or a history of the education and achievements of the elder Cyrus; and the *Anabasis*, or the retreat of the ten thousand Greeks. In the first of these works he is much inferior to Thucydides, possessing neither his information, accuracy, vigour nor profoundness of thought. His *Cyropædia* may rather be considered in the light of a novel, in which real actions are blended with a good deal of fiction. Xenophon seems to have intended, according to the judgment of Cicero, rather to draw the model of an accomplished prince, and a perfect government, than to adhere strictly to historical truth. It is written in the most captivating, simple and elegant style imaginable, and contains so many just observations upon the formation, support, discipline and conduct of armies, such extensive political views, and admirable principles of government, as render it well worth the attentive perusal of soldiers, politicians and philosophers. His *Anabasis* is no less admirable, both for style and matter. Like Cæsar, he was the historian of his own exploits. Like him, he joined the talent to describe with the ability to execute: and like him too, he studied more the fidelity of an historian than the vanity of an author. If we can accuse him of any thing in the

conduct of that memorable retreat, it is in having been too superstitious, in sometimes hazarding the safety of the army because the victims were unfavourable. He should have remembered the noble reply of Hector to Polydamas ;

Εἰς οἶκον ἀρίστος, ἀμυνεσθαι περὶ πατρὸς.

Iliad 12.

His language is remarkable for sweetness, variety, perspicuity and elegance. Rich, without a superfluity of figures, and smooth without sameness and tedious uniformity. His sentiments are such as might have been expected from the most faithful and judicious of all the disciples of Socrates. They are just, elevated, apposite, and do credit both to his heart and his understanding.

Besides the books already mentioned, he wrote the *Memorabilia* ; an account of the Lacedæmonian and Athenian governments, and some others of less importance.

POLYBIUS.

The only other historian which our limits will permit us to mention, was born at Megalópolis in Peloponnesus, about two hundred years before Christ. His father was a man of considerable eminence, both as a general and a statesman, and distinguished himself in the Achæan league. When that confederacy was broken. Polybius was carried as an hostage to Rome, where he not only made himself master of the Roman language, but acquired a thorough knowledge also of the laws, policy and institutions of the state, particularly what related to military affairs. He lived in habits of friendship with the second Scipio Africanus, accompanied him in his conquests, and gained in this manner a thorough knowledge of the military institutions and discipline of the Romans. After the death of Scipio he returned to his own country, and died in the eighty-second year of his age by a fall from his horse.

Polybius joined to a correct knowledge of military and political affairs that fell under his own observation, a thorough acquaintance with all the ancient institutions of his own country. He availed himself of this extensive information in delivering his judgment upon certain events that occurred. His history, originally composed in forty books, of which only five are entire, with fragments of the succeeding twelve, comprised an account

of the causes and means by which the habitable world became subject to the Roman empire, and embraced a period of fifty-three years, from the commencement of the second Punic war to the conquest of Macedon by Paulus Æmilius.

In the composition of his history, he seldom took the trouble to arrange, or methodise his thoughts in regular well connected sentences, but wrote them in the order as they occurred to his mind. His style is involved, irregular and destitute of harmony and elegance. But in the higher qualities of an historian he has no superior. He gives no false colouring to any of the objects he describes, and is scrupulous to a degree in his adherence to the truth. He had penetration to discover the secret springs of actions, and judgment to trace them with distinctness and accuracy. His reflections and views are profound and original, far beyond those of any other author who had preceded him. His account of the military tactics of the Romans is particularly valuable, as from it we perceive the means and instruments by which that magnanimous people conquered the world.

PHILOSOPHY.

It would be impossible in a work of this kind, even were our limits more extensive than they are, to do justice to this subject by any kind of abstract. We shall therefore content ourselves with stating a few things respecting the doctrines of Socrates, who may be justly considered the father of Grecian philosophy; and make a few remarks upon the life and opinions of Plato and Aristotle. The best account we have of the life and doctrines of Socrates, is derived from the *memorabilia* of Xenophon; a work expressly written by that author, to vindicate the memory of his much injured master, from the false aspersions his enemies had cast upon it. Plato, another of his disciples, has, in several of his dialogues, introduced Socrates unfolding his opinions, but with less attention to truth than Xenophon.

Before, and during the time that Socrates lived, philosophers busied themselves with refined speculations upon the nature and origin of all things, upon the being and essence of the Deity, and endeavoured to discover, by what necessary laws every thing existed. To these speculations they were probably led by the examples of some of the greatest philosophers who had preceded them,

who were all eager to form theories upon those abstruse subjects, without taking the only sure way to arrive at any certainty concerning such of them as were within their reach, that of close observation and repeated experiments. Socrates, instead of implicitly adopting the opinions of any one of them, soon observed the weak parts of their systems, and resolved to expose them. His aim was to discourage such researches, and to lead mankind to a knowledge of themselves, and of their respective duties in life. He did not, like the sophists and other instructors of youth, open a school for the purpose of inculcating his peculiar opinions, though the comic poet Aristophanes has insinuated as much, in his play of the Clouds; but took occasion to frequent the public walks, the public assemblies, and the shops of the artisans, both for the purpose of conversing with any intelligent individual whom he might chance to meet, and of obtaining information about their respective arts. The mode of reasoning which Socrates employed, was by proposing a series of questions to the person with whom he conversed, which by a regular, though sometimes circuitous induction of facts, led to consequences which completely established his opinions. By advancing a few simple and obvious truths as the ground of his arguments, to which his antagonists readily yielded their assent, he obliged them by analogical reasoning, skilfully adapted to the subject, to admit others equally certain, but not so clear and self-evident. In this species of reasoning which requires accuracy, method, acuteness, and a minute acquaintance with particulars, Socrates far surpassed any of the philosophers of ancient times. Like the great Bacon, he disregarded all authorities, despised systems, and took nothing for granted which he had not proved. The theory and practice of governments, the different occupations of men, and the manner of exercising them; the relative duties of life, the various establishments appointed for the public good, and those opinions and sentiments which regarded the honour and happiness of individuals; were the chief objects of his study. Nothing could escape his observation; nothing from which any measure of good could be drawn, was beneath his notice. Though he despised the theories of the sophists he did not neglect the study of nature's works, but appears to have scrutinized them with no common degree of industry, with the view of tracing the operations of providence, and of unfolding them to others. It was not with him the vain desire of obtaining a name, by the subtilty and apparent depth of his reasonings, by the extent of his information, and the magnitude of his

views, reaching to infinity, rising to worlds unknown, and limiting the operations of the first great cause ; but with modesty and conviction of how small a part of them was or could be known ; the generous endeavour to enlighten his countrymen on those points of religion and morals, in which most of their happiness, honour and dignity consisted. ‘ *Primus*,’ says Cicero, ‘ *a rebus occultis et ab ipsa natura involutis, in quibus omnes ante eum philosophi occupati fuerant, avocavit philosophiam, et ad vitam communem adduxit, ut de virtutibus et vitiis, omninoque de bonis rebus et malis quæreret.*’ *Tuscul. Quæst. lib. 1. c. 5.*

Socrates not only made use of inductive reasoning, with those who were candid and sincere, but also employed with great effect the weapons of irony and ridicule, when he had to contend with ignorance and vanity. Against the sophists in particular, men completely wedded to their own opinions, these were the weapons to which he generally resorted. His conversations, as his amiable disciple Xenophon reports, always turned upon human affairs. In them he discussed what was pious, what impious ; what honourable, what dishonourable ; what just, and what unjust ; what soundness of mind, and what folly ; what courage, and what cowardice ; what a state, and what a politician ; what the government of men, and what a governor of men. Nor was his conduct either in a public or private capacity, ever at variance with his opinions. Swayed always by a principle of reason without the least mixture of passion, so far as we can learn from the best authorities, he never suffered himself to be enticed or forced upon any action injurious to his character. ‘ *The man*,’ says Xenophon, ‘ *whose memoirs I have written, was so pious, that he undertook nothing without asking counsel of the gods ; so just, that he never did the smallest injury to any one, but rendered essential services to many ; so temperate, that he never preferred pleasure to virtue ; and so wise, that he was able, even in the most difficult cases, to judge without advice of what was expedient and right.*’ That a faction in the state, to whom his person, manners, and opinions were disagreeable ; that a poet, licentious often in the extreme, whose object it was to expose, in the most ridiculous light, every character celebrated by their virtues or vices, should have attacked Socrates, will not appear very remarkable when we consider how easily the multitude, when possessed of sovereign power, are instigated by unprincipled demagogues to commit the most atrocious crimes. The wisest and the best of men, have often fallen victims to their re-

sentment, as they are commonly wrought upon by a set of men of worthless characters and no reputation, whose only hope, to rise to notice, is by being buoyed up by the convulsions and distractions which they occasion. The condemnation of Socrates by one of those factions, that too often predominated in Athens, has affixed a stigma upon the character of the people, which even the repentance they afterwards showed, and the honours they conferred upon his memory, can scarcely efface.

PLATO,

The founder of the Academic sect, and the disciple of Socrates, was born in the four hundred and thirtieth year before Christ. His family ranked among the most illustrious of the Athenians; being by the father's side descended from Codrus the last of their kings, and by the mother's from Solon, their great legislator. In his youth he cultivated poetry, which he relinquished upon comparing an epic poem he had composed, with the *Iliad*. Happening to be present when Socrates was discoursing upon some philosophical topic, he was so captivated with his eloquence and wisdom, that he resolved to devote himself to the study of philosophy alone. Fond of forming hypotheses, the peculiar vice of men of ardent imaginations, he did not, like his fellow disciple Xenophon, give a faithful account of the doctrines of his master, but intermingled with them his own opinions, or some tenets he had adopted from other philosophers. After the death of Socrates, thinking himself in danger at Athens upon account of his attachment to that philosopher, he visited, successively, Italy or Magna Græcia, where a celebrated school had been established by Pythagoras, and where he was instructed in all the mysteries of his system; Egypt, where it is supposed he obtained his ideas concerning the origin of the world, and the immortality of the soul; and Sicily, to which he was invited by Dionysius the tyrant of Syracuse.

After travelling over so many countries for the sake of enriching his mind with every kind of knowledge, he settled in Athens, and opened a school for the instruction of youth in the principles of philosophy. Having collected the knowledge which he found scattered in different countries, and reduced the opinions of former philosophers to his own preconceived opinions, he composed from these materials a system which he developed in his writings and conversations. His works are in general in the form of

dialogues, which he has managed with singular felicity and art. Some of these are distinguished by sublime and glowing conceptions, adorned by a copious and splendid diction, and wrought up in such an easy, harmonious style, as to seem rather allied to poetry than prose. They may be divided according to the subjects of which they treat, into *Physical, Logical, Ethical* and *Political*.

The opinions of Plato with respect to the formation of the world, and the superintending care of Providence, were of a more exalted nature than those of his predecessors ; but these opinions he has veiled under such a profusion of imagery, that it is extremely difficult to discover what his real notions were. Perhaps, like other philosophers of the Pythagorean school, he wished to conceal his real sentiments from the public eye ; or, what is more probable, he suffered his imagination to expatiate in the boundless field of theological science. In his *Phædon* and *Timæus*, we find the following sublime idea of the Deity. ‘ The Creator of the universe is one, immortal, infinite : the centre of all perfection, the inexhaustible source of intelligence and being ; who was before he created the universe, and had manifested his power by any external act, for he had no beginning ; he existed independent of all other beings in the unfathomable depths of eternity.’ He imagined that *matter* also was eternal, containing in itself the germ of all evil, made up of contrary principles, and so intractable as to resist the power of the Deity himself. That the Deity, having resolved from all eternity to form the universe, followed a model always present to his mind, a model immutable, uncreated and perfect, like what a skilful artist conceives before he raises from rude materials an elegant edifice.

Plato supposed that the Deity delegated the power of creating man, to beings inferior to himself, whom he denominated *Dæmons*. These formed a creature of two different principles, or rather of three ; for to the material part of his nature were superadded two souls ; the one of an essence immutable, indivisible, and incorruptible, and the other partaking of mortality, susceptible of all sensual affections. The former of these he imagined was placed in the head, and this he denominated the *judging faculty*, or *reason* : the latter was situated in the breast. This second soul he again divided into two, the *irascible* and the *concupiscible* ; the former being placed in the *heart*, the latter towards the *lower extremities*. To prevent the natural tendency of the

passions and desires, originating from the second soul, from proceeding to excess, the virtue of *prudence*, the result of just and clear discernment, founded upon the frequent exercise of *reason*, of the ends most proper to be pursued, and of the means best fitted to attain them, must be acquired. From the due regulation, and proper direction of all these different passions, arises the virtue of *fortitude* and *magnanimity*. Their united harmony under the supreme direction and control of reason, constituted the virtue of *temperance*, or sobriety and moderation of mind. When each of the faculties of the mind exerted itself in its proper way, and towards its proper object, without attempting to encroach upon that of any other, and proceeding to the least degree of excess, when the passions were all under the control of reason, and displayed themselves in a degree suitable to the value of the object, the most perfect propriety of conduct was the result, the supreme virtue of *justice* was exhibited. Plato's idea of *justice* was of the most extensive kind, and comprehended not only what we owe to ourselves, but what we likewise owe to our neighbours, and indeed included in it the perfection of every other virtue.

Such is a very short account of some of the most material points of the philosophy of Plato on religion and morals. His notions are very often fanciful and absurd; yet, amidst all his extravagance, we perceive many just and sublime sentiments, which many succeeding philosophers adopted, and made the ground-work of their speculations in morals and theology. It is difficult to say whether this latter branch of knowledge has been improved or injured by the speculations of Plato. His opinions were eagerly adopted by many of the first Christian philosophers, and aided them in forming those bold and whimsical theories about the economy of the future world, which injured the simplicity and purity of the Christian faith.

ARISTOTLE.

Aristotle was a native of Stagyra, a town of Thrace, on the borders of the bay of Strymon, and was born 384 years before Christ. From the place of his nativity he obtained the name of the Stagyræite. At the age of seventeen Aristotle went to Athens, and devoted himself to the study of philosophy under Plato. His uncommon acuteness and indefatigable industry soon attracted the attention of his master, who used to call him the *mind* of the

school, and to say when he was absent *Intellect is not here*. He continued to attend the lectures of Plato till his death, and after that event erected a monument to his memory.

Aristotle seems to have been conscious of being the only person capable to succeed Plato in the academy, for when Speusippus succeeded his uncle, he left Athens in disgust; and retired to his friend and fellow disciple Hermias, who was ruler of the Atarnenses. After the unfortunate death of his friend, he withdrew to Mitylene, and upon the invitation of Philip, king of Macedon, he shortly after removed to his court, to superintend the education of his son Alexander. When that prince, after the death of his father, had proceeded upon his memorable expedition against the Persians, Aristotle returned to Athens, with the view of opening a school, and teaching a new system of doctrine. The place which he chose was the Lyceum, a grove in the suburbs of Athens. In this place he discoursed on various subjects of Philosophy with those who came to receive instruction, constantly walking during the conversation, and hence his followers were denominated Peripatetics.

Aristotle followed the practice of other philosophers in establishing two kinds of doctrine, the one public, the other private; the one called Exoteric, the other Acroamatic or Esoteric doctrine. To one class of hearers he taught his exoteric doctrine, consisting of logic, rhetoric, and politics. To another class the more subtle doctrine concerning existence, nature, and the Divinity.—He taught his school in the Lyceum for twelve years, during which he was supported both by his own reputation and the friendship of his illustrious pupil. After the death of Alexander, finding himself unsafe at Athens, and likely to meet with the same treatment as Socrates, he withdrew with a few of his followers to Chalcis, where he died in the sixty-third year of his age.

The character of Aristotle as a philosopher stood very high for many ages in the opinion of the world. He possessed an acute discriminating mind, capable of judging, as it were, by intuition, and of arranging and classing objects with a minute nicety of distinction. To indefatigable industry he united very superior abilities, not only such as enable a man to master the chief knowledge of his age, but the still higher powers of extending the boundaries of the arts and sciences by his inventive genius.

The writings of Aristotle treat of almost every branch of knowledge at that time known. Moral and natural philosophy; metaphysics, mathematics, mechanics, grammar, criticism and poli-

tics all exercised his pen. In many of his writings his style is concise, harsh and obscure. The nature of his subjects, the conciseness of his diction, and various interpolations, will in some measure account for their obscurity. But Aristotle's anxiety to make himself the head of a new sect, led him to attack the opinions of all preceding philosophers, and to assume an air of profound thought and extensive learning, the better to impose upon the credulity of mankind. Deviating from the notions of his predecessors concerning the formation of the world, he imagined that there were in nature opposite principles, independent and underrived, from which all things proceed. But as they could never combine to produce any sensible objects, a third was necessary. These three principles he denominated *Form*, *Privation* and *Matter*; the two former contrary to each other, the latter, the common subject of both. *Matter* and *form* are the constituent principles of things; *privation* makes no part of their constitution, but is accidentally associated with them. *Primary matter*, eternal and uncreated, he considered destitute of all qualities, and therefore not body, but the subject on which forms might be impressed, and in which they might inhere.—The causes, or principles of the universe, he divided into four kinds: *Material*, of which things are made; *Formal*, by which every thing was made to exist as it is; *Efficient*, by the agency of which any thing is produced; and *Final*, or the end for which it is produced.

The Peripatetic system of species or phantasms, was divided into two kinds, the *intelligible* and the *sensible species*; the former derived from the latter by abstraction, the latter the immediate objects of sense.

The notions which Aristotle formed of virtue or moral conduct, deserve more attention. He made virtue to consist in the habit of mediocrity, according to right reason. This idea Horace has beautifully expressed in the 10th ode of his 2d book.

Rectius vives, Licini, neque altum
Semper urgendo, neque, dum procellas
Cautus horrescis, nimium premendo
Littus iniquum.
Auream quisquis mediocritatem
Diligit, tutus caret obsoleti
Sordibus tecti, caret invidenda,
Sobrius aula.

Virtue he considered as the middle path between two extremes, the one of which offends from being too much, the other from

being too little affected by a particular species of objects. The first virtue, that of *fortitude*, consists in being the medium between the opposite vices of cowardice or timidity, and presumptuous rashness; the one of which is too much affected, the other too little, by the objects of fear. *Temperance* is the mean between the excessive pursuit and the total neglect of pleasure. *Moderation* keeps at an equal distance from ambition, and the contempt of greatness. The other virtues may all be considered as holding nearly the same place between the two extremes.

But unless the virtuous affections be strengthened by *habit*, the character of virtue is incomplete. No man who performs one virtuous action alone, however praiseworthy the act, or excellent the motive, is entitled to the appellation of virtuous. The character must be formed by a series of actions, all of the same kind, proceeding from virtuous affections. This opinion of Aristotle, concerning the necessity of superadding virtuous habits to virtuous affections, is a proof of his accurate knowledge of human nature, and stands upon better ground than the opinion of Plato, who thought that just sentiments and reasonable judgments were alone sufficient to constitute the most perfect virtue. These may have their influence in the absence of passion or interest, in the closet of the philosopher, or in the hermit's cell, but can scarcely be expected to maintain their ground in the jarring commotion of the world, when passion too often usurps dominion over judgment, when pleasure leads astray into forbidden paths, and ambition tempts to rise to greatness at the expence of every virtue.

The philosophy of Aristotle came by degrees to supersede all others, and during the dark ages, maintained unrivalled sway in the Romish church. The schoolmen looked up to Aristotle as being of a superior nature, and implicitly adopted all his opinions. He furnished them by his doctrine of syllogisms, with instruments which they wielded with great dexterity in maintaining and propagating their absurd notions. Since the revival of learning his reputation has been upon the decline. Instead of inventing theories and reasoning upon possibilities, the attention of philosophers has been directed, under the guidance of the great Lord Bacon, to experiments, observation and cautious induction. Instead of investigating causes which lie beyond the reach of the human faculties, they employ themselves to better purpose in noticing effects, in discovering general laws, and in examining

the phenomena of the universe. Yet his ethics, his politics, and his observations upon poetry may be read with great advantage, as they contain much useful information, and many sound observations upon men and manners. His dissertations upon poetry in particular, have furnished almost all the critics since his time with the rules of their art. They were founded upon the best models, the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* of Homer, and the tragedies of Æschylus, Sophocles and Euripides.

FINIS.

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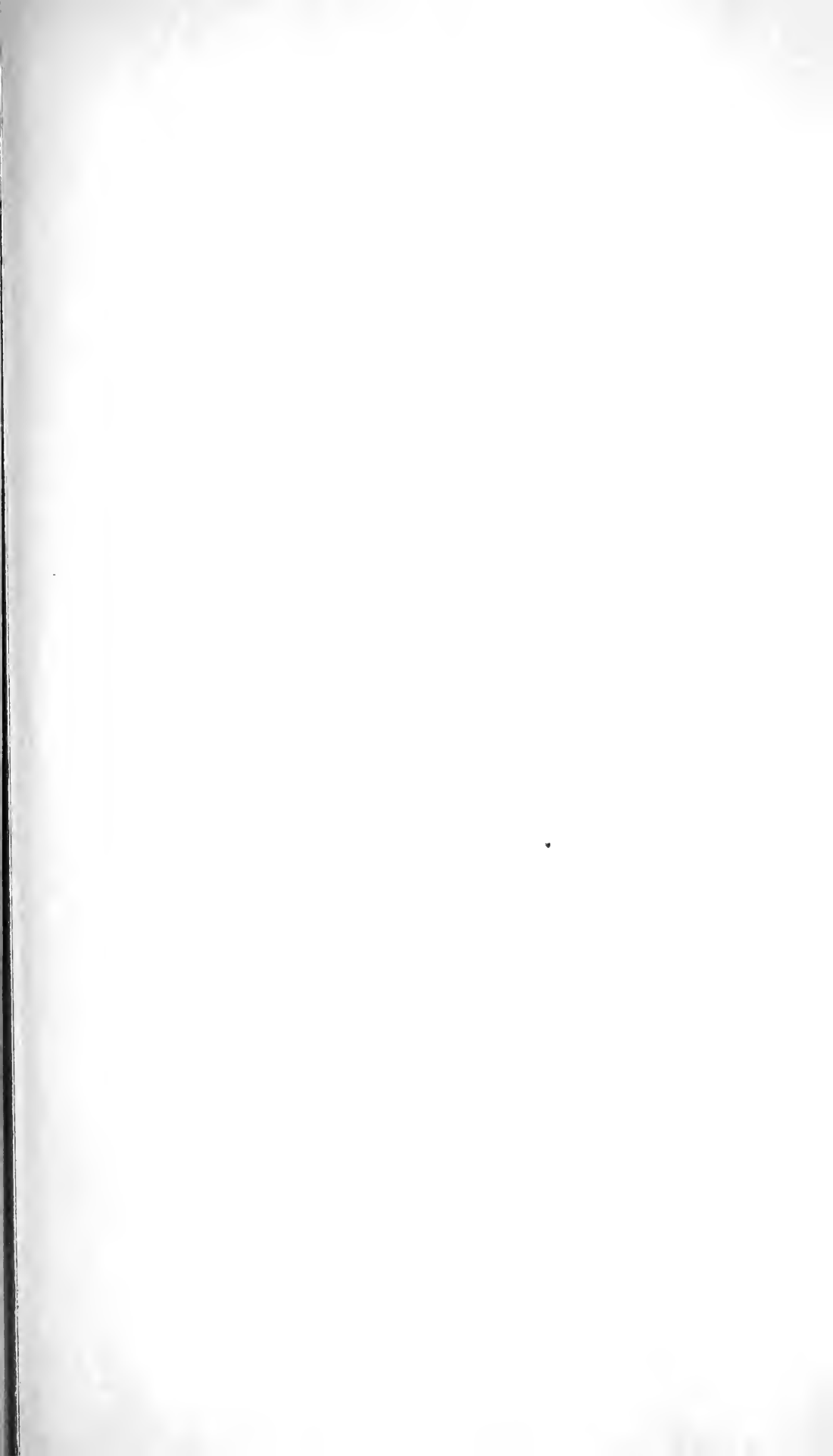
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